



Americanism versus Romanism;

OR,

THE CIS-ATLANTIC BATTLE

BETWEEN

SAM AND THE POPE.

BY

JAMES L. CHAPMAN,

A MINISTER OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

“And with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? And David said, What have I now done? Is there not a cause?”

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Dedication.

TO

GEORGE D. PRENTICE, ESQ.,

(EDITOR OF THE LOUISVILLE JOURNAL,)

THE MATCHLESS EXPOUNDER OF AMERICAN PRINCIPLES,

AND THE HERO OF A HUNDRED VICTORIES

OVER THE MINIONS OF POPERY;—

AND TO

THE GREAT COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY,

THE HOME OF CLAY,

AND

THE FIRST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES TO WHEEL INTO THE

A M E R I C A N L I N E;—

THIS WORK IS, BY PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THE AUTHOR,

JAMES L. CHAPMAN.

9-16-73
C36

Preface.

OUR observation, reading, and experience have fully satisfied us that there are many men who make principles but secondary considerations, when self-interest or the love of party is at stake. A distinguished heathen cuttingly observed, influenced by his own conception of society, that he would not trust his own mother, lest she might inadvertently take a black bean for a white one. The deeds and words of more than a few churchmen and statesmen, from the centre to the circumference of the land, will long be contemplated by us as teaching this mortifying lesson, that every man ought to be regarded as a prospective disgrace to truth, principle, and honor, whatever his profession may be, until he proves, by a strict continuance in well-doing, the contrary. Looking at things as they are, and not as we would wish to have them, we ask ourself, in the name of every thing praiseworthy, shall we, after having for years contended against acts of unrighteousness, hypocrisy, and a time-serving spirit, fear the storm-cloud that now sits on the brow of Anti-Americanism? Never! We have been in trials and dangers for the sake of truth and principle, and still we live; and now once more we expose ourself to abuse, misrepresentation, and persecution,

for the common safety of Protestantism and our adopted country, saying :

“ Know’st thou yesterday, its aim and reason ?
 Work’st thou well to-day for worthy things ?
 Then calmly wait the morrow’s hidden season,
 And fear not thou what hap soe’er it brings.”

A question of startling magnitude, by implication, is now before the American people—we mean the political policy of Romanism. Those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the subtleties of Roman Catholic theology and phraseology, are ever liable to the worst form of misconception and error. For instance : if they ask a Roman Catholic, Does the Pope directly exercise temporal power outside of his own temporal dominion ? he will most assuredly answer, No. Many Protestants would regard this as satisfactory, and sleep soundly, after having their fears respecting the sovereign pontiff thus removed. What a mistake ! The Romanist may emphatically answer No to every such question, and at the same time conscientiously believe that the Pope can interfere with the relations which exist between subject and sovereign, and absolve the former from his allegiance to the latter. Pitt, the distinguished British statesman, not understanding this peculiarity of Popery, was in a great measure unprepared to catechise the Catholic universities in reference to the character of Romanism. Here the astonished reader may justly ask, “ Could a Roman Catholic so answer without a resort to falsehood ? ” Certainly. “ How ? ” The idea is that there are two orders—the spiritual and the temporal ; that *the Church*, to use the language of Mr. Brownson, endorsed by the Amer-

ican bishops, *lies in the former, and the State in the latter.* Here the educated Romanist takes his position, looking on the Pope as having the right, in virtue of his spiritual supremacy, to interfere with the temporal affairs of nations, when in conflict, according to his judgment, with the Divine law—the right to abrogate the whole, and to free Catholics from all obligations thereto. The principle at the foundation of his creed is, that “the temporal is subject to the spiritual”—subject in the way and sense stated.

The editor of the Boston Pilot, a Romanist, thus expresses himself on this matter: “The temporal is subject to the spiritual.” A greater than the editor of the Pilot, Pope Urban II., decides as follows: “Subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts.” From this it will be seen that we represent the Popish theory on the true relation between subject and sovereign correctly.

The subtlety of Roman Catholic theology is so far below the surface, that every Protestant seeking to know the exact faith of its advocates, ought to put the question in this form: “Does the Pope claim the right, in virtue of his spiritual power, to interfere with the laws of nations, to decide between subjects and their sovereigns, under any circumstances whatever?” This, meeting the demands of the case, would at once force out the whole truth. To use the language of Mr. Pitrat, a member of the University of France: “They would not in conscience deny that the Pope has the right, in exercising his supreme spiritual power, to interfere in the relations

between subjects and their sovereigns, between citizens and their governments.”

Let us here, then, plainly state that it is not religion which is dragged before the public, but a political element stripped of its religious garb. We fondly hope that all will carefully remember this, and the land, through coming years, will be saved from a vast amount of misrepresentation, stupidity, and falsehood.

In order that our expressed views may be clearly understood, not only in the Preface but throughout the work, we would observe, that whether a man drives his horse with the left or right hand, the effect is the same; that whether one man injures another by the pen or the tongue, the effect is the same; that whether a wheel is turned by steam or water-force, the effect is the same; that whether the Pope uproots institutions, dethrones kings, or absolves from allegiance by what is called the temporal or spiritual supremacy, the effect is the same. The principle involved is what we wish to establish—what we wish to make clear to the eye of baptized common sense, and not the peculiar windings of Romanism. In consequence of this, we would change the eighth article of the American Platform of 1855 thus: “Resistance to the dangerous influence of all, whether called Roman Catholics, Protestants, or Mormons—whether natives or foreigners by birth—who acknowledge allegiance to any foreign power, civil or ecclesiastical; signifying thereby that said power has the right to interfere with the relations which exist between subjects and their civil rulers, under the plea that the temporal is subject to the spiritual, by the advancement to all

political stations, executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic, of those only who protest against the allegiance and the plea stated, and who are Americans by birth, education, and training: thus fulfilling the maxim, ‘Americans only shall govern America.’ ”

This is the true sense of the article; but many do not so view it—fail to comprehend its spirit and meaning. Every Anti-American is not a Plato. The fifth article of the present Platform of the American Party, adopted by the National Council, February 21, 1856, is similar to the one noticed in import. It reads thus: “No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.”

The question is now fairly before the American people, and the guilty must calmly submit to the consequence.

But, by way of showing the reader that our statements are in harmony with the teachings of Romanism, and cover the whole ground in dispute between *Sam* and the Pope, we beg leave to cite one passage from St. Liguori’s *Moral Theology*, a standard work in the Romish Church, namely: “Summus Pontifex nequit leges civiles ferre, nisi in populos qui ejus temporali ditioni subduntur. Poterit tamen abrogare, vel corrigere leges civiles aliorum principum, si opponantur æquitati.—The Supreme pontiff may not make civil laws except for the people who are under his temporal dominion, however he may abrogate or alter the civil laws of other princes, if

they are opposed to equity."—*Vol. i., lib. 1, Tract 11, De Legibus, Number 104, p. 119.* Precisely so, and in this lurks the danger.

But why such alarm concerning Roman Catholics? Not that we fear their numerical strength, but their influence over time-serving and self-interested politicians. By this, in various ways, they have subverted the rights of the people from generation to generation, causing even rulers to walk at their heels like so many spaniels at the heels of their masters. Such is Popery in fact, teaching, and history!

JAMES L. CHAPMAN.

NASHVILLE, April 22, 1856.

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Introduction.

RESPECTED reader: In advance of introducing to your attention and favor a new work, entitled “Americanism *versus* Romanism; or, The cis-Atlantic Battle between *Sam* and the Pope,” you will please permit us to talk with you fully and frankly respecting men and measures, as they have appeared to us since the publication of the American Platform in June, 1855. This Platform, as might have been expected, soon produced a feverish excitement in the political battle-field, being regarded as the signal of a general preparation for a mighty struggle. We discovered at a glance a vast array of office-holders and office-seekers engaged in the inglorious work of strengthening a party, justly called Anti-American, at the expense of history and principle—even of religion itself. Injustice and corruption knew no bounds. Falsehoods were freely told and generally published. The uneducated foreigner was humbugged with a grace peculiar to the managers of the Anti-American drama. Opposition to the American Party was the only qualification required. The Catholic invitation went out thus: “Come Rag, Tag, Bobtail, Tom, Dick, Harry, Turner, Free German, Jew, Greek, Turk, Mormon, Infidel, Russian, Celt, Federal Whig, Modern

Whig, Hardshell Democrat, Softshell Democrat, Freesoiler, and especially the man who breaks the oath of the midnight conspirators, and bring with you big fiddles and little fiddles, fifes and drums, cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, banjo, and all kinds of music; and while you come, invite all others "and the rest of mankind" to come, assuring them the only qualification required is opposition to Americanism; and when united, what a glorious jubilee we shall have over the doctrine "that Americans shall not govern America!"

This was the alchemy by which native-born citizens of the United States, trained from their infancy by American Protestant mothers, inheritors of the blessings and traditional glory of 1776, the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, were transmuted into friends of the Pope, Infidels, Fourierites, and Red Republicans. This was the alchemy by which a few Protestant ministers, and more than a few members professing the Protestant faith, were transmuted into enemies of patriotism, Protestantism, and the best interests of their nationality. This was the alchemy by which they were transmuted into companions of the vulgar and profane, who followed the heels of miserable demagogues; into admirers of pot-house politicians, whose very breath was as the poison of the Upas, not only to themselves, but to their families and society.

The Anti-American editors and speakers, seeing these things, and being convinced by hearing and observation that the love of Protestantism was lost in the love of party, became insolently bold in word and act. The testimony of Pro-

testant writers was rejected, and Roman Catholic libraries were resorted to for evidence to silence the voice of ages. The statements of Protestant historians were privately and publicly pronounced "Know-Nothing lies." Protestant ministers and members, of the Anti-American stripe, calmly submitted to all this—demonstrating what their political leaders rejoiced to witness, that the influence of party was greater than the influence of Protestantism. Even a few of the women became so infatuated with the strange abominations and corruptions of Anti-Americanism, that they hesitated not to speak of ministers, favorable to the American cause, as "Know-Nothing scamps." We were not only so *avored* and classified, but repeatedly called "a traitor to the land of our birth." The *Book of Martyrs*, by Fox, was publicly ridiculed, and Romanism, reeking with the blood of the saints, was publicly defended. Silence, under such circumstances, seemed to us a thing of sin; hence we appeared in open opposition to Anti-Americanism by word and act.

The man "who stole the livery of heaven to serve the Devil in," or Satan transformed into an angel of light, to deceive the nations, afforded us a fine illustration of the movements of Anti-Americanism, in the name and garb of Democracy, to humbug the republican people of the United States. Did not Southern Democrats say, when the Constitution of California was formed: "We should not regret as we do over the loss of California, only for the fact, that the foreign*

* The Conservative, Aberdeen, Mississippi, represents them as talking thus: "How eloquently they talked of the evils of foreign influence when they spoke of the admission of California into the Union! How

vote literally snatched it out of our hands, placing it in favor of the North, and opposed to our institutions." And did not Democrats say, when Scott was announced as a candidate for the Presidential chair: "We cannot see how Protestants can vote for a man who made the American soldiers bow, with their hats off, to Catholic priests in Mexico; a man whose family is under the influence of Catholics, his daughters having been educated at their schools!" The Anti-Americans, however, in 1855, while pleading for the Pope and foreign influence, assured the world, heaven and hell, that they were Democrats—exactly what they had ever been. We paused for a moment to reflect, and then, as if moved by the inspiration of contempt, inwardly exclaimed, using the language of Falstaff: "How this world is given to lying!"

The idea of secrecy, in political affairs, seemed to distress the Anti-American leaders beyond description and measure. They looked grave, shook their heads, and talked as if its continuance would turn their heads gray, and shorten their useful lives. The whole, however, was but a pitiable exhibition of unadulterated hypocrisy.

The continued misrepresentations of the Anti-American editors and speakers, prepared the lowest classes of the foreign population for deeds of violence. Americans were murdered

indignant these patriots grew when they told you how California was wrested from the grasp of the South by the votes of Dutch, French, wild Irish, and dirty Mexicans, with their Romish priests! Where are these patriots who so strongly pleaded against the foreign vote three years ago? On the other side, pleading against their country for foreigners and Papists."

in the streets of Louisville, Kentucky, for simply declaring by word and act that Americans shall govern America. There the first martyrs of Americanism, in the great conflict of 1855, fell before the murderous guns of a foreign rabble. The Anti-American leaders, instead of defending their countrymen, and vindicating the memory of the dead, exhausted language to exonerate the guilty, and involve the innocent. The *Louisville Democrat* spoke of the parties thus :

“No respectable man can think of the scenes of yesterday without shame. We had a farce, or rather a tragedy, instead of an election. A complete system of terror and blood was established by the Know-Nothing party or faction. The details are disgusting. The attempt to lay blame upon our foreign-born population will be a failure.”

The *Vicksburg Sentinel* ONLY SPOKE of the natives as follows :

“QUITE CONCLUSIVE.—A great deal of anxiety is manifested by the Know-Nothing party to relieve themselves from the fearful responsibility for the Louisville riots. Affidavits of men, admittedly participants in the bloody outrages of ‘black Monday,’ are published to prove that the foreigners were the aggressors : just as if those who did not hesitate to soil their hands with human blood, and apply the torch to the dwellings of a powerless minority, would have any qualms of conscience in adding perjury to their other atrocious crimes. It must be a new code of law, indeed, which allows the criminal to exonerate himself by his own testimony. We are grossly deceived if the moral sense of the community will allow it to be done.”

Similar language was used in every Anti-American paper, from the centre to the circumference of the land. Truth was ostracized. What a representation to make of American citizens—citizens by birth and education! The following affidavits, however, will show who began the murderous work in Louisville, and who published falsehoods respecting it:

“Michael O’Connell, on oath, says: I reside on the corner of Chapel and Main streets, Louisville, and keep there a grocery store. On the 6th of August, instant, in the afternoon, Theodore Rhodes and David Dougherty came to my grocery; they were my acquaintances and friends. They informed me that there were drunken men going about this part of the city, and I had better close my grocery. I did so at once. As I closed the doors, they left and went on the sidewalk. As they left my doors, some one fired from the opposite side of the street, from the house of Mr. McDonald, a very clever man, and who I believe knew nothing of it. Rhodes fell when the shot was fired, and died soon after. Dougherty was also shot, but I did not see that. Dougherty and Rhodes were both quiet and perfectly sober. They neither did nor said any thing to give offence to any one. They were peaceable and clever, well-behaved gentlemen. Rhodes had just shaken hands with my wife at the door before he was shot. Immediately and at once after Rhodes was shot, about seventeen shots were fired from the same house in quick succession. The shots took effect in my house, and are now to be seen by any one. One of them struck me in the right leg. When these shots were fired, I saw no disturbance, and heard of none; and there was not the

slightest cause for it that I can imagine, and but for these shots I believe there would have been no difficulty or disturbance; at any rate, they were the beginning, and I am sure the cause of what afterwards occurred. I am an Irishman, and a Catholic.

MICHAEL O'CONNELL.

“Subscribed and sworn to August 8, 1855.

“O. H. STRATTAN, *Notary Public.*”

“I, Joanna O'Connell, wife of Michael O'Connell, on oath, say: I have heard the above affidavit of my husband read, and know the same is true, and I adopt and make it a part of this affidavit.

JOANNA O'CONNELL.”

“Mrs. Rubey Dodd states on oath, that she resides on the west side of Eleventh street, just north of Main, Louisville. There has been considerable disturbance and excitement among the Irish living in Quinn's houses on Main street, and, for nearly two weeks before the late August election, she observed them armed passing in and out of the alley in the rear of Long's and Quinn's houses, and heard guns and pistols fired during the nights. The Long boys and Barney Cassedy she observed frequently with arms. She was in constant dread from them.

“She observed the Long boys and others, perhaps eight or ten in all, just before the firing commenced on Main street, gather up stones at the corner of Main and Eleventh streets, to throw at some persons passing down Main street in a furniture-car, but they did not throw: presently I heard the firing.

“After the fire commenced on Quinn's block, I saw a number of Americans assisting the women and children to escape,

and carry their furniture out through the back of the houses, and large quantities of furniture was brought to the opposite side of the street by them, and some of the crowd told Mrs. Mullen to call her sons out, that they would not kill them. I have since seen them, and they are not hurt.

“During the fire on said houses, I observed Edward Keyhoe and Pat. Long, and some one else whom I did not know, on top of Long’s house with guns. Keyhoe is living yet, for I have seen him since. RUBEY DODD.”

“Subscribed and sworn to before me, August 10, 1855.

“O. H. STRATTAN, *Notary Public.*”

“We are daughters of Mrs. Rubeý Dodd, and fully concur in the statement above. ELIZABETH DODD.

MARGARET DODD.”

“Caroline Wall, wife of John Wall, on oath, says: She is an Irishwoman; her husband is an Irishman, and a Roman Catholic. On the evening of the 6th instant, about five o’clock, I was going home from the grocery of Mr. Brown, on Tenth and Market streets, Louisville, passing down Eleventh street to Main. When I reached Main street, at Eleventh, I heard the report of firearms, and looked up Main where it came from, and saw a man fall near Chapel street; and a great many shots were fired in quick succession from the north side of Main street, direct towards Chapel. The man who was shot and fell, I learned had just come out of O’Connell’s grocery, on the corner of Main and Chapel, in company with a man named Dougherty. Rhodes died in a few moments, as I learned there. There was no crowd about at the

time, and but very few people, and no disturbance, save that caused by the shooting. Rhodes was not disturbing any one when shot, that I know of. I saw the shots fired from the windows of Quinn's row. I think Rhodes had a carpet-bag in his hand when shot. I do not know him, but was informed, on inquiry, that his name was Rhodes. Dougherty was also shot a moment or two after.

"There were a great many Irishmen in Quinn's row, some of whom were relatives of my husband, and they were often together. For some weeks previous to the 6th of August, 1855, they (not my husband) were preparing for a fight, and procured and had many arms, pistols, and guns; and, on Saturday night before the election, I saw many of them with arms, and they had resolved, *I heard them say so*, to attack the procession; but it turned out, as they afterwards told my husband, to be too numerous, and so they let it pass. They *had been led to believe* the procession would be small, *by those who opposed the Know-Nothings*: this I heard them say. I saw many of them with arms six or eight days before the last election, and they said they were ready for it.

"I have not seen my husband since Monday last, nor heard of him. I fear he was finally induced to join them in Quinn's row. They had begged him to receive arms in his house, but he declined. We did not live in Quinn's row.

her
CAROLINE ✕ WALL."
mark.

JEFFERSON COUNTY, Sct.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me, August 10, 1855.

J. I. DOZIER, *Examiner.*"

“Joseph Hucker, on oath, says he resided, on the 6th of August, in one of Quinn’s houses, in what is called Quinn’s row, on the north side of Main street, between Tenth and Eleventh, Louisville. He resided there about seven months. On that day, he heard, while in his house, a report of fire-arms, and on looking out of the window, saw a man lying on the sidewalk near O’Connell’s grocery, on the corner of Main and Chapel streets; and in a few moments saw an Irishman pass over from McDonald’s grocery, situated opposite O’Connell’s, and on the north side of Main, having in one hand a revolver, and in the other a gun. He got within ten or twelve feet of the man lying on the sidewalk, and deliberately shot him in the forehead. I saw the blood come from the wound, and also from a wound in the breast. The man never moved afterwards, I think. At this time there was no crowd there, and no one on the street, that I saw, except the dead man and the one that shot him; but in a few moments some persons came and removed the dead body. A man—an American—then told me I had better close the shutters of my windows, or I might be injured; and I did so at once. He offered me no injury, but borrowed my gun to fight the Irish with, who were firing from McDonald’s house, and other Irish houses along the row. He took the gun away, and I did not get it until to-day.

“The Irish all along the row were well armed, most of them having two pistols each, and also a gun. There were about seventy-five or one hundred Irishmen living in that row, I think, and they had many visitors of their countrymen. I saw many of them often with pistols and guns during the

two or three weeks preceding the August election of 1855; and one of them, who had several pistols, told a man in my hearing, on Saturday before the election, that he was READY. Two or three weeks ago I saw Mr. Quinn carry a double-barrel shot-gun into his house at two different times. On the night of the riot, there was a keg of powder in the alley opposite Quinn's houses, which I covered up with bed-clothes to prevent explosion. Mr. Quinn had called on me and insisted upon my voting, notwithstanding I had told him I was not naturalized.

“No violence was offered to me or my family. The Americans aided me and my family to remove out of my house, which was burned, and told me to leave there, or the Irish might shoot me. I am a German by birth, and a Catholic in religion.

JOSEPH HUCKER.”

“JEFFERSON COUNTY, Sct.

“Subscribed and sworn to before me, August 9, 1855.

“J. I. DOZIER, *Examiner*.”

Did the Anti-American editors and speakers, after these affidavits were published, acknowledge their errors, censure the murderous conduct of a foreign rabble, and defend their countrymen and their country's honor? If they did, we failed to notice the first instance.

The editor of the *Boston Pilot*, a Roman Catholic, became so encouraged by the example of the Anti-American editors, and the slavish submission of more than a few Protestants, that he thus addressed the public:

“A midnight gang of conspirators, called Know-Nothings, take possession of the polls, take possession of the city, and

make previous arrangements to prevent a certain class of citizens from exercising their rights. They deliberately lay plans for stirring up a riot, and they count securely upon the murder of some score of their opponents, and upon the destruction of their property—upon the burning of churches and such like trifles, and upon escaping the punishment due to their crimes! They succeeded in all their plans, with the exception of the church-burning.”

* * * * * *

“The unspeakable meanness of the riotous Know-Nothings is exemplified in the after-doings of this [Louisville] *Journal* man, who, having stirred up the riot, wipes his bloody chops and says: O! what have *I* done? Has there been a riot? Oh, dear! oh, dear! *How* did it happen? It must have been those damned Irishmen! They are always making mischief. *We* only defended our own rights. Are *only* twelve Irishmen killed? No churches burned? Well, we hope that justice will be done. Let an impartial investigation be had. Let the guilty men suffer!

“Prentice knows well enough who the jurymen will be, if the call for justice be from the family of a murdered adopted citizen against a Know-Nothing [American] murderer. Know-Nothing jurymen must be faithful to their oaths to the secret order. *They must be perjurers to society and the State.* Like Prentice, they will wipe their bloody chops, and answer, What have we done? The foreigners were rightly served.”

* * * * * *

“The miserable rascals will go down to posterity as a gang

of perjurers, rioters, burglars, house-burners, and murderers; *as a gang of midnight conspirators, more despicable than any gang that ever disgraced a civilized land.* There is no place in which the hypocritical scoundrels are not ready to do what they did in Louisville."

If a Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist paper had so talked of the bloody deeds of the foreign rabble in Louisville, and of the defence made for them by the Anti-American party, would not a great decrease in the subscription-list have been the immediate reward? Such is the power of the Pope at these ends of the earth!

The following facts will shed a little light on the matter. An editor of a Methodist paper, speaking to us concerning things as now found in America, observed: "Some of the papers opposed to the American party declared that Wesley never wrote those letters on Romanism, (given in chap. iii.,) and not one of our Church papers assumed the responsibility of saying that he did." Does this need comment? Insulted Protestantism answers, "No."

The speaker of the Senate of Mississippi, during the winter of 1856, observed: "I am beginning to hate the Puritans more and more." This information came to us from a gentleman of veracity. The children of the Puritans, however, voted for him, caring much more for the success of his party than for the religion of their fathers. Such is the power of the Pope at these ends of the earth, and such the conduct of certain hypocritical mortals, who call themselves Protestants! Tell not this in the homes of the Mormons, lest the current reformation may be unduly increased!

In reference to the position of the American party on the foreign question, we ask, Does not Mr. Brownson, an expounder of Romanism in the United States, in that which follows, fully justify it?

“Every independent and sovereign nation has a right to preserve its own nationality, its identity, and to defend it, if need be, by war against any foreign power that would invade it; and to close its political society, if it sees proper, against all foreign immigrants who in its judgment would endanger it, or not prove advantageous to it. In so doing it exercises only the inherent right of every sovereign State, and persons born citizens or subjects of any other State have no right to complain. As a general rule, we think the true policy of a nation is to reserve the political—we say not civil—citizenship to persons born on its territory; to distinguish foreign-born individuals, as a reward for eminent service. We do not believe it sound policy to make political citizenship too cheap, lest we make it valueless, and encourage a neglect of its duties.”

And does not Daniel O’Connell, Ireland’s great agitator, vindicate, in the following extract, the principle of Americanism?

“Let Englishmen rule England—Frenchmen France—Scotchmen Scotland—and in the name of God let Irishmen rule Ireland!”

The last vote of Washington we consider highly worthy of a place here. “I was present,” says a correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, “when General Washington gave his last vote. It was in the spring of 1799, in the town of

Alexandria. He died the 14th of December following. The court-house of Fairfax county was then over the market-house, and immediately fronting Gadsby's tavern. The entrance into it was by a slight flight of crazy steps on the outside. The election was progressing: several thousands of persons in the court-house yard and immediate neighboring streets; and I was standing on Gadsby's steps when the Father of his Country drove up, and immediately approached the court-house steps; and when within a yard or two of them, I saw eight or ten good-looking men from different directions, certainly without the least concert, spring simultaneously and place themselves in positions to uphold and support the steps, should they fall in the General's ascent of them. I was immediately at his back, and in that position entered the court-house with him—followed in his wake through the dense crowd to the polls—heard him vote—returned with him to the outward crowd—heard him cheered by more than two thousand persons as he entered his carriage—and saw his departure.

“There were five or six candidates on the bench sitting; and as the General approached them, they rose in a body and bowed smilingly; and the salutation having been returned very gracefully, the General immediately cast his eyes towards the registry of the polls, when Colonel Duncale (I think it was) said, ‘Well, General, how do you vote?’ The General looked at the candidates, and said, ‘Gentlemen, I vote for measures, not for men;’ and turning to the recording table, audibly pronounced his vote, saw it entered, made a graceful bow, and retired.”

Anti-Americans, however, see fit to vote for men, not for measures; for party—worse, for a name, not principle. We presume this must be received as a part of the first fruit of their Romish character.

In bringing this Introduction to a close, we beg leave to state, that some of the worst men of Europe, refugees from justice, are in this Republic. Inflated by the idea of liberty, and influenced by the most vicious habits, they are totally unprepared to act the part of enlightened freemen. In a word, some of them ought to have been imprisoned for life in the lands of their births. The thought of such men shooting native citizens, sons of Protestant freemen, is entirely too provoking for comment. By birth we are a foreigner, but we hate Anti-Americanism: we detest it with unmeasured detestation, and pray that our hatred and detestation of it may never decrease. We have been an American in principle for many years; and such we are determined to be, whether in glory or in gloom. For the sake of principle, we are now out of the ranks of the regular ministry.* We

* We deem it due to ourself, and the party whose cause we advocate, to silence at once and for ever certain men who represent us as “a cast-off preacher,” by inserting here the certificate of the presiding Bishop of the Conference from which we withdrew for the reasons stated:

“TO REV. JAMES L. CHAPMAN:

“The Memphis Annual Conference has, by vote, permitted you to exercise the functions of the ministry as a local elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, so long as your spirit and conduct comport with the gospel of Christ, and the Discipline of said Church. Given under my hand, at Memphis, this 22d day of November, 1855.

“H. H. KAVANAUGH.”

could not preach Protestantism as preached and written by Wesley (see the close of chapter iii.) in Protestant pulpits, owing to the influence of Popery and foreignism on the minds of some of those who profess to be Protestants, and the consequent opposition by word and act. We would be free, and free we are. Most gratefully do we thank George Washington, under Heaven, for this liberty.

We now introduce to your attention and favor, respected reader, the present work, hoping you will give the same a careful and impartial examination, and judge and vote according to the evidence therein contained.

“A cast-off preacher!” Every member of the Church knows that this is an unadulterated falsehood—such as could only be originated by men who have betrayed Protestantism and the best interests of their country, influenced by the humbuggery of a name, not less in its corrupting tendencies at present than Romanism—we mean *Democracy*.

In a word, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is responsible to the public for what we do, write, and say; and will so continue, whatever opposers and superficial men may think, until the proper authority of the Church, in accordance with law, decrees otherwise; and, on the other hand, we are responsible to the Church for what we do, say, and write. Such is our relation to the Church, and such the relation of the Church to the public respecting our words and acts.

Americanism versus Romanism.

CHAPTER I.

How the Hon. Messrs. Eustis, Bennet, Smith, Davidson, Florence, Taylor, and Walker talked in the Thirty-fourth Congress. Would you wish to see how they appear in the glass of truth? Read every word of this Chapter.

WE had closed the manuscript of our work, when the conflicting remarks of the honorable gentlemen named in the heading arrested our attention. We are glad, truly glad that they were made; for the facts and corrections we shall present in our review will fully prepare the minds of all to understand and appreciate the points or causes of difficulty between *Sam* and the Pope. The Hon. Mr. Eustis, American member from Louisiana, said :

“He wished to state the position of the American party of Louisiana on the subject of religion. The party in that State held it as a cardinal maxim, and he hoped to God it would be so held in every State of the Union, that religious faith was a question between each individual and his God; and they considered any attempt to abridge or circumscribe religious freedom unworthy of our great country, as it was in violation of the organic law of the land. In this spirit, the American party of Louisiana repudiated the eighth section of

the Philadelphia platform, and he now repudiated it *in toto*. He cared not what construction gentlemen might be pleased, in perfect good faith, to put upon that article. They might say that it was inoperative, and therefore inoffensive, as against American Catholics; but the words were there, and they were offensive and insulting to the American Catholics. He called the attention of the House to the construction that Flournoy had put upon that article when he was the American candidate for governor in Virginia. That gentleman published a letter, in which he said he would never vote for a Roman Catholic; and he thanked God that he (Flournoy) was defeated. He ought to have been defeated, as there was enough in his letter to have defeated ten thousand candidates for governor; and he hoped that every man who held such odious, such monstrous doctrines, would ever meet with as deep and as early a political grave as did the Hon. Mr. Flournoy."

Speaking of Protestant ministers, he asked, "Did they find it (authority for stamping American Catholics as mere tools of the Pope) in that great book, the Bible, on which so much veneration had been bestowed so unprofitably in the Philadelphia platform? (Great laughter.)"

Without doubt Mr. Eustis uttered a lamentable and fearful truth when he spoke of the "unprofitable veneration bestowed on the Bible." The thought of what we read and heard in 1855, almost makes us ashamed of the name *Protestant*. When the members of the various Protestant Churches, who voted for the Anti-American members of Congress, saw in print the words *great laughter* over the unprofitable *eneration bestowed on the Bible*, we presume they must have felt as *happy* as if at a prayer-meeting.

Leaving this sickening feature of the explanation of Mr. Eustis, we observe that he is evidently laboring under a misapprehension respecting the mighty issue made with Romanism. He boldly and emphatically declares opposition to what

is called the religious article of the American platform, believing that it abridges religious freedom. In all this he greatly errs. We assert, without the fear of contradiction, that his professed principle as a Southern man is in perfect harmony with that which he opposes in words.

To illustrate: Suppose the Republicans crown Mr. Seward their leader; swear allegiance to him; pledge themselves to exterminate slaveholders by fire, the sword, and all other means of death; hold councils, and publish to the world that they will not respect even an oath made to men, should they become slaveholders: would Mr. Eustis, at some future time, stand on the floor of Congress and say: "I thank God that Mr. A., who said in a letter that he would never vote for a Sewardite, was defeated as a candidate for governor in Louisiana?" He would not: he dare not. Again we ask, would Mr. Eustis oppose an article of a platform reading thus: "Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Republican party, by the advancement to all political stations, executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic, of those only who do not hold allegiance, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Seward, and who are national in sentiment by education and training; thus fulfilling the maxim, 'National men only shall govern America?'" O no! Would he call the faith of the Sewardite a "question between each individual and his God?" Would he call opposition to such a party a "violation of the organic law of the land?" In a word, would he vote for any man of the organization supposed? He would not. Here, however, he may justly ask: "Can it be proved that there is an exact similarity between the Romish organization and the one supposed?" We unhesitatingly answer that Romanism is to Protestants what the supposed organization would be to slaveholders. In proof of this we shall appeal to the testimony of Romanists themselves, persuaded that Mr. Eustis cannot reasonably oppose our authority.

Are not Romanists bound to obey their head, the Pope? The language of Dens, an authoritative writer of the Romish Church, is: "All the faithful, also bishops and patriarchs, are bound to obey the Roman pontiff. The Pope hath also not only a directive but also a coercive power over all the faithful."—*Dens de Eccles.*, No. 94, p. 439.

Mark with more than ordinary attention what follows: "I receive (each Popish patriotic clergy) and profess all that the sacred canons and general councils have delivered, defined, and declared; and I shall endeavor, to the utmost of my power, to cause the same to be held, taught, and preached. This I promise, vow, and swear: so help me God and these holy Gospels."—*Labbeus*, 20, 222.

Bishop Kenrick, a prominent American Romish bishop, observes: "The oath taken at our consecration obliges us to pursue and impugn heretics, (Protestants;) but our arms are such as become the successors of the apostles."—*Primacy*, p. 473. The startling testimony of past history shows what sort of arms were used and how used against Protestants.

The Bishop, speaking of the right of the Pope, says: "It is the undoubted right of the Pope to pronounce judgment on controversies of faith. All doctrinal definitions already made by general councils or by former pontiffs, are landmarks which no man can remove."—*Ibid*, p. 356. What submission is here implied!

Now, if Mr. Eustis would not vote for any individual in allegiance to Mr. Seward, as above supposed, consistency will demand, if the interest of Protestantism be paramount to that of slavery, that he should not vote for any man in allegiance to the Pope. This is the way to test the professions of men—the way to find whether they are actuated by principle and a discriminating judgment, or by selfishness and ignorance.

The next point to be established is, that Romanists stand

pledged to exterminate Protestants by fire, the sword, and all other means of death.

The General Council of Trent "enjoined the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it could be done with safety."—*Paolo*, iv., p. 604. Aquinus, worshipped as a saint by Romanists, says: "Heretics may be justly killed. Such the Church consigns to the secular arm, to be exterminated from the world by death."—*Aquinas*, ii. iii., p. 48. We shall allow the saint to speak again: "Heretics are to be compelled by corporeal punishments, that they may adhere to the faith."—*Ibid*, ii., p. 10. And these are the things which Bishop Kenrick calls "landmarks which no man can remove."

The next thing that we must establish is, that the councils of the Romish Church declare that even an oath made to a heretic or Protestant is not to be respected. The Fourth General Council of Lateran declared that "the Pope may release his subjects (that is, of a refractory prince) from their allegiance."—*Labbeus*, 13, 934.

The Council of Constance proclaimed: "A safe-conduct guaranteed must not stand in the way: it may be lawful for a competent ecclesiastical judge to inquire concerning the errors of persons of this character, (Huss,) and, besides, to proceed against them according to their deserts, and to punish them."—*Ibid*, 16, 301.

Bishop Kenrick at once brings before us the true sense and application of these extracts thus: "All doctrinal definitions already made by general councils or former pontiffs, are landmarks which no man can remove."

Here we triumphantly ask, Do we not, by the testimony of Rome's defenders, prove an exact similarity between the organization supposed and that of Romanists? The Republicans crown Mr. Seward as their leader—swear allegiance to him—pledge themselves to exterminate slaveholders by fire,

the sword, and all other means of death—hold councils, and publish to the world that they will not respect even an oath made to men, should they become slaveholders; and Romanists crown the Pope a sovereign, bind themselves in allegiance to him; declare their intention to exterminate heretics by fire, the sword, and all other means of death; and proclaim to all that they will not respect even an oath made to men, should they become heretics or Protestants. How complete the agreement!

We hope that Mr. Eustis, after calmly reflecting on these facts and considerations, will clearly see that Romanists are not proscribed on account of their religion, but on account of that above stated. If Mr. Eustis can squeeze religious proscription out of this, we can squeeze religious proscription out of his vote against Mr. Banks for the speaker's chair. He would tell us, however, "I voted against Mr. Banks on account of his freesoilism, and not because of his religion." Precisely so; and here we say: "Protestants vote against the allegiance of Romanists to the Pope, and not against their religion."

But some one may ask: "Do they not look on their allegiance to the Pope as a part of their religion?" What of this? If the Republicans were to call what we have supposed a part of their religion, would the Southern people receive it as such, contending against the proscription of the followers of Mr. Seward? Verily, the world groans under the duplicity of the sons of men! Reader, do you understand the point here established?

We respectfully commend that which precedes to the critical attention of Mr. Bennet, the *eloquent* and *learned* Anti-American member from the State of Mississippi. It may be of great advantage to him—keep his profound research in harmony with his courage, the next time he makes an inquiry respecting a certain article in the American Platform,

and the position of the American Party of Louisiana. This is the way to "shoot folly as it flies." In reference to the Catholics of Louisiana, and all of the Gallican faith, see next chapter.

The Hon. Mr. Smith, American member from Alabama, in reply to Hon. Mr. Eustis, said :

"That gentleman had congratulated himself that, although there were many clergymen here, there was no Roman Catholic priest. He thanked God for that, and he hoped that if the government lived for a thousand years there never would be one sent to Congress. He hoped, with equal fervency, that no clergyman now occupying a seat would ever interfere with the religion of this country as a politician. He asked that gentleman or any other gentleman, whether they could point him to an instance where a Catholic priest had been found arrayed on the side of the people in opposition to a king or arbitrary power.

"Mr. Davidson asked the gentleman whether the Magna Charta had not been proposed by a priest?

"Mr. Smith replied that it had, and what of that? [Great laughter.] Had not the Pope excommunicated the king and all who had a hand in that matter?

"Mr. Florence said that the gentleman from Alabama asked to be shown an instance where a priest had been found arrayed on the side of the people in opposition to arbitrary power: he would refer him to the Irish rebellion of 1798, where Fathers Murphy, Kearns, Perry, Fitzgerald, and John Hay, were leaders in that rebellion, and fought for popular rights at Vinegar Hill. [Great laughter.]

"Mr. Taylor, of Louisiana, stated that when the gentleman from Alabama insisted that the Catholic clergy were never found arrayed on the side of freedom, he forgot history. He (Mr. Taylor) held in his hand a history of the French revolution of 1790—an event in which there was a contest

between the people and the regal power, and in which the Catholic clergy took the side of the people. When the States-General were assembled in consequence of the dreadful evils under which France labored at that time, a difficulty arose as to the meeting in one body of the three orders, the nobility, the clergy, and the representatives of the people. The latter said they would not act unless the members of the other two bodies united with them in order to constitute the sovereignty of the nation. This demand the nobility resisted, and unless somebody yielded and came to the assistance of the people, the popular power would have been still without a voice, and their will manacled. In this emergency, the Catholic priesthood, by their action, gave to that power voice. In monarchical France, in the midst of all the feudal glories, and in the midst of all the temptations held out to them by the hopes of attaining higher dignities in their profession, the Catholic priesthood joined the third estate, and gave motion and power to the popular element which achieved freedom for France. [Applause.]”

If some of the members of Congress continue true to their selfish policy, we shall be treated in a day not far distant with glorification speeches about Romanism, spiced with “great applause.” Mr. Smith was not so far astray as his would-be smart respondents thought. If he had plainly and boldly added: “Let who will be miller, Popery will be dog”—looking to the meal, not the man, the whole might be justly placed on the line of truth. Bishop Kenrick states the matter thus: “The Catholic religion is suited to every form of government, and indifferent to all.”—*Primacy*, p. 374.

We are now ready to answer Mr. Davidson’s question. The Pope first excommunicated King John, and then the Barons for opposing his will after he had submitted to the will of Rome. In the Council of Lateran, 1215, the Holy Father hurled the thunders of his power at them. In a letter

to certain ecclesiastics we find the following: "We will have you to know that in the general council we have excommunicated and anathematized the barons of England, with their partisans and abettors, for persecuting John, the illustrious King of England, who has taken the cross, and is a vassal of the Roman Church, and for striving to deprive him of a kingdom that is known to belong to the Roman Church."—*Paris*, p. 192.

The barons, however, ceased not until they obtained from the king that which is called *Magna Charta*—English liberty.

For particulars respecting the calamities which followed the sentence of the Pope against the king, see *Hume's History of England*, p. 110.

Mr. Davidson, in his *haste* to defend Popery, *ought* to have given through Congress to the nation the following information, that "King Henry made a praiseworthy attempt to reform the lives of the priests, but was most sternly opposed by Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. One of the priests debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and for her sake murdered the father. The king demanded that he should be brought before his tribunal, but Becket protested against the measure. The king, in a speech at the great council of Westminster, required that the clergy, when degraded for crime, should be immediately delivered up to the civil power. Becket, for a time, refused to submit, but the following year he solemnly swore to obey the constitutions of Clarendon, by which all clergy guilty of criminal offences were rendered amenable to the civil law." What next? This: "He became dissatisfied with his oath, and the Pope released him from its obligation. In the course of time the difficulty became so serious, that the Earl of Leicester, representing the barons, demanded that Becket should appear, and give in his accounts, but was answered as follows:

‘I decline the jurisdiction of the king and barons, and appeal to my lord, the Pope.’”

Why did not Mr. Davidson state this, exclaiming at the top of his voice : Thus we see, fellow-members of Congress, that the charge against Romanists, of acknowledging allegiance to the Pope, is proved “to be a Know-Nothing lie ; that Mr. Smith is mistaken ; that a priest proposed the *Magna Charta* ?” Would not *all this* have called forth posthumous applause from the friends of the Pope ? And so we dispose of Mr. Davidson ; hoping that the reading of “The Great Battle between *Sam* and the Pope” will make him a little wiser than he seems to be at present.

Mr. Florence would refer Mr. Smith to the Irish Rebellion of 1798, where priests fought for popular rights. We would advise Mr. Florence to tarry at Jericho until his beard grows. The priests did not then fight for popular rights, but against a Protestant government. Is Mr. Florence aware that Pope Adrian turned over Ireland to Henry the Second in 1155 ? Is he aware that this is how Ireland lost its freedom ? We presume he is not. *Mageoghegan* declares that the transfer of Ireland to England by Adrian “violated the rights of nations and the most sacred laws of men, under the specious pretext of religion and reformation. Ireland was blotted from the map of nations, and consigned to the loss of freedom, without a tribunal and without a crime.”—*Mageoghegan*, i. 440. *Caron* declares that Adrian’s bull “proclaims the author a tyrant and a transgressor of the law of nations and equity.”—*Caron*, c. 13.

Here is an extract from the bull of Adrian : “No one doubts, and you know the fact yourself, that Ireland and all the islands which have received the Christian faith belong to the Church of Rome. And you have signified to us that you wish to enter into this island, in order to subject the people to the laws, and extirpate their vices ; to make them pay to

St. Peter a penny a year for each house, and preserve in all things the rights of the Church; which we grant to you with pleasure, for the increase of the Christian religion."—*Labb.*, 13, 14, 15.

"The Irish clergy met at Waterford, submitted to the Papal dictation, and took an oath of fidelity to Henry and his successors."—*Edgar's Variations of Popery*, p. 222.

Did the priests then fight for their country? No. The Pope sold them, and they calmly submitted to the terms. It suited the feelings of certain priests, however, in 1798, to fight against a Protestant government; and Mr. Fletcher's perception was so blunt that it failed to discover the true motive of action.

Bishop Hopkins justly observes: "It is a marvellous thing how the poor Roman Catholics of Ireland, who are so ill at ease under the English yoke, can be ignorant that the whole right of the English crown was thus derived from the pretended prerogative of Popery."—*The End of Controversy Controverted*, vol. i., p. 105.

Mr. Fletcher might also have informed the pretended friends of the Pope in Congress that Pope Clement the Eighth, in 1600, loaded Oviedo and La Cerda, whom Philip, the Spanish king, had dispatched to Ireland to fight for the interests of Romanism, with crusading indulgences to all who would oppose Protestantism. In addition, he might have said that the University of Salamanca and that of Valladolid, after deliberating on the war waged by the Irish against the English, declared in favor of supporting the army of the faith under the command of O'Neal, Prince of Tyrone; and that the Roman pontiff had a right to use the secular arm against the impugners of Catholicism; and that these Universities in 1778 assured Pitt, the British statesman, that the Pope could not interfere with the temporal concerns of nations.—*Mageogh.*, 3, 437, 542, 549, 595. *Thuan.*, 4, 531.

Would this have excited "great applause" in the Popish quarters of Congress? No—no!

We hope that Mr. Florence will try to remember the motive by which certain priests were influenced in the Rebellion of 1798, and how Ireland lost her nationality, and govern himself accordingly in all future answers respecting these matters; for there is a useful and cutting hint in the following epigram:

"When Saul, the handsome son of Kish,
Was seeking for his cattle,
He found a kingdom, which he won
Without a single battle.
But now we see the thing reversed—
This age the past surpasses:
We, seeking for a government,
Find legislative asses."

Pray, what object had Mr. Taylor in view when he brought a book with him to Congress on the French Revolution, and the connection of the priesthood of Rome therewith? Of course, to excite applause from the Anti-American members by a defence of Popery. He very *sagely* observed, that (Mr. Smith) forgot history when he charged the priest with a propensity to favor despotism. We are more than half inclined to think, judging from the gentleman's nonsense over his book on the French revolution and Mr. Smith's statement, that his wonderful knowledge of history will never run his brains into a crazy fit.

Bishop Kenrick, Roman Catholic, speaking of the condition of things in France in the days of Pius VII., elected Pope 14th March, 1800, says: "Amidst the anarchy, there arose a daring soldier, who, in the name of liberty, grasped an iron sceptre, and offered to become the protector of religion; but only on condition that the exiled prelates should

renounce their rights, and the Church of France should be re-organized conformably with the new civil divisions of territory. Pius VII. called on the bishops to make the sacrifice; and, using the plenitude of pontifical authority, stripped those who hesitated of all claims to their sees, and gave to France a new ecclesiastical organization."—*Primacy*, p. 358. Pius had to strip some of the bishops, who refused to bow to the will of the people, of all claims to their sees. Why did not Mr. Taylor recite this information for the special benefit of the Anti-American members of Congress? Poor man, he knew enough of the history of party to convince him that it was without that to which he loved to look, the power to excite applause. Why did he not inform the Anti-American fraternity, when talking of things in France, that the Pope and priests rejoiced over the murder, according to Davila, of 10,000 individuals in Paris, for worshipping God contrary to the faith of Rome? Poor man, he knew that this too was without the power to excite applause. Wonder if Mr Taylor can find any thing in the history of the French Revolution to prove that the *patriotic* and *tender*-hearted priests were then on the side of the suffering people?

We would not wish to see an open enemy afflicted; yet we must be permitted to declare that we are inclined to think a few cracks of the joints of such men as Davidson, Florence, and Taylor, on a perfect Romish rack, would practically teach them how priests respect natural and moral rights; how one of them "proposed the Magna Charta;" how many of them "fought for popular rights at Vinegar Hill;" and how others of them "took the side of the people in France."

Hon. Mr. Walker, American member from Alabama, is reported thus:

"He said that, however much attached he might be to the fundamental principles on which the American party was based, if he believed that the idea of religious proscription

was to be the exclusive policy of that party, he would in a moment cut himself loose from it."

If we could believe that religious proscription, in any sense, shape, or form, is the fixed policy of the American party, we too would at once cut ourself loose from it. But we insist on it that the Romanist is not proscribed on account of his religion, but because of his allegiance to the see of Rome. We cannot but think that this chapter, to say nothing of any other chapter in the work, ought to convince every honest, reflecting man respecting the justness of our statement and conclusion. But if it should fail to do so, the Northern people may deeply regret their want of foresight in not calling their abolition policy a part of their religion, seeing that Southern politicians, of the Anti-American stripe, would pronounce all opposition to them religious proscription. This would be a happy thought in practice. We should then see Anti-Americanism as nicely circumstanced as a fly in a drum; and so we close Chapter I.

CHAPTER II.

The Catholics of Louisiana considered as Gallicans—The difference between Gallicans and Roman Catholics clearly stated.

IN the Romish Church, as all well-informed men are aware, there are two distinct schools, called Gallicans and Anti-Gallicans, or Gallicans and Roman Catholics. The first point, however, in order is, why do we consider the Catholics of Louisiana as Gallicans? Webster defines Gallic thus: "Pertaining to Gaul, now France;" and Gallican, "Pertaining to France."

Louis XIV., in 1682, caused the French clergy to assemble in Paris. At this meeting the following propositions were passed:

"1. The Popes have no power from God to interpose, directly or indirectly, in the temporal concerns of princes or of sovereign states.

"2. The authority of general councils is superior to that of the Pope.

"3. The usages of the French Church are inviolable.

"4. The Pope is not infallible in point of faith, unless his decisions are attended with the consent of the Church."

In this we have the creed of a Gallican; and he who rejects it, contending for the temporal power of the Pope, is an Anti-Gallican, or Roman Catholic.

Bishop Kenrick, one of the most careful and critical writers of the Romish Church in America, says:

“In rejecting the temporal power of the Pope, the court divines of Louis XIV. chiefly rested on the divine right of kings, and their responsibility to God alone.”—*Primacy*, p. 303.

Here we have the fact plainly stated, that the doctrine of the temporal power of the Pope was rejected by the Catholic divines of France in the days of Louis XIV., 1682. We fondly hope that the Anti-Americans, in their haste to defend the Pope, will take time to see that this is not “a Know-Nothing lie.” The following question naturally arises out of all this: How could the “divines” of France have rejected the temporal power doctrine, if such a thing did not exist? Here we have at a glance the difference between the Gallican Catholic and the Roman Catholic. Bishop Kenrick, as Romanists and the Anti-American leaders will believe what you say, please allow us to ask you, how does the Gallican Catholic look on the temporal power of the Pope? “He rejects ‘the temporal power of the Pope.’” Mr. Brownson, as you are an endorsed expounder of Romanism in the United States, and as the Americans will believe you mean what you say, when not acting the Jesuit, permit us to ask you, what do you teach Roman Catholics? He answers: “In proportion as we wish to save religion and society, we must raise our voice against Gallicanism, turn to the Holy Father, (the Pope,) and, instead of weakening his hands and saddening his heart by our denial of his plenary authority, reassert his *temporal* as well as spiritual prerogatives. Protestantism is only full-blown Gallicanism; and Protestants are distinguished from Gallicans only in being a little more daring, and drawing one or two conclusions which the Gallicans shrink from.” Again: “Yet the French are not the worst Gallicans in the world; and it would be wrong to suppose that Gallicanism, save in the court, predominates in France. The doctrine, since it was first attacked by De Maistre, has lost ground; and the immense majority of French bishops and clergy reject it as strenu-

ously as I do. . . . The Ultramontane doctrine is no doubt odious to the civil power and to the non-Catholics; but it is the Roman Catholic doctrine; and all odious as it is, we are not a little indebted for the wonderful increase of Catholicity during the last thirty years, to its fearless and energetic assertion. Gallicanism is a species of old-fogyism, in the proper sense of the word, and, as such, is powerless.”—*January number of his Review*, 1854.

In the April number, 1854, he says: “The Abbe Rohrbacher, a doctor of theology, defends it (the doctrine of the Pope’s temporal power) throughout his universal *History of the Church*; the second edition of which has just been completed, under the eye and with the express encouragement of Rome. Indeed, we had supposed that there was throughout the whole Catholic world a decided reaction, since the disastrous effects of the old French Revolution, against Gallicanism, and in favor of Ultramontanism; and we had supposed that we were ourselves only obeying the common tendency of the Catholic *renaissance* of the nineteenth century.”

Let us now see what Pope Innocent XI. said respecting the acts of the assembly of 1682, which proclaimed to the world the doctrine of Gallicanism. The Archbishop of Rheims, (Gousset, Anti-Gallican,) in his notes to Bergeir’s *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, declares that he annulled the acts of the assembly of 1682, in his brief of April 11th, of the same year, in these words: “By these presents, in virtue of the authority given to us by the omnipotent God, we condemn, rescind, and annul the acts of your assembly, in the business of the *regale*, with all that follow them.”

He continues thus: “Nor was Alexander VIII. behind Innocent XI. On the 4th of August, 1690, he published the constitution *Inter multiplices*, in which he condemned, made void, and annulled all that had been done in the assembly of France in the year 1682, as well with regard to the *regale* as

also to the *declaration*, and the four articles contained in it. 'The four articles contained therein,' says Alexander, 'we do condemn, destroy, annul, and make void.' "

Again, the same writer says: "In 1794, Pius VI., in bull *Auctorem Fidei*, which has been received without protest by all the churches, renewed these declarations of his predecessors, Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. Moreover, he condemned, as rash, scandalous, and supremely injurious to the *holy see*, the act of the Synod of Pistoia, adopting the declaration. The terms of the constitution are as follows: 'Wherefore, as the acts of the Gallican assembly were condemned and annulled, soon after their appearance, by our predecessor, Innocent XI., in his brief of April, 1682, and afterwards more pointedly by Alexander VIII., in his constitution *Inter multiplices*, August 4th, 1690, much more strongly does our pastoral solicitude require of us to reprove and condemn the recent adoption of those acts by the Synod, (of Pistoia,) as rash, scandalous, and especially injurious in the highest degree to the apostolic see, after the decrees published by our predecessors, and by this present constitution we do reprove and condemn them, and decree that they are to be held as reprovèd and condemned.' "

Now, as those who call themselves Catholics, in Louisiana, are of French descent, may we not presume that they are of the Gallican faith? If this be so, the question is, in what sense are they affected by the eighth article of the American Platform of 1855, or the fifth of the Platform of 1856? Seeing, however, that we must have line on line, and statement after statement, in order to get the masses to understand, we here beg leave to state, in closing this chapter, that the Gallican Catholic does not believe in the divine right of the Pope to exercise civil or temporal power; while the Roman Catholic or Anti-Gallican contends for it, saying, with the editor of *Civiltà Cattolica*, published under the eyes of the

Pope, "The Church rules over monarchs and their ministers." This is exactly what Mr. Brownson lets out in that which follows: "We cannot be accused of Gallicanism, or of the slightest Gallican tendency, and we go to the full length in asserting the prerogative of Peter."—*April number of his Review*, 1853, p. 263.

Again, p. 275, he says: "It (the *Univers*) makes loud professions of Ultramontanism, and brave war against old-fashioned Gallicanism, which has no longer any representatives, or at most not more than three or four, among the bishops of France."

Sam, looking at all this, justly concludes that he was not mistaken when the eighth article of the platform of 1855 was written and adopted; nor unmindful of his duty when the fifth of the present one was framed. He sees, however, and frankly admits, that he might have made himself better understood in reference to all who are of the Gallican faith, whether of native or of foreign birth.

But the reader, from the statement of Mr. Brownson, which is endorsed by all the Romish bishops of America, if their names on the cover of his *Review* can be received as such, must perceive that all the French Catholics should not be looked on as influenced by the Gallican faith. Truth and justice demand that we should so speak, should so represent the whole matter. The language of our heading, therefore, is the language of a liberal assumption, which we commend to all until the contrary appear.

The moment a man recognizes the right of the Pope, through his spiritual power, to interfere with his allegiance to a civil government, and to abolish his obligation, he ceases to be a Gallican. This matter is expressed thus by Pope Innocent X.: "The Pontiff could invalidate civil contracts, or oaths, made by the friends of Catholicism with the patrons of heresy."—*Caron*, 14.

This is what the eighth article of the Platform of 1855 thundered its opposition against; and this is what the fifth article of the Platform of 1856 so positively opposes, and not religion in any sense, shape, or form. Reader, do you not clearly perceive the force of all this? If so, patriotism demands that you should speak and vote accordingly.

In conclusion, we beg leave to submit the question to all who are of the Gallican faith, Is not the opposition of the American party to Romanism well founded, its own advocates being allowed to decide?

CHAPTER III.

The Popes, Councils, Canon Law, and the opinion of some approved writers of the Romish Church, on oath-breaking, particularly in reference to heretics, with the conclusion of Wesley respecting the whole matter.

THE Anti-American speakers and editors assert and reassert: "That the Church of Rome does not teach the doctrine of breaking up oaths on account of heresy, or on account of expediency among her own people—whether the reference be to the Popes, the clergy, or laymen. The charge is a Know-Nothing lie, fabricated for political purposes." Well, we shall see, and see at once, whether the charge is a Know-Nothing lie, fabricated for political purposes.

The Popes, according to the order of the heading, must be first heard. *Pope Urban* the Second, 1090, decreed: "Subjects are by no authority bound to observe the fealty which they swear to a Christian prince, who withstands God and the saints, and condemns their precepts."—*Pithou*, 260. *Decret caus.* 15, *Quæst.* 6. The Holy Father, acting on this principle, prohibited Count Hugo's soldiery to obey their sovereign.

Pope Innocent the Third, 1215: "Freed all that were bound to those who had fallen into heresy, from all fealty, homage, and obedience."—*Pithou*, 241, L. 5, T. 7.

Pope Honorius the Third, 1220, after looking at the troubles of the King of Hungary on account of an oath: "Demolished the royal oath, and commanded the revocation of

these alienations."—*Greg.* 9, L. 2. *Tit.* 24, C. 23. *Pithou*, 111.

Pope Gregory the Ninth, elected 1227, said: "None should keep faith with the person who opposes God and his saints."

"Personne ne doit garder fidelité à celui, qui s'oppose à Dieu et à ses saints."—*Bruys*, 3, 183.

Pope Clement the Fifth, 1306, published a bull: "Granting the King (Edward of England) absolution from his oath."—*Bruys*, 3, 358. *Collier*, 1, 400.

Pope Urban the Sixth, elected 1378, said:

"Engagements made with heretics or schismatics of this kind, after such have been consummated, are inconsiderate, illegal, and in law itself are of no importance, (although, perchance, made before the lapse of these persons into schism, or before the beginning of their heresy,) even if confirmed by an oath or one's honor being pledged.

"Conventiones factæ cum hujusmodi hæreticis seu schismaticis, postquam tales effecti erant, sunt temerariæ, illicitæ, et ipso jure nullæ, (etsi forte ante ipsorum lapsum in schisma seu hæresim initæ,) etiam si forent jureamento vel fide data firmatæ."—*Rymer*, 7, 352.

Pope Eugenius the Fourth, 1444, induced the King of Hungary to break his treaty with the Sultan, though confirmed by the solemn oaths of the King and the Sultan on the Gospel and the Koran. Julian represented the Pope on this occasion, and said: "I absolve you from perjury, and I sanctify your arms. Follow my footsteps in the path of glory and salvation. Dismiss your scrupulosity, and devolve on my head the sin and the punishment."—*Moreri*, 1, 390. It is said that the Sultan displayed a copy of the violated treaty in the front of the battle, calling on the Prophet Jesus to avenge the mockery of his own religion and authority. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, the Turks triumphed on the plains of Varna.

Pope Paul the Third, 1535: "Forbade all sovereigns, on

pain of excommunication, to lend any aid, under pretext of any obligation or oath, to Henry VIII., King of England." He "absolved all princes from all such promises and engagements."—*Alexander*, 24, 420.

Pope Pius the Fourth, who flourished between 1559 and 1565, left it to be said of him: "His Holiness annulled the oath of allegiance which had been sworn to her Majesty (Elizabeth) by her subjects." This *Gregory XIII.* and *Sixtus V.* renewed and confirmed.—*Alexander*, 23, 425. *Bruys*, 4, 502.

Pope Paul the Fourth, 1555, by way of setting a good example to all in the line of breaking oaths, absolved himself from an oath. His Holiness declared that he could not be bound, nor his authority limited by an oath. Nor did he stop at this; he pronounced the contrary, "A manifest heresy."—*Paolo*, 2, 27.

Pope Paul the Fifth, elected 1605, canonized *Gregory* the Seventh for breaking up the oath of allegiance to Henry, and for dethroning him, saying: "Grant to us, through his example and intercession, boldly to overcome all obstacles. He shone in the house of God like the sun. He *deprived Henry of his kingdom*, and *liberated* the enslaved people, who had pledged their faith or allegiance to him. He has removed to heaven. The whole earth is filled with his doctrine. May he himself intercede for the sins of all people.

"Da nobis ejus exemplo et intercessione omnia adversantia fortiter superare. Sicut sol effulsit in domo Dei. Henricum regno privavit atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit. Migravit in eelum. Omnis terra doctrina ejus repleta est. Ipse intercedat pro peccatis omnium Populorum."—*Bruys*, 2, 491-493. *Crotty*, 85.

Pope Innocent the Tenth, who flourished between 1644 and 1655, said:

"Civil contracts, promises, or oaths of Catholics with here-

tics, because they are heretics, may be dissolved by the pontiff.

“Contractus civiles, promissa, vel juramenta catholicorum cum hæreticis eo quod hæretici sint, per pontificem enervari possint.”—*Caron*, 14.

And this is how the popes dispose of oaths made to heretics!

The decisions of the councils, according to the order of the heading, must now be presented. The Council of Lateran, 1112, freed Pope Pascal from an oath, saying: “Condemned and annulled. Pronounced by canonical authority and by the judgment of the Holy Spirit.”—*Labbeus*, 12, 1162.

The third General Council of Lateran, in its sixteenth canon, styled “an oath contrary to ecclesiastical utility, not an oath, but perjury.”—*Pithou*, 110. *Gibert*, 3, 504.

The fourth General Council of Lateran, in its third canon, gives to the world a fine specimen of keeping faith with heretics, as that which follows will show: “If he (the temporal prince who neglects to purge his territory of heretical filth) refuse to give satisfaction within one year, let it be signified to the Pope, that he may release his subjects from their allegiance, and give his territory to be occupied by the faithful, who, having exterminated the heretics, may quietly possess it.”—*Greg. IX.*, *lib. v.*, *tit. 7*, *cap. 10*. *Vol. ii.*, p. 758, *Corp. Jur. Can. Leipsic*, 1839.

This is rather a respectable transaction on a large scale. A council, composed of thirteen hundred members, passes a law, and speaks therein of the Pope releasing subjects from their allegiance, and of giving the territory of a prince to Romanists.

The General Council of Lyons absolved the Emperor Frederic’s vassals from their oath of fealty, saying:

“All those who are bound to him by an oath of fealty being absolved for ever from any oath of this character.

“Omnes qui ei juramento fidelitatis tenentur adstricti a

juramento hujusmodi perpetuo absolventes.”—*Labbeus*, 14, 52. *Paris*, 651, 652. *Giannone*, xviii. 3.

The General Council of Constance, after having convicted Pope John of *simony, schism, heresy, infidelity, murder, perjury, fornication, adultery, rape, incest, sodomy*, and a few other trifling matters of this class, returned this verdict :

“Declaring all and singular the Christians obedient to him, freed from their allegiance and their oath.

“Universos et singulos Christianos ab ejus obedientia, fidelitate, et juramento absolutos declarans.”—*Alexander*, 24, 620.

The General Council of Basil annulled all oaths that might have prevented persons from attending, saying :

“That no one, through pretext of any oath or obligation or promise, might think he was freed from access to the Council.

“Nequis, praetextu cujuscunque juramenti, vel obligationis, aut promissionis, se ab accessu ad concilium dispensatum existimaret.”—*Crabbe*, 3, 19.

The Council of Basil, in its thirty-seventh session, annulled all oaths in the way of an election of a Pope instead of Eugenius, deposed for simony, perjury, schism, and heresy, saying :

“It condemns, reprobates, and annuls promises, obligations, and oaths opposed to his election.

“Promissiones, obligationes, juramenta, in adversum hujus electionis, damnat reprobat et annullat.”—*Crabbe*, 3, 109. *Labbeus*, 17, 395.

The Council of Constance, in the case of Huss,* decided :

* Huss and Jerome “discovered no symptoms of weakness, went to punishment as to a festival, and sang hymns in the midst of the flames, and without interruption till the last sigh.” Such is the testimony of one who afterward became Pope Pius the Second. Go ask the ashes of Huss and Jerome, if Popery will keep faith with heretics. Go ask history what was their offence, and it will answer, Faithfulness to God and his cause, accompanied by a holy life. Yet Popery burned

“A safe-conduct guaranteed must not stand in the way; it may be lawful for a competent ecclesiastical judge to inquire concerning the errors of persons of this character, and, besides, to proceed against them according to their deserts, and to punish them.

“Salvo dicto conductu non obstante, liceat judici competenti ecclesiastico de ejusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eos debite procedere, eosdemque punire.”—*Labbeus*, 16, 301. *Alexander*, 25, 225. *Crabbe*, 2, 1111.

Dachery, an eye-witness, speaking of Huss, the emperor, and the deputation, says :

“The emperor being persuaded by many words to ignore faith pledged to Huss and the Bohemians, as if by decretal authority it should not be observed, violated the pledge of a safe-conduct.

“Cæsar, quasi tenore decretalium, Husso fidem datam præterire non teneretur multis verbis persuasus, Husso et Bohemis Salvi conductus fidem fregit.”—*Lenfant*, 1, 82.

And this is how Romish councils dispose of oaths made to heretics !

The decision of the canon law, according to the order of the heading, is the next thing in order. This law speaks of Rome as having the right to talk thus: “An oath contrary to the manifest utility of the Church is not to be observed.

“Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam præstitum non tenet.”

Again: “These are to be called perjuries rather than oaths which are attempted against ecclesiastical utility.

“Non juramenta sed perjuria potius sunt dicenda quæ

them, and rejoiced over the treachery which delivered them. Talk not to us of Popery redeeming its solemn obligations! Rather try to make us forget its name and history.

contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam attentantur.”—*Vol. ii., p. 358: decret. Greg. ix., lib. 2, tit. 24, cap. 27. Lipsic, 1839.*

And again: “He (the Pope) has plenitude of power, and is above law.”—*Gibert, 2, 103.*

It is unlawful for a man to take the oath of allegiance and then act the part of one unbound; but what a complete remedy is here—the Pope is above law, can nullify it in a moment, leaving the faithful as free as mountain eagles! So much for the canon law on the point at issue.

The opinions of approved writers of the Romish Church, according to the order of the heading, now claim our attention. *Bailly*, in the class-book used in the Maynooth Seminary, the principal nursery from which priests are transplanted to the United States, ascribes to “the Church a power of dispensing with vows and oaths.

“Existit in ecclesia potestas dispensandi in votis et juramentis.”—*Maynooth Report, 283.*

Cajetan, an able Romish writer, says:

“The sentence of excommunication for apostasy from the faith is no sooner pronounced against a king, than, in fact, his subjects are freed from his dominion and oath.

“Quam cito aliquis per sententiam denunciatur excommunicatus propter apostasiam a fide, ipso facto, ejus subditi sunt absoluti a dominio et juramento.”—*Cajetan in Aquin., 2, 50.*

Aquinas, a saint in the Romish Church, declares:

“When a king is excommunicated for apostasy, his vassals are, in fact, immediately freed from his dominion and from their oath of fealty; for a heretic cannot govern the faithful.

“Quam cito aliquis per sententiam denunciatur excommunicatus, propter apostasiam a fide, ipso facto, ejus subditi a dominio et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt, quod subditis fidelibus dominari non possit.”—*Aquinas, 2, 50.*

Bernard, also a saint of the Romish Church, declares, speaking of a debtor:

“Though sworn to pay, he may refuse the claim of a creditor who falls into *heresy* or under excommunication. The debtor’s oath implies the tacit condition that the creditor, to be entitled to payment, should remain in a state in which communication with him would be lawful.

“*Licet non solvat, non incidit in pœnam, et in eodem modo, si per juramentum: in illa obligatione et juramento tacite subintelligitur, si talis permanserit, cui communicare liceat.*”—*Greg. ix. decret., lib. 5, tit. 7, cap. 16. Maynooth Report, 261.*

This is how the declaration, “No faith is to be kept with heretics,” runs through, in principle, the writings of these holy defenders of Romanism.

The Huguenots insisted on the faith which the French nation had pledged; but faithful history thus presents the result:

“Protestants urged plighted faith; our divines, on the other hand, argued, and even with open mouths in their assemblies, and in their common writings they contended, that a prince was not bound to keep faith with schismatics.

“*Protestantes fidem datam urgerent. Contra theologi nostri disputabant, et jam aperto capite, in concionibus et evulgatis scriptis, ad fidem sectarus servandam non obligare principem contendebant.*”—*Thuanus, 3, 524.*

Bellarmino exclaims, “The Pope can transubstantiate sin into duty, and duty into sin.”—*Durand, 1, 50.*

Dens, in his theology, the modern standard of Catholicism in Ireland, says: “The vicar of God, in the place of God, remits to man the debt of a plighted promise.”—*Dens, 4, 134, 135.* And this is what approved writers of the Romish Church say on the subject of oath-breaking because of heresy. What a storehouse of comfort is here for all the Anti-American sinners, who continue to misrepresent the prerogatives of the Holy Father!

Keep faith with heretics! Preposterous! Dens, already mentioned, a doctor of the University of Louvain, published a system of theology in 1785, and in some of the succeeding years, from which we take the following:

“Are heretics rightly punished with death? St. Thomas answers in the affirmative: because forgers of money, or other disturbers of the state, are justly punished with death; therefore also heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and, as experience shows, greatly disturb the state. This is confirmed by the command of God, under the old law, that the false prophets should be killed. The same thing is proved by the condemnation, in Article 14, of John Huss, in the Council of Constance.

“An hæretici recte puniuntur morte? Respondet S. Thomas affirmative: quia falsarii pecuniæ vel alii rempublicam turbantes justè morte puniuntur: ergo etiam hæretici qui sunt falsarii fidei et ut experientia docet rempublicam graviter perturbant. Confirmatur ex eo quod Deus in veteri lege jusserit occidi falsos prophetas. Idem probatur ex condemnatione, Articuli 14, Joan. Huss, in Concilio Constantiensi.”
—*Dens*, 2, 88, 89.

The University of Louvain vouched for its “orthodox faith and Christian morality.”

What next? This: some years after it had endorsed Dens’ work, Pitt asked this University if Romanism would keep faith with heretics; and received an answer of astonishment at the thought of not doing so. And this is one of the universities quoted by the Anti-American writers to show that Romanism respects its plighted faith to Protestants. In 1758, we see it endorsing that which it denied a few years afterward. We can only explain such conduct by the declaration, “No faith is to be kept with heretics.”

The University of Salamanca, with that of Valladolid, in 1603, in the case of Elizabeth and Ireland, sanctioned that

which in principle they denied to Pitt—the right of the Pope to interfere in the temporal affairs of nations, saying :

“Nevertheless, it is received as a certainty, that the Roman Pontiff can force by arms deserters from the faith, and those who oppose the Catholic religion.

“Tanquam certum est accipiendum, posse Romanum Pontificem fidei desertores, et eos qui Catholicam religionem oppugnant, armis compellere.”—*Mageogh.*, 3, 596. *Slevin*, 193.

And these Universities, too, are quoted, and were quoted in 1855, to prove that Romanism respects the rights of Protestants, and its pledged obligations to them.

By way of confirming confirmation in the case of Valladolid, we observe that Charles, of Spain, commended to his son, Philip II., unrestricted persecution of heretics. He proved a dutiful son in this particular. The fires of persecution were kindled at Valladolid, and the professors of Protestantism were committed to the *pity* of the flames. Thirty-eight of the Spanish nobility were, in his presence, bound to the stake and burned, as that which follows will show :

“Philip himself looking on, thirty-eight of the principal nobility of that region were bound to the stake, and burned.

“Spectante ipso Philippo, XXXVIII ex præcipua regionis nobilitate palis allagati ac cremati sunt.”—*Thuan.* xxiii. 14. *Du Pin*, 3, 655.

This is how we can arrive at the way Romanism tells truth to, and keeps faith with, heretics.

Should a doubt, however, here arise in the mind of the reader, founded on the consideration that the facts presented are not of this age, but of time long past, let the doubter appeal to Mr. Brownson, an endorsed expounder of Romanism in the United States, or to Mr. Butler, a Romish writer of world-wide fame. The latter says: “It is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be

unchangeable; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it is now, and such it ever will be."—*Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church*.

The former, Mr. Brownson, January number of his Review, 1854, says: "What the Church has done, what she has expressly or tacitly approved in the past, that is exactly what she will do, expressly or tacitly approve in the future, if the same circumstances occur." Where is the doubt now? Can this be any thing but a dream? Yes—sober reality!

Here *Sam* appears with uplifted hands, saying: "Well, well, the Pope is really much worse than I had thought or supposed. He is in reality what Frederic the Second called him: 'Balaam, Antichrist, the Prince of darkness, and the great Dragon, that deceives the nations!' He is but accomplishing his mission among the Anti-Americans. Wonder why I did not think of this before!"

If any Roman Catholic should attempt to deny all this, or try to explain the whole away, the reader will at once understand the principle of action by that which follows, and please regulate his faith accordingly:

"It is a certain and a common opinion among all (Catholic) divines, that, for a just cause, it is lawful to use equivocation, in the modes propounded, and to confirm it (equivocation) with an oath."—*Less. 1, 2, c. 41, n. 47*.

This is the language of St. Liguori, who not only stands canonized by the Pope, but whose writings are approved by the "Congregation of Sacred Rights."

We cannot but hope that the newly baptized advocates of Popery will keep down the thought of graduating in the school of Liguori. A history of the lives of the Roman saints, we presume, would be highly instructive to some Anti-Americans we know.

We come now to give the last thing embraced in the head-

ing, the conclusion of Wesley on the whole matter. *Sam* may justly appropriate to himself the following letters: look on himself as if the great and good Wesley—mighty among the Reformers, and one of the purest men since the days of the Redeemer and the cross—originally wrote them for his special benefit and instruction. The first runs thus:

“SIR: Some time ago a pamphlet was sent me, entitled ‘An Appeal from the Protestant Association, to the People of Great Britain.’ A day or two since a kind of answer to this was put into my hand, which pronounces its style contemptible, its reasoning futile, and its object malicious. On the contrary, I think the style of it is clear, easy, and natural; the reasoning, in general, strong and conclusive; the object, or design, kind and benevolent. And in pursuance of the same kind and benevolent design, namely, to *preserve our* happy constitution, I shall endeavor to confirm the substance of that tract, by a few plain arguments.

“With persecution I have nothing to do—I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as boundless a freedom in religion as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point. I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the word of God. I consider not whether the Romish religion be true or false; I build nothing on one or the other supposition. Therefore away with all your commonplace declamation about intolerance and persecution for religion! Suppose every word of Pope Pius’s creed to be true! Suppose the Council of Trent to have been infallible; yet I insist upon it that no government not Roman Catholic ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

“I prove this by a plain argument—(let him answer it that can)—that no Roman Catholic does or can give security

for his allegiance or peaceable behavior. I prove it thus : It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by public council, that 'No faith is to be kept with heretics.' This has been openly avowed by the Council of Constance; but it was never openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the Church of Rome. But as long as it is so, nothing can be more plain than that the members of that Church can give no reasonable security to any government for their allegiance and peaceable behavior. Therefore they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mohammedan, or Pagan. You say, 'Nay, but they take an oath of allegiance.' True, five hundred oaths; but the maxim, 'No faith is to be kept with heretics,' sweeps them all away as a spider's web. So that still no governors that are not Roman Catholics can have any security of their allegiance.

"Again, those who acknowledge the spiritual power of the Pope can give no security of their allegiance to any government; but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this; therefore, they can give no security for their allegiance. The power of granting pardons for all sins—past, present, and to come—is, and has been for many centuries, one branch of his spiritual power. But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power can give no security for their allegiance, since they believe the Pope can pardon rebellion, high treason, and all other sins, whatsoever. The power of dispensing with any promise, oath, or vow, is another branch of the spiritual power of the Pope, and all who acknowledge his spiritual power must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the dispensing power of the Pope, can give no security for his allegiance to any government. Oaths and promises are none; they are light as air—a dispensation makes them all null and void. Nay, not only the Pope, but even a priest has power to pardon sins! This is an essential doctrine of

the Church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all; for the priest can pardon both perjury and high treason. Setting their religion aside, it is plain that, upon principles of reason, no government ought to tolerate men who cannot give any security to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behavior. But this no Romanist can do, not only while he holds that 'no faith is to be kept with heretics,' but so long as he acknowledges either priestly absolution or the spiritual power of the Pope.

"If any one pleases to answer this, and set his name, I shall probably reply. But the productions of anonymous writers I do not promise to take any notice of.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

The editor of the *Confederate*, published in Galveston, Texas, thus presents the second letter :

"Below we publish a letter from this distinguished divine, which, in relation to the present condition of the Protestant world, breathes a spirit of inspiration. It is the second production of the same kind which has made its appearance recently, and must certainly strike every impartial mind as affording a strange contrast to the new-fangled dogmas of a *portion* of his modern disciples—those who call themselves Protestants. It has come to this pass now that Protestant clergymen dare not raise their voices against even the temporal pretensions of the Romish Church. Their mouths have been shut by the stale cry of political proscription and religious persecution: silence has been awarded them as the penalty of their holy calling, and, although the liberties of this country should be the sacrifice, silence is the penalty still. The time may come when our national condition will

require that the American clergy shall leave their sacred calling and gird on the armor of temporal warfare ; if such should be the case, there is no class of our citizens upon whom we should be more disposed to rely. God save this Republic, we say, in the language of an eloquent divine, from a tonguetied clergy."

"I have read a Tract lately sent me, and will now give my free thoughts upon the subject.

"I set out early in life with an utter abhorrence of persecution in every form, and a full conviction that every man has a right to worship God according to his own conscience. Accordingly, more than fifty years ago, I preached on these words: 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' And I preached on the same text, in London, the 5th of last November. And this I extend to members of the Church of Rome, as well as to all other men.

"I agree not only that many of these in former ages were good men, (as Thomas à Kempis, Francis Sales, and the Marquis de Rentz,) but that many of them are so at this day. I believe I know some Roman Catholics who sincerely love both God and their neighbor, and who steadily endeavor to do unto every one as they wish him to do unto them.

"But I cannot say this is a general case; nay, I am fully convinced it is not. The generality of Roman Catholics, wherever I have been, are of the same principles and the same spirit with their forefathers. And, indeed, if they had the same principles, it could not be doubted but they would be of the same practice too, if opportunity should serve.

"These principles, openly avowed by their forefathers, of priestly absolution, Papal indulgences, and no faith to be kept with heretics, have never been openly and authoritatively disavowed even unto this day. And until they are, a Roman

Catholic, consistent with his principles, cannot be trusted by a Protestant.

“For the same principles naturally tend to produce the same spirit and the same practice. Very lately, a person seeing many flocking to a place which she did not know was a Romish chapel, innocently said, ‘What do all these people want?’ and was answered by one of them, with great vehemence, ‘We want your blood; and we will have it soon!’

“On Friday last I dined with a gentlewoman, whose father, living in Dublin, was very intimate with a Roman Catholic gentleman. Having invited him to dinner one day, in the course of conversation, Mrs. Grattan asked him, ‘Sir, would you really cut my husband’s throat, if your priest commanded you?’ He answered honestly, ‘Madam, Mr. Grattan is my friend; and I love him well; but I must obey the Church.’ ‘Sir,’ said she, ‘I beg I may never more see you within my doors.’

“But still, be their principles what they will, I would not persecute them. So persecution is utterly out of the question. I know no one that pleads for it. Therefore, the writing or talking against it is time lost: it is proving what no one denies.

“And the Romanists never have been persecuted in England since I remember. They have enjoyed a full toleration. I wish them to enjoy the same toleration still; neither more or less.

“I would not hurt a hair of their head. Meantime, I would not put it into their power to hurt me, or any other person whom they believe to be a heretic. I steer the middle way. I would neither kill nor be killed. I would not use the sword against them, nor put it into their hands, lest they should use it against me: I wish them well, but I dare not trust them.

“But still I say persecution is out of the question. And I look on all vague declamations upon it, which have been lately

poured out, as either mere flourishes of persons who think they talk prettily, or artful endeavors to puzzle the cause, and to throw dust into the eyes of honest Englishmen.

“JOHN WESLEY.”

In conclusion, we beg leave to observe, that the most alarming feature in the power claimed for the Pope is that which this chapter so clearly establishes: “No faith is to be kept with heretics.” But, while we so write, we cannot but think that there are many enlightened Romanists who would stand shocked at the idea of reducing to practice the doctrine.

This will appear a very charitable conclusion to some after reading the following from Bishop Kenrick: “All doctrinal definitions already made by General Councils, or by former Pontiffs, are landmarks which no man can remove.”—*Primacy*, p. 356.

CHAPTER IV.

The sum of the evidence on the temporal power of the Pope—Mr. Brownson and Bishop Kenrick testifying.

MR. BROWNSON is an endorsed expounder of Romanism in the United States, as that which follows will clearly show, and consequently his testimony must be received with respect and confidence :

“BALTIMORE, April 13, 1849.

“DEAR SIR: After the close of our Council, I suggested to our venerable metropolitan the propriety of encouraging you, by our approbation and influence, to continue your literary labors in defence of the faith of which you have proved an able and intrepid advocate. He received the suggestion most readily, and I take the liberty of communicating the fact to you as a mark of my sincere esteem, and the deep interest I feel in your excellent Review.

“I shall beg of him and other prelates, who entertain the same views, to subscribe their names in confirmation of my statement. Your very devoted friend,

“FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
“*Bishop of Philadelphia.*

“To O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.”

Signed also by “Samuel, Archbishop of Baltimore; Peter Richard, Archbishop of St. Louis; Michael, Bishop of Mobile; Anthony, Bishop of New Orleans; John Joseph, Bishop

of Natchez; John, Bishop of Buffalo; M. O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburg; Matthias, Bishop of Dubuque; John M. Odin, Bishop of Galveston; Martin John, Bishop of Lengone and Coadjutor of Louisville; M. De St. Palais, Bishop of Vincennes; William Tyler, Bishop of Hartford; J. B. Fitzpatrick, Bishop of Boston; Richard Pius, Bishop of Nashville; John Baptist, Bishop of Cincinnati; John Hughes, Bishop of New York; Richard Vincent, Bishop of Wheeling; James Oliver, Bishop of Chicago; John M. Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee; John, Bishop of Albany; Amedeus, Bishop of Cleveland; Peter Paul, Bishop of Zela and Coadjutor Administrator of Detroit; Ignatius A. Reynolds, Bishop of Charleston; Andrew Byrne, Bishop of Little Rock."

The letter of the Pope, which follows, is an answer to one from Mr. Brownson, which accompanied a complete set of his Reviews up to the time of writing:

"BELOVED SON: Health and apostolic benediction. Our venerable brother, John, Bishop of Boston, brought to us your letter of the 26th of last December, in which you offer us several works written by you. He spoke to us with merited praise of those same books of yours, and therefore we are in a greater degree rejoiced and consoled by your sentiment of truly filial devotion and piety towards us and his Holy See, which your letter expresses throughout. With our suppliant vows and prayers, we beseech the God of Mercies and Father of Lights, that, with his celestial protection, he may cherish and guard these sentiments, which we trust you will always preserve. And as a token of our so great benignity, *and as a pledge of our gratitude to you for the service you have done for us*, we add our apostolic benediction, which we lovingly impart, with the poured-forth affection of our fraternal heart, to you yourself, beloved son, and to your whole family.

"Given at St. Peters, at Rome, on the 29th day of April,

in the year of our Lord 1854, and eighth year of our Pontificate. PIOUS IX. [Pope.]”

Having given the letter of the Pope, and the letter of Bishop Kenrick, it only remains for us to add, so far as endorsement is concerned, that the Review still bears on its cover the names of the American Bishops; and that he tells us in the January number, 1854, speaking of the principles of his advocacy: “These were the principles prescribed to him for his guidance when he commenced the Review as a Catholic Review.”

The *Freeman's Journal*, the organ of Bishop Hughes, says: “No Catholic should be without a complete copy of Brownson's Review, past as well as future.” Do not all these things make a strong endorsement? Well, what does this endorsed expounder of Romanism testify respecting the temporal power of the Pope? We shall see. In a letter to Hugh J. Davis, Esq., North Carolina, dated Boston, June 13, 1855, he prevaricates thus:

“I claim, and never have denied for the Pope, out of the ecclesiastical states of which he is the temporal sovereign, no temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, or authority, properly so called.”

“Properly so called.” What a fine dash at Jesuitism! When our readers compare this with quotations from his Review in this chapter, they will at once become perfectly satisfied that the author is not *entirely* ignorant of certain Catholic doctrines, called “The Decisions of the Church,” by the *Dublin Review*, Roman Catholic. These “Decisions of the Church” may be judged by the following extract:

“To swear with equivocation, when there is a good reason and the equivocation itself is lawful, is not wrong; for where you have a right to hide the truth, (as in North Carolina during the exciting canvass,) and you do it without a lie, no irreverence is done to the oath. The reason is, that we are

not deceiving our neighbors, but, for some good reason, (such as carrying an election in our favor,) letting them deceive themselves." Bravo!

St. Liguori says :

"It is a certain and common opinion among all divines that, for a just cause, it is lawful to use equivocation, and to confirm it with an oath."—*Less.* 1, 2, c. 41, n. 47.

But what next from Mr. Brownson's letter? This :

"The Pope is the proper authority to decide for me whether the constitution of this country is or is not repugnant to the laws of God."

"The Pope is the proper authority to decide" for Mr. Brownson and the Romanists of the United States whether our constitution "is or is not repugnant to the laws of God." Suppose the sovereign pontiff should decide *that it is repugnant to the laws of God*: what then? We should like to hear from the friends of his Holiness on this subject—we mean the Anti-Americans.

An editor of a political paper, Lynchburg, Virginia, made the following truthful and critical remarks on Mr. Brownson's letter when it first appeared in print :

"We find some mystification and apparent contradictions in his letter, but we venture to say that no intelligent and unprejudiced man can carefully peruse this document without coming to the conclusion that the Roman Catholics of this country recognize a higher law than the constitution of the United States, and that the American party are right in their understanding of the Catholic doctrine on the subject of papal allegiance. An isolated sentence of Mr. Brownson's letter, torn violently from its context, has been going the rounds of the Democratic papers, because it seemed to favor their views; but if these journals will publish the whole letter, their readers will have a much better chance of getting at the truth.

"Mr. Brownson declares, in substance, that the State or

temporal power is under the law of the spiritual; that the Pope and Romish Church are at the head of the spiritual, and that the Pope is the proper authority to decide for American Catholics whether the constitution of this country is or is not repugnant to the laws of God. He also contends that the deposing power, or the power of absolving a people from their allegiance to an established government, is vested in the Church, and that the Pope is the head of the Church!'"

Mr. Brownson, in the January number of his Review, 1850, furnished his readers with this quotation from Josepho Guvera, an approved Romish writer :

"The Catholic dogma in regard to every subject whatsoever has been always the same from the beginning, remains always unchangeably the same, and will always continue in every part of the world immutable. For 'the word of the Lord remains for ever. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord shall not pass away.' Nevertheless, a dogma is not always equally manifest, or brought before the minds of all with an equally brilliant light. The Church, who possesses an admirable gift of discretion, has prudently judged that she would not *declare* all things explicitly from the beginning, but at a given time, and in suitable circumstances, would bring into the light some things which were hitherto in concealment and covered with a certain obscurity."

Now the *admirable gift of discretion* requires that the right to overthrow and build up governments, and to hold in abeyance the secular order, should be *covered with a certain obscurity*, whenever it may not safely be avowed, and at a given time, *in suitable circumstances*, be brought into the light, for the purpose of advancing the power of the Church. What are seventy-five years in the history and policy of such a Church?

January number, 1853, Mr. Brownson exclaims :

"O sovereign pontiff, successor of the prince of the apos-

ties, vicar of God on earth, if ever, through love of the world, or through fear of the secular power, whether royal or popular in its constitution, I forget to assert thy rights, as supreme chief under Christ, my Saviour, of the whole spiritual order, and, as such, supreme alike in SPIRITUALS and in TEMPORALS, let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

We cannot think that he had forgotten a vow so solemn when he wrote: "I claim no temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, or authority, properly so called," for the Pope out of the Italian States. O no: he was merely governed by the "admirable gift of discretion!"

Same number, Mr. Brownson observes:

"Tell us then, even supposing the Church to have only spiritual power, what question can come up between man and man, between sovereign and sovereign, or sovereign and subject, that does not come within the legitimate jurisdiction of the Church, and on which she has not, by Divine right, the power to pronounce a judicial sentence? None! Then the power she exercised over sovereigns in the middle ages *was not a usurpation*, was not derived from the concessions of princes or the consent of the people, *but was and is hers by Divine right*, and who resists it rebels against the King of kings and Lord of lords. This is the ground on which we defend the power exercised over sovereigns by popes and cardinals in the middle ages. We know this ground is not acceptable to sovereigns, to countries, or to demagogues. But is that our fault? Who has made it our duty to please them? Are we not bound to please God, and to adhere to the truth, let it offend whom it may?"

Here we have an easy boldness, an undeniable advocacy of the temporal power of the Romish Church. Here there is not the slightest evidence of the "admirable gift of discretion." When the letter was written, his Church was on trial

for the exercise of temporal power before the bar of public opinion. How true the saying, "Man is a creature of circumstances!" In this extract, however, he shocks our sensibilities with cruel courage and tyrannical doctrine. What a declaration: "The power she (his Church) exercised over sovereigns in the middle ages was not a usurpation, was not derived from the concessions of princes or the consent of the people, but was and is hers by Divine right!" Is this a "Know-Nothing slander on the Romish Church?" Alas, Anti-Americanism!

We shall now direct attention to what Mr. Brownson refers to in the "middle ages." The Roman See countenanced the dethronement of Childeric III., King of France, and crowned Pepin; and received from the latter, as a reward, the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, and twenty-one cities and castles. Charlemagne, his son, received his crown from the hand of Rome, and expressed his gratitude by a liberal gift. Henry, Emperor of Germany, was compelled, after being driven from his throne by Gregory VII., a most arrogant Pope, to cross the Alps, in the winter of 1077, and to stand three days in the open air at the entrance of the Pontiff's palace, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, having only a coarse woollen cloth around his body. Nor was this all; "he was there forced to implore forgiveness and a restoration to his dominions." What was his offence? Simply this—a slight collision with the massive power of the Pope.

And this is what Mr. Brownson calls the "divine right" of the Church!

We take the following from Rev. Pierce Connelly's *Reasons for abjuring Allegiance to the See of Rome* :

"Witness the example of Gregory VII., who deposed the Emperor Henry IV., and commanded another to be chosen in his stead; of Innocent III., who in like manner deposed Otho IV.; of Innocent IV., who deposed Frederic II., and gave

the Lusitanian king a coadjutor to administer his realm; of Clement VI., who deposed Louis IV.; and of eight other pontiffs, with the instances of sending poor kings adrift."

Pope Innocent III., in the commencement of the thirteenth century, "excommunicated John, King of England, forbidding all persons to eat, drink, or converse with him, or do him service; absolving all his subjects from their allegiance," etc. Pray, what was his offence? He opposed the Pope in reference to an appointment of an archbishop. Nothing temporal in all this!

We shall here give an array of facts, furnished by a friend, worth more than a volume of words on the question at issue:

"PRINCES EXCOMMUNICATED OR DEPOSED, OR BOTH.

By Pope Gregory II., Leo III., emperor.

" Gregory III., Leo III., emperor.

" Pascal I., Leo V., emperor.

" John VIII., Lewis, King of Germany.

" Gregory V., Robert, King of France.

" Adrian II., Lothario, emperor.

" Gregory VII., Henry IV., emperor, Balislaus, King of Poland.

" Urban II., Henry IV., emperor, Philip, King of France.

" Pascal II., Henry IV., Henry V., emperors.

" Calixtus II., Henry V., emperor.

" Gelasius II., Henry V., emperor.

" Adrian IV., William, King of Sicily.

" Alexander III., Frederic I., emperor; Henry II., King of England.

" Celestine III., Henry IV., emperor; Alphonso, King of Galicia.

" Innocent III., Philip and Otho, emperors; John, King of England; Philip II., of France; Ladis-

laus, King of Poland; Louis VII. and VIII., of France.

By Pope Honorius, Frederic II., emperor.

- “ Gregory IX., Frederic II., emperor; Wincelaud.
- “ Innocent IV., Frederic II., emperor.
- “ Urban IV., Manfred, King of Sicily.
- “ Clement IV., Conradin, King of Sicily.
- “ Gregory X., Alphonso, King of Portugal; Alphonso X., King of Castile.
- “ Nicholas IV., Charles, King of Anjou.
- “ Martin IV., Peter of Arragon; Michael Paleologus, emperor.
- “ Honorius IV., James, Alphonso, Kings of Arragon.
- “ Nicholas IV., Alphonso, King of Arragon.
- “ Boniface VIII., Philip IV., King of France; Eric VIII., King of Denmark.
- “ John XXII., Lewis of Bavaria, emperor.
- “ Benedict XII., Lewis, emperor.
- “ Clement VI., Lewis, emperor.
- “ Urban VI., Jane, Queen of Naples; Charles, King of Naples.
- “ Boniface IX., Lewis of Anjou; Richard, Edward, Kings of England; Wenchelaud, emperor.
- “ Innocent VII., Ladislaus, King of Naples.
- “ Alexander V., Ladislaus, King of Naples.
- “ Sixtus IV., Ladislaus, King of Bohemia.
- “ Julius II., Albert, King of Naples; Lewis XII., King of France.
- “ Leo X., Stenton, King of Sweden.
- “ Clement VIII., Henry VIII., King of England.
- “ Paul III., Henry VIII., King of England.
- “ Pius V., Elizabeth, Queen of England
- “ Sixtus V., Henry III., King of France; Henry, King of Navarre.

By Pope Gregory XIV., Henry IV., King of France and Navarre.

“ Innocent XI., Ambassador of Louis XIV., of France.

“And this is what Mr. Brownson, an endorsed expounder of Romanism in the United States, calls the ‘divine right’ of the Church!”

Here, however, Anti-Americanism meets us with great confidence, saying, “The Romish Church is not now what she was in the middle ages!” Let us see. The Archbishop of St. Louis says:

“Heresy and unbelief are crimes; and in Christian countries, as in Italy and Spain, for instance, where all the people are Catholics, and where the Catholic religion is an essential part of the law of the land, they are punished as other crimes.”

Does this afford to the reflecting mind any evidence of a change in the spirit of Popery? Not at all! The Anti-Americans, if Popery should eventually triumph, will most assuredly, according to the decision of the bishop concerning “unbelief”—their platform being without the acknowledgment of the Supreme Being—receive the greater punishment. Here the American party can find a crumb of comfort. What a fortunate circumstance that its platform opens thus: “An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being,” etc. What a number of the Anties will be found at the Inquisition! “Unbelief,” says the bishop, “is punished as a crime;” that is, as horse-stealing. This is why we exclaim, What a number of the Anties will be found at the Inquisition!

Mr. Brownson, you are an approved expounder of Romanism in the United States: what is your opinion respecting the statement of the Anti-Americans, that the Church of your

choice "is not now what she was in the middle ages?" He answers :

"What the Church has done, what she has *expressly or tacitly* approved in the *past*, that is exactly what she will do, expressly or tacitly approve in the future, *if the same circumstances* occur. This may be a difficulty, and embarrassing, *but it will not do to shrink from it*. We are responsible for the past history of the Church, in so far as she herself has acted, and to attempt to apologize for it by an appeal to the opinion of the times, or to explain it in conformity with the prevailing spirit and theories of non-Catholics in our age, *is only to weaken the reverence of the faithful for the Church*, and yield the victory to our enemies. The odium we may incur should not unnerve us. There never was a time when Catholicity was not odious to the non-Catholic world, and there never will come a time when it will not be."—*Review*, January number, 1854.

The principle of a Church, claiming in her decisions infallibility, changed! The idea is superlatively preposterous. She cannot change if she were inclined, except at the expense of yielding the point to Protestants that she is fallible—sinned against God and man, human and divine right, in the "middle ages." She make this confession! Never!

Having shown that the spirit of the Romish Church is not changed, we shall resume the testimony of Mr. Brownson on the temporal power of the Pope. In the January number of his *Review*, 1853, he observes :

"When we find a sovereign pontiff *judging, condemning, and deposing a secular prince, releasing his subjects from their obligations to obey him*, and authorizing them to choose another king, we may regret the necessity for such extreme measures on the part of the pontiff, but we see in them only the bold and decided *exercise of the legitimate authority of*

the spiritual power over the temporal ; and instead of blushing for the chief of our religion, or joining our voice to swell the clamor against him, we thank him with our whole heart for his fidelity to Christ, and we give him the highest honor that we can give to a true servant of God and benefactor of mankind. It is not the sainted Hildebrand nor the much-wronged Boniface that we feel deserving our apology or our indignation ; but Henry of Germany and Philip the Fair of France."

Here we have an appalling account of condemning and deposing a secular prince, and of releasing his subjects from their obligations to obey him. We have given a startling detail of facts respecting the deposing power here mentioned—a detail of facts to which we invite the attention of all, particularly the Anti-Americans. They practically show the meaning of the quotation.

Mr. Brownson, in the January number of his Review, 1854, descants thus :

"We have heard some very loud whispers about ultra-Catholicity, and received some significant hints that we were ultra-Catholic. But we venture to hint in reply, that there is and can be no such thing as ultra-Catholicity, and that the charge is absurd. Catholicity is a definite system of truth, and to be more or less than Catholic is simply not to be a Catholic at all. Catholicity, as long as it continues to be Catholicity, *cannot be carried to excess*. It is not one system among many. It is simply the truth, and nothing but the truth. *It excludes all not itself: it recognizes no rival: IT WILL BE ALL OR NOTHING.*"

Mr. Brownson, what is your full opinion respecting the design of Catholicity? My full opinion is, and I send it to the world under the approval of the bishops and the thanks of the present Pope, "IT WILL BE ALL OR NOTHING." How can it be all or nothing without using the temporal sword? He answers: "What the Church has done, (that is, in de-

“We may fairly date from this epoch what I may term the temporal supremacy of the Roman bishop. St. Stephen, King of Hungary, acknowledged to have received his crown and title from Sylvester II. Calo Joannes sought from the same Pontiff (Innocent III.) the crown and title of King of the Bulgarians.”—*Ibid*, p. 239.

Again, speaking of the outrageous conduct of Pope Adrian the Fourth, in making a sort of transfer of Ireland to England, he observes :

“Much odium has been attached to the Holy See in consequence of the act of Adrian IV. authorizing Henry II. of England to invade Ireland, and subject it to the British crown.”—*Ibid*, p. 244.

Just think of the power exercised in *authorizing* a king to invade a nation, and subject it to his crown.

Again: “From these various considerations it is evident that the power exercised by the Popes in temporal matters, during the middle ages, was a natural result of the intimate relations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and had for its foundation and support the best of all principles of public law, the common consent of nations and their rulers.”—*Ibid*, 246.

The temporal power of the Pope is not only here admitted, but looked to as founded on the best of principles, the common consent of nations and their rulers. All that is needed, then, is such a consent with us, and the temporal care of the Pope will be duly exercised over the States.

Again the Bishop says :

“It is plain to every reader of history, that in the eleventh century, and during some ages afterwards, a power was claimed by the Popes to depose unworthy princes, and release their subjects from the allegiance which they had sworn to them.”—*Ibid*, 270.

And this is the admission of one of the most distinguished

bishops of the Romish Church in the United States. He frankly admits that Popes claimed the right to depose princes, and to release their subjects from the allegiance which they had sworn unto them. Will the Anti-Americans call this "a Know-Nothing lie?"

Mr. Brownson, you are endorsed by Bishop Kenrick as an expounder of Romanism in this country: please let us have your opinion on the policy of your Church. He responds: "What the Church has done, what she has expressly or tacitly approved in the *past*, that is exactly what she will do, expressly or tacitly approve in the future, if the same circumstances occur." Exactly so; and then all will see that she means what she says when she uses the word *infallible*.

Popery changed! Mr. Brownson observes: "The Majesty of St. Peter's chair is asserted as vigorously in France, Austria, Naples, and Spain, in 1853, as it was a hundred—two hundred—years ago; nay, more vigorously."—April number of his *Review*, 1853, p. 238.

CHAPTER V.

The sum of the evidence on the temporal power of the Pope continued—A few of the leading editors of the Romish Church, and some of her ablest writers, testifying.

THE testimony of Mr. Brownson and that of Bishop Kenrick being given, we shall now introduce the testimony of a few of the leading editors of the Romish Church, beginning with the *Civiltà Cattolica*, an authoritative journal at Rome, which says :

“From the darkness of the catacombs she (the Church) dictated laws to the subjects of the emperors, abrogating decrees, whether plebeian, senatorial, or imperial, when in conflict with Catholic ordinances. To-day, as in all times, the Church commands the spiritual part of man; and, in ruling over the spirit, she rules the body, rules over riches, over science, over affections, over interests, over associations; (out with it!) rules, in fine, *over monarchs and their ministers.*”

The Boston Pilot thus brings Mr. Chandler before the public for denying the high claims of the Pope in his speech in Congress :

“Some time since, Dr. McClintock published an elaborate review of the speech which the Hon. Joseph R. Chandler made in the House last January, (1855,) in reply to Mr. Banks, who had about that time become a Know-Nothing, and had made in the House an Anti-Catholic speech. The intentions of Mr. Chandler were excellent, but his efforts did

more harm than good, because it was easy for a Protestant whose studies in ecclesiastical history were at all respectable, to ask questions which would puzzle any Catholic who adopts Mr. Chandler's method of argument, to answer. Dr. McClintock is a Protestant minister, an able man, and a close, earnest reasoner. With his argument and that of Mr. Chandler before us, we cannot but admit that Dr. McClintock has the best of the argument. We believe that it is generally admitted that the weight of Catholicity is decidedly against the explainers away of the Roman Catholic doctrine with reference to the relation between the spiritual and the temporal. Even the explainers away admit this. They cannot help admitting it, since every parish priest really exercises and must exercise the authority which they deny to the Pope."

The Dublin Tablet, the most highly accredited organ of Romanism in the British dominions, speaking of the speech of Mr. Chandler, said, 24th of February, 1855 :

"It is not a pleasant task to repudiate the help of a friend, or to disown him, but it is sometimes a duty.

"Mr. Chandler trenches on the real spiritual power which he is so anxious to guard inviolate. His words are these: 'I deny to the Bishop of Rome the right resulting from his divine office, to interfere in the relations between subjects and their sovereigns, between citizens and their governments.' It is impossible that he can mean what the words imply. The Pope is at this moment interfering in Piedmont, defending one class of citizens there against the government, and in the House of Representatives a Christian denies the right. Governments may and do prohibit good works, and the Pope interferes. They also encourage and commit evil; the Pope interferes, and good Christians prefer the Pope's authority to that of the State. The godless colleges in Ireland, the hierarchy in England, the troubles of Piedmont, all bear witness together against the unchristian opinion,

which must have escaped from the speaker, who did not ponder his words."

This is how Mr. Chandler's speech was met by editors of the Romish Church, speaking by authority.

Again the Tablet says :

"In the world we have two fields of battle: one is the Protestant, at the head of which army is the Queen of England; the other is the Roman Catholic, at the head of which is Louis Napoleon. We pray God that the two armies may encounter each other, and that Louis Napoleon may fight with and overcome the Protestant army, and crush all Protestant hopes and thoughts, so that Papacy may spread over all the world; and we will help Louis Napoleon to make this country a province of France."—Quoted in *Gavazzi's Lectures*, p. 327.

And again the Tablet says :

"Rome has spoken. England is parcelled out into dioceses, and in future there will be a bishop in every diocese, and a parish priest in every parish. The whole community of baptized persons in the kingdom of England will owe obedience to the Church of Rome, under pain of eternal damnation."—Quoted in *Cumming's Lectures*, p. 78.

These extracts need no comment.

The Catholic Visitor says :

"For our part, we take this opportunity of expressing our hearty delight at the suppression of the Protestant chapel at Rome. This may be thought intolerant; but when, we would ask, did we ever profess to be tolerant of Protestantism, or favor the doctrine that Protestantism ought to be tolerated? On the contrary, we hate Protestantism—we detest it with our whole heart and soul, and we pray that our aversion to it may never decrease. We hold it meet that in the Eternal City no worship repugnant to God should be tolerated, and we are sincerely glad that the enemies of truth are no longer

allowed to meet together in the Capital of the Christian world."

No smacking of temporal power here! Does the editor not boldly declare that the Romish Church hates the very thought of tolerating Protestantism? We fully understand his meaning in this: "When did we ever profess to be tolerant of Protestantism?" After all the liberties, however, allowed to Romanism in this country, one should suppose that a Protestant chapel would be permitted to have a name and place at Rome. Not so; and a Popish editor shouts out with joy over the fact, while the Anti-Americans say by their speeches and votes, "The Know-Nothings slander the Pope."

The Boston Pilot exclaims:

"No good government can exist without religion; and there can be no religion without an inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith."

We should like to see an inquisition under a full head of steam, without a resort to the civil powers as agents of the Pope.

The Rambler talks thus:

"You ask, if he (the Pope) were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers, yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, would entirely depend on circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you, possibly he might even hang you; but be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the 'glorious principles' of civil and religious liberty."

We should be very much surprised to see Protestants fined, imprisoned, and hanged, without the interference of the Pope and his clergy in temporal matters.

The *Shepherd of the Valley* says :

“The Church is, of necessity, intolerant. Heresy she endures when and where she must; but she hates it, and directs all her energies to its destruction. If Catholics ever gain an immense numerical majority, religious freedom in this country is at an end. So our enemies say—so we believe.”

This is letting loose, without any reserve, thoughts on the temporal power of the Pope, and the destruction of Protestants.

The *Paris Univers* delivers itself thus :

“As for myself, what I regret, I frankly own, is, that they did not burn John Huss sooner, and that they did not likewise burn Luther. This happened because there was not found some prince sufficiently politic to stir up a crusade against Protestants.

“A heretic examined and convicted by the Church, used to be delivered over to the secular power, and punished with death. Nothing has ever appeared to us more necessary. More than 100,000 persons perished in consequence of the heresy of Wycliffe, and a still greater number for that of John Huss; and it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther, and it is not yet over.”

The chair of St. Peter, by the temporal sword, has shed the blood of multiplied thousands, and here we are coolly informed, “and it is not yet over.” The editor talks of the wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children, as a heartless wretch would talk of the fate of so many bull-frogs. Horrid! horrid!

The testimony of Mr. Brownson, of Bishop Kenrick, and that of a few leading editors of the Romish Church, on the temporal power of the Pope, being stated, we shall next give the testimony of some of her ablest writers on the same subject—beginning with *Maimbourg*, who says :

“Boniface proposed pontifical sovereignty over all earthly kingdoms, in temporals as in spirituals, to all as an article of faith, necessary for salvation.”—*Maimbourg*, 129.

We do not know whether or not the Anti-Americans will freely submit to this *small* proposition; but this we do know, should they persist in denying the claim of temporal power, that their prospect for a short residence in purgatory cannot be disputed.

Caron observes:

“Boniface defined from the chair that the French king was subject to the Roman Pontiff in temporals as in spirituals.”—*Caron*, c. ii.

Gentlemen of the Anti-American party, please do not call this “another Know-Nothing lie;” for in doing so, your friend, the Pope, will feel you are ashamed or afraid to admit his claims.

Paris, speaking of the sentence of Pope Innocent IV. against the Emperor Frederic the Second, says:

“The Pope and the Bishops, sitting in council, lighted tapers, and thundered in frightful fulminations against the emperor.”—*Paris*, 652. *Giannone*, xv. 3.

Pope Martin, speaking of this matter, uses this language:

“Denounced the notorious Frederic at Lyons with the approbation of the council.”—*Dachery*, 3, 384.

But Frederic, by way of returning the compliment, justly called his Holiness, “Balaam, Antichrist, the Prince of Darkness, and the great Dragon that deceives the nations.”—*Bruys*, 3, 192. It seems as if the Pope has thrown a spell on the Anti-Americans—even that of keeping their leaders in office. This accounts for their delusion, acts, and votes. °

Durand emphatically declares:

“The Pontiff, by the commission of God, wields both the temporal and spiritual swords.”—*Durand*, 1, 51.

Could a Know-Nothing, if laboring to use strong and pointed language on the temporal power of the Pontiff, transcend this? No.

Ferraris, in his Ecclesiastical Dictionary, a standard work of Roman Catholic divinity, talks thus on the power and greatness of the Pope :

“The Pope is divine monarch, supreme emperor and king. Hence the Pope is crowned with a triple crown, as king of heaven, of earth, and of hell. He is also above angels; so that if it were possible that angels could err from the faith, they could be judged and excommunicated by the Pope. Hence the common doctrine teacheth, that the Pope hath the power of the two swords—the spiritual and temporal.”—*Ferraris in Papa, Art. ii. No. 1.*

Such power is too wonderful for our conception—so high that we cannot well understand it; therefore we leave it with the friends of the Pope—the Anti-Americans—requesting some of their knowing ones to furnish *Sam* and his advocates with a full and clear exposition of it.

De Pratt, once an abbé of the Pope, says :

“Every thing in Catholicism tends to Rome. The Pope is chief of 150,000,000 of followers. Catholicism cannot have less than 500,000 ministers. The Pope counts more subjects than any sovereign, more than many sovereigns together. These have subjects only on their own territory: the Pope commands subjects on the territory of all sovereigns. If the whole were Catholics, the Pope would command the whole world. What power!”—*Flag of the Union.*

We take the following from an address to the Catholics of the United Kingdom, signed Paul, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland :

“Our venerated hierarchy and clergy, in the fulfilment of their duties, will inculcate the strict and religious duty of

selecting, as representatives of the people, those men who are best fitted to support in the Imperial Parliament OUR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS."

The Primate of all Ireland, a sworn vassal of the Pope, true to his oath, goes in for the interest of his Church, leaving the State to look out for itself—calling on the clergy to inculcate the political—not the religious—duty of selecting, as representatives of the people, those men who are best fitted to support in the Imperial Parliament their religious rights. A plain instance of dabbling in temporal affairs!

Baronius, speaking of Gregory II., who, in the year 730, excommunicated the Emperor Leo Isaurius, thus states the matter:

"He did effectually cause both Romans and Italians to secede from obedience to the emperor. He left to posterity a worthy example, that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the Church, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error."—*Baronius, anno 730, sec. 40.*

Will not this do for one of 'em?

Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, expresses himself as follows on the temporal power of the Pontiff:

"He is crowned with a triple crown. And is constituted over the works of his (God's) hands, to regulate concerning all inferiors: he opens heaven, sends the guilty to hell, confirms empire, orders the clerical order."—*Dist. 40, Si Papa.*

The whole of this is an outrageous falsehood: still the point at issue is fully maintained—civil power. He send a man to hell, and confirm empire!

Bellarmino, speaking of the opinions entertained on the temporal power question, observes:

"The first opinion is, that the Pope, by Divine right, has supreme power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the opinion of Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, and many others."—*Bell de Pontiff, V. 1.*

Notwithstanding this, the Anti-American speakers and editors have the impudence to call the charge of the exercise of temporal power by the Pope "a Know-Nothing falsehood."

Bellarmino adds :

"The existence of this power in the Pope concerning temporals, is not a matter of opinion among Catholics, but a certainty. It is not right for Christians (Romanists) to tolerate a heretical king, if he endeavor to draw away his subjects to his heresy."—*Contra Barclaium*, c. iii.

He reckons of this opinion twenty-one Italian authors, fourteen French, nine German, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spanish—seventy in all—and these not common, but eminent authors: still the people are told that the charge against the Pope of claiming temporal power is "a base Know-Nothing fabrication."

Augustine Triumphus, in the preface to a work dedicated to Pope John XXII., says :

"It is an error not to believe that the Roman Pontiff is pastor of the Universal Church, the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, and that he hath not universal supremacy over temporal and spiritual matters."—*Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccles. in prefat., ad P. Joh. XXII.*

This is how the testimony of the most learned of Romish authors goes !

St. Bernard, a prince among Roman Catholic writers, boldly declares :

"Two swords were given to Peter, the one temporal, and the other spiritual."—*Bernard de Consid.*, lib. iv., c. 3.

Surely the Anti-Americans will not attempt to call in question the solemn persuasion and declaration of a man who is now looked to as a saint in the Romish Church.

Aquinas, also a saint in the Romish Church, declares :

"When a king is excommunicated for apostasy, his vassals

are, in fact, immediately freed from his dominion, and from their oath of fealty; for a heretic cannot govern the faithful."—*Aquinas*, 2, 50.

No temporal power here! "O me," as the children say!

Daniel O'Connell, in 1843, said:

"I declare my most unequivocal submission to the Head of the Church, and to the hierarchy in its different orders. If the bishops would make a declaration on this bill, I never would be heard speaking against it, but would submit at once, unequivocally, to that decision. They have only to decide, and they close my mouth: they have only to determine and I obey. I wish it to be understood that such is the duty of all Catholics."

The Pope claims temporal power, and the bishops represent him; and no less than Daniel O'Connell declares they have only to speak to close his mouth, and then adds: "They have only to determine, and I obey;" and, fearing all this would fail to show the full power of the Pope through the clergy, he winds up thus: "I wish it to be understood that such is the duty of all Catholics." And this is how the power of Popery works.

Blasius: "The Pope is the only vicar of God; his power is over all the world, Pagan, as well as Christian; the only vicar of God who has supreme power and empire over all kings and princes of the earth," etc.—*De Rom. Eccles. Dignitate*, pp. 34, 83, 84.

Moscovius: "The Pope is universal judge: he is king of kings, and lord of lords. All other powers are his subjects."—*Eccles. Misit.*, lib. 1, cap. 8.

Scioppius: "Catholics believe the Pope's power to be not only ministerial, but imperial and supreme, so that he has the right to direct and compel, with the power of life and death," etc.—*Eccles. Jacob. Mag. Brit. Reg. Oppos.*, cap. 138, 139, 241.

Maynardus: "Magistrates are the Pope's subjects. The Pope has power in the whole world, in temporals and spirit-uals," etc.—*De Privileg. Eccles.*, artic. 5, secs. 19 and 21; artic. 6, secs. 1 and 11; artic. 13, sect. 19.

Bæovius: "The Pope has supreme power even over kings and Christian princes, who may correct them, and remove them from office, and in their places put in others."—*De Rom. Pontiff*, cap. 46, p. 621.

Mancinus: "The Pope is lord of the whole world. The Pope, as Pope, has temporal power: his temporal power is most eminent. All other powers depend on the Pope."—*De jure princip.*, *Rom.*, lib. 3, cap. 1, 2.

Bossuet: "All things are submitted to the keys of St. Peter—all, kings, people, shepherds, and flocks."—*Defence of the Declaration of 1682*, lib. 2, cap. 220.

Alphonzo de Castro: "Nor should any one wonder that the Pope, on account of the crime of heresy, deprives a king of his royal dignity, and strips him of his kingdom; for, in the matter of faith, kings, like other subordinates, are the subjects of the sovereign pontiff, who can punish them as he does others."—*De Castro, etc.*, c. vii. He was a friar, and was made an archbishop before his death.

"*St. Liguori*: "The supreme pontiff may not make civil laws except for the people who are under his temporal dominion. However, he may abrogate or alter the civil laws of other princes, if they are opposed to equity.

"*Summus pontifex nequit leges civiles ferre, nisi in populos qui ejus temporali ditioni subduntur. Poterit tamen abrogare, vel corrigere leges civiles aliorum principum, opponantur æquitati.*"—*Moral Theology*, vol. 1, lib. 1, Tract xi., *De Legibus*, Number 104, p. 119.

What gives immense force to the statement of Liguori is the fact that his work is not only taught in seminaries, but stands pontifically approved by Benedict XIV. See his letter,

dated 15th of July, 1745, in *Theologia Moralis*, vol. i., p. 7. In addition to this, he was beatified by Pius VII., the 6th of December, 1816, and canonized on the 16th of May, 1830, by a decree from the hand of Pius VIII.

Cardinal de la Luzerne: "The Pope is vested with supremacy both on persons and on things."—*Declaration of 1682*, 1st part, chap. i., No. 4.

Is all this "a Know-Nothing fabrication, gotten up for political purposes,—to ruin the Democratic party?" How deep the corruption of the age! Truth is rejected and falsehood received; yet the Arnolds of the Protestant army hypocritically speak of what Protestant America is accomplishing, while they impudently deny what Romanists themselves believe and state.

CHAPTER VI.

The sum of the evidence on the temporal power of the Pope continued and ended—Councils and Popes testifying.

WITHOUT recapitulating the foregoing evidence, we shall at once introduce the testimony of the councils of the Romish Church on the power of the Chair of St. Peter. The General Council of Vienna, 1311, spoke thus to the world :

“The emperor was bound to the Pope, from whom he received unction and coronation, by an oath of fealty.”

Former emperors, according to its decision, had submitted to this: hence the language :

“We declare the before-mentioned oath of fidelity to be still in existence.—*Declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere.*”—*Clem. L. 11, Tit. 9.* Pithou, 356. *Binius*, 8, 909.

The Fourth General Council of Lateran, composed of thirteen hundred members, decreed thus: “The Pope may release his subjects (those of the temporal prince) from their allegiance, and give his territory to be occupied by the faithful, who, having exterminated the heretics, may quietly possess it.”—*Council Lat. 1, cap. 13.*

At a council held at Rome, 1228, the following decision was proclaimed by Pope Gregory IX., and sanctioned by the members :

“Because, according to the decree of Pope Urban II., our predecessor of happy memory, men are by no authority

constrained to observe the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince who opposes God and his saints, and tramples their precepts under foot."—Cited by Bishop Kenrick in his *Primacy*, p. 290.

Let it be remembered that the author of *Primacy* is an American Roman Catholic bishop.

In a word, eight general councils, Lateran, Lyons, Vienna, Pisa, Basil, Constance, Lateran, and Trent, sanctioned the exercise of the temporal power of the Pope in the deposition of kings.

Bishop Kenrick informs us: "All doctrinal definitions already made by general councils, are landmarks which no man can remove."—*Primacy*, p. 356.

The sovereign pontiffs will now be allowed to speak for themselves. Pope Gregory VII., elected 1073, deposed Henry IV., saying :

"For the dignity and defence of God's holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration King Henry, son of Henry, some time emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy Church; and I absolve all Christians, subject to the empire, from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings; for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the Church."—*Plat. in Greg. VII., et tom VII., Conc. Rom. III., apud Binium, p. 484.*

No temporal power here!

Pope Urban II., elected 1088, in a decree, declared:

"Subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts."—*Pithou, 260. Decret. Caus. XV., qu. 7, cap. 5.*

No interference with temporal matters here!

Pope Innocent III., elected 1178, *humbly* spoke thus:

“The Church has given me a crown as a symbol of temporalities : she has conferred on me a mitre in token of spiritual power : a mitre for the priesthood—a crown for the kingdom : making me the vicar of Him who bears written on his garment and thigh, ‘The King of kings and Lord of lords.’”
—*Serm. in festo S. Silvest.*

This is about as explicit as possible on the temporal power doctrine. He who doubts would have doubted, even if present, the exercise of civil power by a certain Pope when he kicked the crown from the head of a certain royal subject, to show his authority for making and unmaking kings.

Pope Gregory IX., elected 1227, deemed that which follows worthy of a place in his *decretals* :

“If the secular power refuse to comply, (refuse to exterminate heretics,) let it be told to the sovereign pontiff, and let him denounce the subjects as released from their fealty, and give the country to Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, may peaceably possess it.”—*Decretal, headed Innocent III., in Concilio Generali*, vol. ii., edit. 1839, p. 758.

Pope Innocent IV., elected 1243, in the General Council of Lyons, proclaimed the following sentence of deprivation against Frederic the Second :

“That he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honor and dignity. We denounce, and accordingly, by sentence, deprive ; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath for ever ; by apostolic authority, firmly prohibiting that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king ; and decreeing that whoever hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favor to him, as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the ban of excommunication.”—*P. Innocent IV. in Concil. Lug.*

Pope Boniface VIII., elected 1294, at a council held at

Rome, in his famous constitution, denominated *Unam Sanctam*, decreed thus :

“Both swords are in the power of the Church ; namely, the spiritual sword and the material sword ; but the one is to be exercised by the Church, the other for the Church ; the one by the hands of the priest, the other by the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the nod of the priest. Moreover we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce that it is altogether a matter of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.”—*Corpus Juris Canonici. Ed. Böhmer, tom. ii., p. 1139.* Will not this do for a claim of power ?

Pope Pius V., elected 1559, thus thundered against England's Queen, Elizabeth :

“We do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever — and also the nobility, subjects, and people of said kingdom, and all others which have in any sort sworn to her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath.”—*P. Pius V. in Bull contra R. Eliz.*

Providence, however, permitted her to sit undisturbed on her throne, laughing at the thunders of the Vatican. No temporal power in all this ! Clear the track for the ear of unbelief !

Mr. Brownson, sanctioned by all the bishops of the United States, plainly informs us in that which follows that the bull of the Pope respecting England is not numbered with the things that were :

“A few church-burnings, a Madiai meeting, a preconization of apostates like Gavazzi and Achilli, make up the sum of her weak protest against the everlasting power that long since fulminated against her a sentence which no created power ever yet withstood, and which stands calmly by to await the inevitable result.”—*Review, April number, 1853, p. 240*

So the bull against Elizabeth “stands calmly by to await the inevitable result.” This is Popery undisguised—Popery justly represented. Wonder what reply Anti-Americans will make to this? Surely they will not call these things “sins three hundred years old!” They make a portion of the startling events of our age, of our history.

Pope Sixtus V., elected 1588, thundered as follows against Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé :

“We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms. By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all allegiance whatever, in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands.”—*Bulla Sixti V. contr. Henr. Navarr.*, etc.

Pope Benedict XIV., elected 1740, proclaimed to the world :

“The Pope is the head of all heads, and the prince, moderator, and pastor of the whole Church of Christ which is under heaven. He is also the patriarch of the West, the primate of Italy, the archbishop and metropolitan of the Roman province, and bishop of the city of Rome.”—*Benedict XIV., de Synodo, lib. ii., cap. 1.*

Pope Gregory XVI., elected 1831, sent forth the following decision :

“Ever bearing in mind, the universal Church suffers from every novelty, as well as the admonition of Pope St. Agatho, that from what has been regularly defined, (such as the temporal power,) nothing can be taken away, no innovation introduced there, no addition made; but that it must be preserved untouched as to words and meaning.”—*P. Greg. XVI. Epistola Encyclica, ad omnes, Patriarchas, Primate, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos, anno 1832.*

Pope Pius VII., elected 1800, in a letter to the cardinals, dated February 5, 1808, thus spoke in reference to Bonaparte's proposal to grant freedom of conscience :

“It is proposed that all religious persuasions should be free, and their worship publicly exercised ; but we have rejected this article as contrary to the canons, and to the councils, to the Catholic religion, and the welfare of the State, on account of the deplorable consequences which ensue from it.”

The reader can see the character of the councils and canons by turning to chapter iii. of this work—the councils and canons to which Pius the Seventh, in 1800, looked to as prohibiting the idea of allowing all to worship God publicly, as freemen in religion. Nor did he stop at this : he absolved all Frenchmen from their obedience to Louis XVIII., and authorized an oath of allegiance to Napoleon Bonaparte. Moreover, in 1809, he excommunicated Napoleon, because he invaded his dominions. The language of his bull is : “Let our persecutors learn, once for all, that the law of Jesus Christ has subjected them to our authority and our throne. For we also bear the sceptre, and we can say that our power is far superior to theirs. Already have so many sovereign pontiffs been forced to proceed to similar extremities against rebellious princes and kings, and shall we be afraid to follow their example?”—Quoted in the *End of Controversy Controverted*, by Bishop Hopkins, vol. ii., p. 341.

What will those gentlemen think of this, who assert, “that the Pope has not exercised absolving or excommunicating power for the last three hundred years?”

But the other day, Pope Pius IX. raised the temporal sword against the independent kingdom of Sardinia. That which follows is an extract from his bull, *fashionably* called an *Allocution* :

“Words fail us to express our grief at such criminal and almost incredible acts against the Church and against the

inviolable supremacy of the Holy See in that kingdom, where there are so great a number of fervent Catholics, and where formerly, and in particular among the sovereigns, such examples were to be found of piety, religion, and respect for the chair of St. Peter. But the evil having arrived at that point that it is not sufficient to merely deplore the injury done to the Church, and that we are bound to do every thing in our power to put an end to this state of things, we again raise our voice with an apostolic liberty in this solemn assembly, and we reprove and condemn not only all the decrees already issued by the government to the detriment of the rights and authority of the Church, and of the Holy See, but likewise the bill lately proposed; and we declare all these acts to be entirely worthless and invalid. Furthermore, we warn, in the most solemn manner, not only those persons by whose orders such decrees have been published, but also those others who may not fear to sanction, favor, or approve in any manner whatever the bill recently proposed: we warn them, we say, to consider in time what penalties and censures the apostolical constitutions and the canons of the Holy Councils, and in particular the canons of the Council of Trent, have established against the plunderers and profaners of holy things; against the violators of the liberty of the Church of the Holy See, and against the usurpers of their rights."

Is this "a Know-Nothing lie?" How startling the language, "worthless and invalid!" What? The laws of Sardinia at the breath of a *worthless* old man, called Pope Pius IX. No temporal power here!

But the other day Pius IX. proclaimed himself as follows respecting the Republic of Granada, South America:

"Neither must we pass over in silence, that, by the new constitution of that republic, enacted in these recent times, among other things the right of free education is defended, and liberty of all kinds is given unto all, so that each person

may even print and publish his thoughts and all kinds of monstrous portents of opinions, and profess privately and publicly whatever worship he pleases.

“You assuredly see, venerable brothers, how horrible and sacrilegious a war is proclaimed against the Catholic Church by the rulers of the republic of New Granada, and what and how great injuries have been inflicted on the said Church and its sacred rights, pastors, and ministers, and our supreme authority and that of the Holy See.

“We say nothing concerning that other decree by which the mystery, dignity, and sanctity of the sacrament of marriage being altogether despised, and its institution and nature utterly ignored and overturned, and the power of the Church over the same sacrament being completely set at naught, it was proposed, according to the already condemned errors of the heretics, and against the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that marriage should be esteemed merely as a civil contract, and that in various cases divorce, properly so called, should be sanctioned, and all matrimonial causes be referred to the lay tribunals, and be judged by them; though no Catholic is ignorant, or can be ignorant, that matrimony is truly and properly one of the seven sacraments of the evangelical law instituted by Christ our Lord; and therefore that, amongst the faithful, marriage cannot be given without there being at one and the same time a sacrament, and, consequently, that any other union whatever of man and woman among Christians, made in virtue of what civil law soever, is nothing else but a shameful and miserable concubinage, so often condemned by the Church; and; therefore, that the sacrament can never be separated from the conjugal alliance, and it exclusively appertains to the power of the Church to determine all those things which can in any way relate to the same marriage.”

Here the old man plainly tells the people of Granada, and

through them the world, that marriage by civil law places a woman in a "miserable concubinage," and consequently makes her children bastards. No interference with civil affairs in this—no expression of temporal power here! We should like to see the opinion of the Anti-American leaders in print, respecting the position in which their friend, the Pope, places the wives and children of Protestant fathers throughout Christendom. Gentlemen, will you be so kind as to let us see it? He writes on the brow of the mother *a concubine*, and on the cheek of the daughter *a bastard*.

In reference to a late act of the Spanish government, the present Pope speaks thus :

"Raising our voice in your assembly, [the principal officials at Rome,] we complain of all that the lay government has done, and is still doing, in Spain, unjustly against the Church. The patrimony of the Church has been usurped, in spite of all divine and human law. We therefore, in virtue of our apostolic authority, censure, abrogate, and declare without value and without force, null and of no effect, for the past and the future, the said laws and decrees."—Taken from the *Creole*.

Lord Beaumont, a Roman Catholic peer of England, is so satisfied that the present Pope interferes in temporal matters, that he declares he must either disobey the claims of the Pontiff, or be disloyal to the Queen.—*Cumming's Lectures*, p. 68.

Mr. Brownson, speaking of the bulls of the present Pope against Sardinia and New Granada, from which we have above given extracts, says :

"How is it that this weak power, which, as men say, is upheld only by foreign bayonets, is enabled to speak to Sardinia and to New Granada in a tone no less authoritative than that employed by Gregory the Seventh, in speaking to the Catholic governments of his day?"

O ye unbelieving sinners of the Anti-American party, hear what this endorsed expounder of Romanism next says :

“Seven hundred years ago,—and we earnestly recommend this consideration to those Catholics who suppose that the interference of Popes in what are called temporal affairs, in ancient times, was based, not upon divine law, but upon the temporary concessions of kings,—seven hundred years ago, seventeen hundred years ago, the Papal chair, in its intercourse with human governments, used language not a syllable less authoritative than the language held by Pius the Ninth, in speaking to human governments, in this year of grace, 1853.”—See April number of his *Review*, 1853, p. 239.

How he talks in that which follows :

“We repeat, then, that it is not a little singular, humanly speaking, that the Pope at no time, not even in the days of Hildebrand, exercised his powers more vigorously than he has since 1848. Even America has recently borne witness to this truth. So President Fillmore, through Mr. Secretary Everett, has, to use the caustic language of Archbishop Hughes, become a petitioner side by side with Lord Roden, and taken his place of hope and expectation in the ante-chamber of the Grand Duke of Tuscany! And as the common impression seems to be that the Grand Duke, like other sovereigns, reigns through the Pope, [let Anti-Americans note this, that they are so stupidly ignorant that they do not even so much as know the common opinion of Romanists,] *per ME reges regnat*, the petition should have been intrusted to Mr. Cass, junior, and presented at the Vatican.”—April Number of his *Review*, p. 24, 1853.

What Mr. Brownson here refers to is, to use his own language, “the criminals called Madaiai.” They were cast into prison for praying and living according to the Bible.

Such is the testimony of the Popes on the question of their temporal power.

Bishop Kenrick must be allowed to explain all this for us: "All doctrinal definitions already made by Pontiffs are landmarks, which no man can remove."—*Primacy*, p. 356.

But may it not be said that the things stated are not doctrines of the Romish Church? What of this? Suppose a man kill another by *drugs* called *doctrines*, or by *drugs* called *acts*: would not the effect be the same? We make this remark to break the force of a quibble respecting doctrines of the Romish Church, and acts of said Church; and we presume that every honest man will heartily endorse the disposition we have made of the matter.

We shall now proceed to close this chapter with a few appropriate facts and reflections. In the year 1844, Maria Joaquina Alves was tried for heresy in the island of Madeira, and condemned to death. Does this give any evidence of the spirit of Romanism being changed? could she have been so sentenced without the exercise of temporal power? Romanism changed! It refuses to know change. It is but as the lion chained—the lion still, waiting for an opening to show its true character.

We take the following from a letter written in Mexico, December 5, 1855, and published in the New York Tribune: "A new general law for the administration of justice has been issued within a few days, by which the clergy and the army are now subject to answer the demands of a citizen before the ordinary or civil tribunals; whereas, before they had the right to demand a trial in any case before their own courts, much to the prejudice of those who were under the necessity of having recourse to them for justice, and also to the prejudice in general of the rights of the citizen. Those tribunals now have cognizance only in respect to the common crimes arising solely among themselves, the law, however, giving individuals accused the right of renouncing privilege, and appearing before the civil tribunals. The Archbishop of

Mexico has solemnly protested against so much of this law as affects the privileges of the clergy, and claims the right to appeal to and await the decision of the Court of Rome before obeying the same; and he has given orders to the ecclesiastical tribunals, and clergy in general, to resist this law until such decision can be had from the Roman See."

Here we have a clear acknowledgment of allegiance to the Pope in temporal matters. The Archbishop of Mexico refuses to submit to the civil law until he hears from the Holy Father, the sovereign Pontiff at Rome. Yet the Anti-American leaders, with brazen effrontery, deny that Roman Catholics claim for the Pope the right to interfere in civil transactions.

The canon law speaks of the Pope thus :

"He has plenitude of power, and is above law.—*Habet plenitudinem potestantis et supra jus est.*"—*Gibert*, 2, 103.

Pope Urban explains how this works in that which follows.

"For we do not esteem those homicides who, burning with zeal for their Catholic mother against excommunicated persons, may have happened to slay any of them.

"*Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus excommunicatos, zelo Catholicæ matris ardentés, aliquis eorum trucidasse contingerit.*"—*Pithou*, 324.

Escobar says :

"Ecclesiastics sin not mortally in violating the laws of secular princes, because they are not directly bound by such laws."—*Theol. Mor.*, Vol. I., i. 5, s. 2, c. 19, *prob.* 19, p. 162.

Pray, who are they bound to obey? Their sovereign, the Pope. The following will explain why we do not see the principle everywhere reduced to practice :

"The adherents of heresy should be tolerated when their extermination would be attended with danger; but when their extirpation can be effected with safety, they should be

destroyed by fire, the sword, the gallows, and all other means."

Such was the language of Ciaconia, in a sermon delivered to the general Council of Trent—a Council which the Romish clergy are sworn to obey. This Council, at its last session, fearing that some would fail to comprehend the determination to interfere in civil affairs, admonished "all princes to exert their influence to prevent abettors of heresy from misinterpreting or violating the ecclesiastical decrees, and to oblige these objectors, as well as all their other subjects, to accept and to observe the synodal canons with devotion and fidelity."—*Paolo*, iv. p. 604.

The Hon. Daniel Ullman, speaking of the temporal power of the Romish Church, says: "When the trustees of St. Louis Church, at Buffalo, in the State of New York, refused to violate the trust laws of the State, Bishop Timon excommunicated them, reciting that he was authorized to do so by virtue of the decrees of the 'Holy Council of Trent'—the same Council cited by Pius IX., in his Allocution respecting Piedmont." He continues thus: "There is no article, section, clause, or sentence in the Constitution of the United States, or in the Constitution of any one of the States of this Union, which gives authority to Romish prelates, owing allegiance to a foreign king, to punish American citizens, because they will not violate the laws of a State, by virtue of the decrees and canons of a council held in Austria, in the 16th century. In consequence of these proceedings, the State of New York enacted a law at its last session, (1855,) further defining ecclesiastical tenures. In his letter respecting it, addressed to the editor of the *New-York Freeman's Journal*, dated March 28th, 1855, Archbishop Hughes says: 'Now, in this it seems to meddle with our religious, as well as our civil rights; and we shall find twenty ways outside the intricate web of its prohibitions, for doing, and doing

more largely still, the very things which it wishes us not to do.' ”

The decision of the Council of Trent is appealed to, and not the laws of the State of New York; and Archbishop Hughes tells us, in plain language, he can find twenty ways outside of the action of the Legislature for doing, and doing more largely still, the very things which it forbids him to do; yet he has the effrontery, acting the part of the Jesuit, to exhort all good Catholics to submit to the laws of the land; and Anti-Americans are so simple as to believe that he is sincere, and that Catholics consider their allegiance to this government above all claims of the Pope, Canons, and Councils. The above facts teach the very opposite.

Mark the language of the expelled trustees: “For no higher offence than simply refusing to violate the trust law of our State, we have been subjected to the pains of excommunication. We yield to none in attachment to our religion, and cheerfully render the bishop that obedience in spiritual matters which the just interpretation of our faith may require; but, in respect to the temporalities of our Church, we claim the right of obeying the laws of the State, whose protection we enjoy.” The trustees frankly admit that they were punished for not allowing the bishop to induce them to violate the laws of their State, and submit to him in temporal matters: still Anti-Americans declare that the Romish Church does not exercise temporal power, nor teach any such creed. How their pens and tongues misrepresent their best friend, the Pope!

John, Bishop of Buffalo, speaks of the affair thus:

“Whereas, the trustees of the St. Louis Church, though frequently warned of their uncatholic proceedings, and duly notified of impending excommunication, cease not their usurpation against Church law and discipline; and whereas, the National Council, held at Baltimore, in 1852, declares that

all who do what said trustees have long been doing, are, by the fact, under the sentence of excommunication, pronounced by the Holy Council of Trent against such transgressors of Church discipline; and whereas, the said trustees did themselves appeal to Rome, and the Holy See sent a Nuncio to decide that case, who judged and decided that the trustees were wrong, that the bishop was right, and that 'he could not have acted otherwise than he did;'^{*} whereas, then the Nuncio exhorted the refractory and the trustees to obey their bishop, and said: 'The Congregation of St. Louis Church, by adopting the course indicated, which alone is just and indispensable, will give a noble proof of faith and charity; but if they refuse, I can only see in them persons faithless to their duties, who can never be received as obedient sons of the Church of God.'

"The learned Nuncio ending his mission by these words of

* Does the reader wish to know why the bishop could not have acted otherwise? The patriotic clergy of the Romish communion are, according to the bull of Pius the Fourth, sworn to receive the canons and the councils as delivered to them, and to cause the same to be held, taught, and preached. The oath runs as follows:

"I receive and profess all that the sacred canons and general councils have delivered, defined, and declared; and I shall endeavor, to the utmost of my power, to cause the same to be held, taught, and preached. This I promise, vow, and swear, so help me God, and these, holy Gospels.

"*Omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor. Illis quorum cura ad me, in munere meo, spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem spondeo, voveo, ac juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.*"—*Labbeus*, 20, 222.

See the close of the next chapter.

The politician, who will, after reading these facts, deny that Romanists acknowledge allegiance to Rome, will knowingly proclaim a falsehood.

his last letter to the trustees: 'Now, then, it becomes my duty to say that your answer is truly painful, especially to an envoy of the Holy Father, to whom you referred your case. The sad conviction forces itself on me that you disregard altogether Catholic principles; consequently, that if you persist, it only remains for me to deplore the sad position in which you place yourselves in the face of the Church. But the responsibility rests on yourselves.'

"The same learned and pious Nuncio, writing to the bishop, says of the trustees and of their abettors: 'I consider them as not being Catholic at heart; and, Right Reverend Sir, should your Episcopal ministry inspire you to declare so, in order that good Catholics may know who are their brethren and who are not, and that those who are now led astray may no longer be deceived as to right or participation in the benedictions and benefits of the Catholic Church, I leave it to your discretion and to your holy inspirations.'

"Finally, whereas the Holy See has since approved the judgment of the Nuncio: though sad and reluctant, the bishop is bound to fulfil his duty. Alas! an article which the trustees have just published in the public papers, boasting, amid many untruths, their determination never to comply with the decision of the Holy Father, renders the sad duty more imperative.

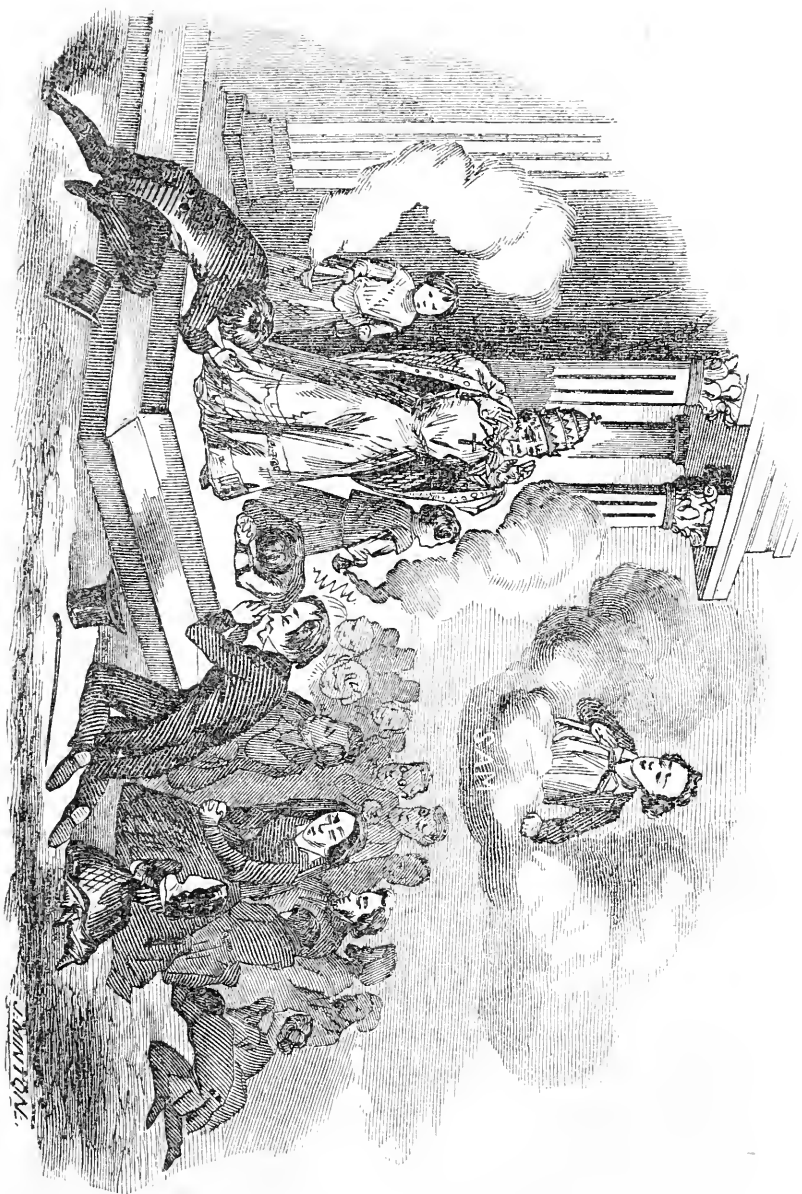
"I then declare the said trustees of St. Louis church, in Buffalo, to wit: Messrs. Martin Both, Alexander Allenbrand, Michael Mesmer, Jacob Wilhelm, George Fisher, Nicholas Ottenot, J. P. Munchauner, to be excommunicated with the major or greater excommunication, and, through the authority given to his Church by Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I do hereby, then, excommunicate them. Declaring further, that all who may henceforth accept the office of trustee in St. Louis church, to continue the present unholy opposition to the Church discipline, will, *ipso facto*, that is, by the very fact, incur the same major excommunication.

Pray for their conversion, that they may return to Catholic unity, and that their souls may be saved in the day of judgment. Given in the feast of the Octave of Corpus Christi, 22d June, 1854, from our residence in Buffalo.

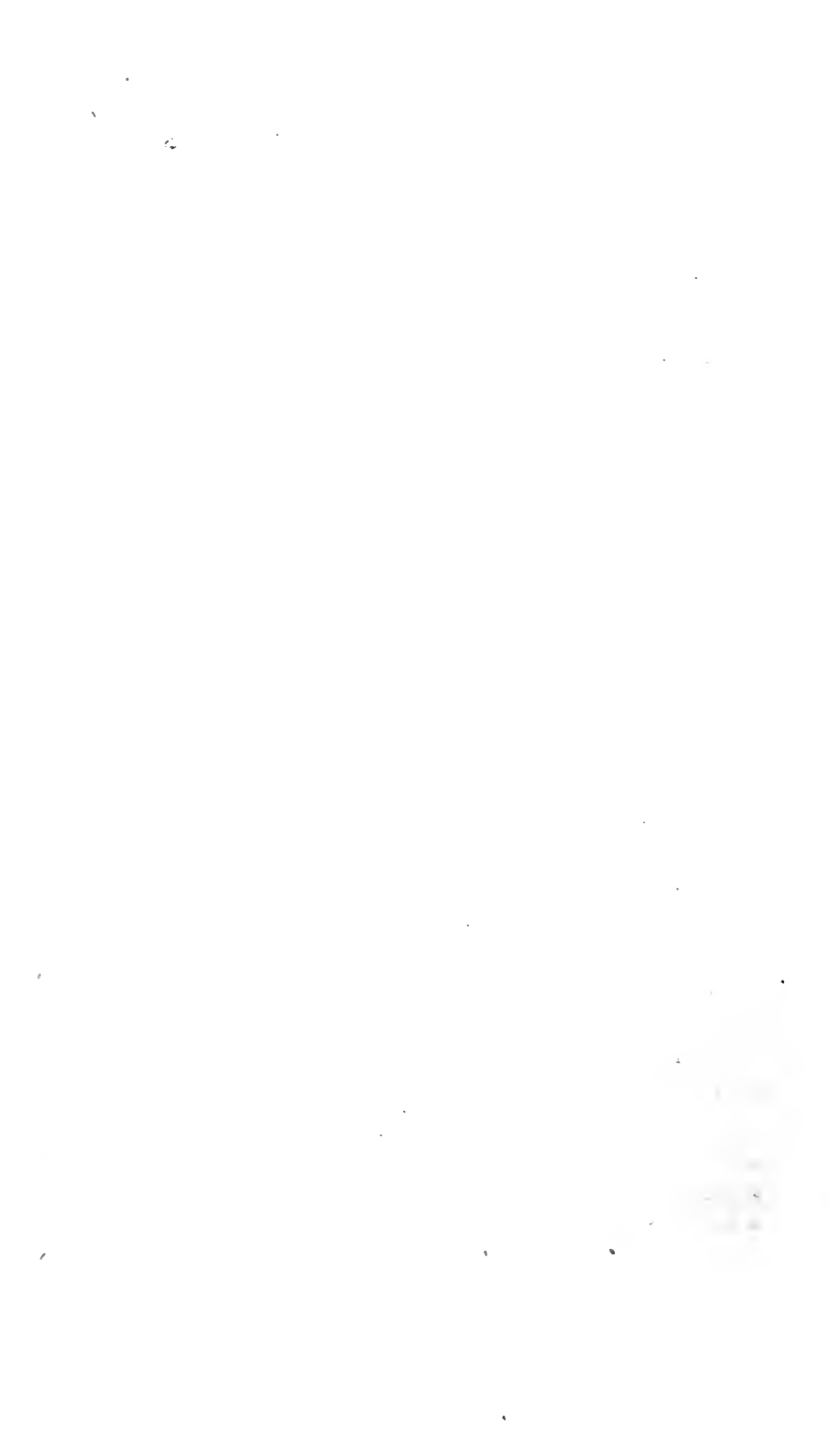
“JOHN, *Bishop of Buffalo.*”

But, in the face of all that precedes, some may say: “Romanists of our day would not allow their allegiance to the Pope to override their allegiance to the governments of their respective countries.” They would, if their own testimony can be relied on. Will not the following do for a sample: “Rather than our loyalty to the Holy See should be in the least degree tarnished, let ten thousand kings and queens (and Queen Victoria included) perish, (as such;) *i. e.*, let them be deposed from their thrones, and become mere individuals, as we have lately seen in the case of a Catholic sovereign. We should not, of course, have spoken so strongly as this under ordinary circumstances. But when the Pope and the Queen are placed in antagonism to each other, as has been done lately, and it has been intimated that her Majesty will not accept A DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE, we are compelled to say plainly which allegiance we consider the most important; and we would not hesitate to tell the Queen to her face, that she must either be content with this DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE or none at all, (so far as Catholics are concerned;) for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign pontiff, whoever may presume to forbid it, and, in their puny insignificance, pronounce the acts of the vicar of Christ *null and void.*”—Quoted in *Dowling's History of Romanism*, p. 782, from the *Catholic Vindicator*.

The evident meaning of this is, so far as the government of this country is concerned: “And we Catholics would not hesitate to tell the President to his face, and Congress too, that they must either be content with a *divided allegiance* or none at all; for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do



W. G. W. 1851.



otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign pontiff." Is this "another Know-Nothing lie, gotten up to ruin the Democratic party?" Comment would weaken the form and force of this testimony—the admission of superior allegiance to the Pope—and so we leave it with the reader.

In view of the preceding facts and considerations, need we be surprised at that which follows: "In the Canton of Ticino, Switzerland, the legislative assembly has abolished the right of Romish priests to vote, on the ground that they owe allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and not to the constitution of that canton in Switzerland. The cantons in Switzerland are organized similar to our State government, and subject to the Federal Diet in Switzerland."—Taken from the *Miner's Journal*, 1855.

In conclusion, we ask—boldly and emphatically ask—have we not clearly proved, by the strongest testimony possible, that the Pope exercises temporal power, and that Romanists acknowledge the superiority of their allegiance to him? In the name of the truth of ages, we demand the verdict at the tribunal of the public—GUILTY!

The engraving represents the Holy Father graciously forgiving the Anti-Americans for the numerous falsehoods by which they sought to uphold his cause in the elections of 1855, such as denying his claim of temporal power, and swearing most lustily that the charge against his American subjects of holding an allegiance to him above that which they hold to the Constitution of the United States was false. See how the old fellow hides a smile behind his hands at the thought of forgiving sins which had been so serviceable to him!

The subject is too important for the indulgence of levity, but it is difficult to repress the feeling embodied in a well-known couplet:

"To laugh outright would seem a want of grace,
But to be grave exceeds all power of face."

CHAPTER VII.

The Austrian Concordat with Rome—a clear assertion of, and a clear admission of the temporal power of the Pope.

THAT which follows is from the pen of Dr. Cumming, and comes to us as a letter addressed to the editor of the *London Times* :

Sir: No words, however weighty, can fully describe the suicidal bondage which Austria has deliberately come under to the Court of Rome. Every article of the Concordat is a link well hammered out in the Vatican, and skilfully gilded by hands that thoroughly understand their profession.

Your columns are likely to reach some thinking minds belonging to Austria, though I suspect the Concordat will, according to law, shut out the *Times* from all who bow submissively to the holy decrees. The first article of the Concordat is as follows :

“Art. 1. The holy Roman Catholic religion shall ever be maintained in the empire of Austria, and in all its dependencies, with all those rights and privileges which, by the ordinances of God and the conditions of the laws of the Church, it has to enjoy, (*quibus frui debet ex Dei ordinatione et canonicis sanctionibus.*”)

In a very important edition of the Rhemish Scriptures, authenticated by the names of the ablest prelaacy in Ireland—Drs. Murray, Moy, O’Rielly, and others, archbishops and

bishops—there are notes, some of which declare what “those rights and privileges resting on canonical sanctions” are.

On Acts xxv. 11, one of these rights is thus defined :

“If St. Paul, both to save himself from whipping and from death, doubted not to claim succor from the Roman laws, and to appeal to Cæsar, the prince of the Romans, not yet christened, how much more may we call for the aid of Christian princes and their laws for the punishment of heretics, and for the Church’s defence against them !”

On Rev. xvii. 6 :

“The Protestants foolishly expound this of Rome, for that there they put heretics to death, and allow their punishment in other countries ; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, any more than the blood of thieves, mankillers, and other malefactors.”

On Matt. xiii. 29 :

“The good must tolerate the evil when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church, and commit the matter to God’s judgment in the latter day. Otherwise, when ill men, be they heretics or other malefactors, may be punished or suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed.”

In the canon law which predominates in Austria, and extinguishes every civil enactment that is in the way of its action, we find it laid down :

“In terris vero temporali nostræ jurisdictioni subjectis bona hereticorum statuimus publicari, et in aliis idem precipimus fieri per potestates et principes seculares, quos ad id exequendum, si forte negligentes exstiterint percensuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota compelli volumus et mandamus.”—Greg. ix., lib. v., tit. 7, cay. 10. Vol. ii., *Corp. Jer. Can.*, Leipsic, 1839.

“In countries subject to our jurisdiction, we command the property of heretics to be sold; and even in other countries we command the same thing to be done by the secular authorities; and should these last prove negligent, we wish and enjoin them to be compelled without appeal.”

At page 758 of the same volume, we have it recorded as canon law what was infallibly decreed in a general council, with a Pope at its head:

“Si vero dominus temporalis, requisitus et monitus ab ecclesia, suam terram purgare neglexerit ab heretica fœditate, per metropolitanum et ceteros comprovinciales episcopos excommunicationis vinculo innodetur, et si satisfacere contemserit intra annum significetur hoc summo Pontifici, ut tunc ipse vassalos ab ejus fidelitate denunciaret absolutos, et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam, exterminatis hereticis, absque ulla contradictione possideant.

“If the temporal prince, (the Emperor of Austria,) after being admonished by the Church, should neglect to purge his dominions of this heretical filth, (heretics before alluded to,) let him be tied up with the chain of excommunication by the metropolitan and provincial bishops; and if he refuse to give satisfaction within one year, let it be signified to the Pope, that he may release his subjects from their allegiance, and give his territory to be occupied by the faithful, who, having exterminated the heretics, may quietly possess it.”

Now, let it be clearly understood that these are only a few of the obligations under which Austria has come with her eyes open. Should the young emperor hesitate to obey his ecclesiastical superiors, he will be told in the words of the same canon, vol. ii., p. 289, “It is evident the Pope can neither be bound nor loosed, seeing he was called God by Constantine, and it is clear that God cannot be judged by men.”

I have read the Concordat with great care, and being well acquainted with the laws of the Court of Rome, I have no

hesitation in asserting, as I am able to prove, that no serf in "Holy Russia" is more at the mercy of the Autocrat, than the young Emperor of Austria is at the mercy of the Vatican. The only appearance of the subjection of the spiritual to the civil power is in Art. 20 :

"Art. 20. The metropolitans and bishops, before they undertake the direction of their churches, will, in the presence of his Majesty, take the oath of fidelity in the following words :

" " I swear and promise on God's holy gospel—as it beseems a bishop—obedience and fidelity to your Imperial, Royal, Apostolic Majesty, and to your illustrious successors. At the same time, I swear and promise not to share in communications or councils which could endanger the public peace, and not to maintain any suspicious connection either within or without the frontiers of the empire ; and if I should learn any thing that could bring danger to the state, to neglect nothing which could avert it.' "

But this oath of fidelity to the emperor is taken by men who have previously sworn as follows to the Pope, set forth in the canon law as God :

"The counsel which the Pope shall intrust to me by himself, his messenger, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to his prejudice. I will help him to defend and keep the Roman Papacy and the sovereignty of St. Peter, saving my order, against all men. The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the holy Church of our Lord the Pope I will endeavor to preserve, defend and increase, and advance. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, disposals, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord the Pope, I will with all my might persecute and attack, etc. So help me God and these holy Gospels."

It needs no ingenious reasoning to prove which oath is most comprehensive, which must dominate, and which, in case of collision, must give way.

The rare phenomenon of an empire laying its neck under the feet of a Pope, has been presented in 1855. Austria, who refused to be the ally of the Western Powers against a despot in the East, has, in righteous retribution, become the serf and vassal of a miserable spiritual despot in the West. Sardinia rises daily to the dignity of an empire: Austria has sunk into the dimensions of a province of the Vatican.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN CUMMING.

CHAPTER VIII.

Pope Gregory the Sixteenth and Slavery.

WE take the following extract from a bull placed by publication to the credit of Gregory the Sixteenth :

“APOSTOLIC LETTER—(BULL)—OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD GREGORY : BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, XVI. POPE (OF THE NAME,) RELATIVE TO REFRAINING FROM TRAFFIC IN BLACKS.

“There were, it is true, from time to time—we say it to our very great sorrow—some of the very number of the faithful, who, shamefully blinded by the desire of filthy lucre, did not hesitate to reduce to slavery, in widely separated and remote lands, Indians, blacks, or other wretched individuals, or else, by establishing and gradually enlarging a traffic in those who had been made captives by others, to countenance the shameful conduct of these last. Many Roman Pontiffs, it is true, of glorious memory, predecessors of ours, did not fail, in accordance with their high office, to censure severely the practices of those men, as injurious to their spiritual safety, and disgraceful to the Christian name; and from which they clearly saw that this result must follow, that unbelieving nations should be more and more confirmed in their hatred toward our true religion. The Apostolic Letter of Paul III., given May 29, 1537, under the Fisherman’s seal, (St. Peter’s),

to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, has this same object in view, as well as others in succession still further than this same one, given by Urban VIII., on the 23^d day of April, 1689, to the Collector Jurium of the apostolic churches in Portugal, in which letters those individuals are very severely censured by name, who dared or presumed to reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange, or give away the Indians of the East or West, to separate them from their wives and children, to despoil them of their property, to lead and send them away to other places, or in any way to deprive them of their freedom, to retain them in servitude, and also to afford to those pursuing the aforesaid line of conduct, advice, aid, favor, and assistance, under any pretext or color whatsoever, or to preach or teach that this was lawful, or to aid in any other way whatever the practices above alluded to. Those decrees of the pontiffs just mentioned, Benedict XIV. subsequently established and renewed by new Apostolic Letter to the clergy of Brazil, and of certain other regions, given on the 20th day of December, 1741, in which he strove to arouse the anxious feelings of the priests themselves toward this same end.

“Before this also, another predecessor of ours, still earlier than those, Pius II., on the empire of the Portuguese being extended, in his time, to Guinea, a country of the blacks, gave, on the 7th October, 1462, a letter addressed to the Bishop of Rubi, who was about to set out for those parts, in which he not only bestowed on that prelate full powers for exercising his sacred functions therein, with great advantage; but, availing himself of this same opportunity, animadverted severely upon those Christians who were accustomed to drag the neophytes into slavery. And even in our own times, Pius VII., influenced by the same spirit of religion and love as his predecessors, zealously interposed his official influence with those in power, that the traffic in the blacks might at length entirely cease among Christians. These decrees and

anxious cares on the part of our predecessors have, with the blessing of God, proved of no little avail in protecting the Indian, and *others* above mentioned, from the cruelty of the invaders, and from the cupidity of Christian traders. Not to such an extent, however, that this Holy See can congratulate itself on the full success of its zealous efforts for the accomplishment of its end; seeing that the *trade in blacks*, though somewhat lessened, is still carried on by numerous Christians.

“WE THEREFORE, *desiring to remove so great a disgrace as this from all the borders of Christendom, and the whole subject being maturely weighed, (some of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, being also admitted to our predecessors, by virtue of our apostolic authority,)* admonish and earnestly adjure in the Lord all faithful Christians of every condition, that no one of them DARE, for the time to come, to harass, unjustly, Indians, blacks, or any other persons of this class, or to despoil them of their property, or to reduce them to slavery, to lend aid or favors to others while doing such things toward them, or to exercise that inhuman traffic, by means of which the blacks, as if they were not human beings, but the merest animals, IN WHATEVER WAY REDUCED TO SLAVERY, ARE WITHOUT ANY DISTINCTION, IN VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF JUSTICE AND HUMANITY, BOUGHT AND SOLD, AND SOMETIMES CONDEMNED TO THE ENDURANCE OF THE MOST PAINFUL LABORS; and by which, moreover, through the hope of gain, that originally offered itself to the overseers of slaves, by means of this same traffic, dissensions also and perpetual hostilities are, as it were, continually nurtured in the countries of these unfortunate men.

“We then, by virtue of our apostolic authority, censure all the aforesaid practices as utterly unworthy the Christian name, and, by that same authority, we strictly prohibit and

interdict any ecclesiastic or layman from presuming to uphold, under any pretext or color whatsoever, that same traffic in blacks, as if it were lawful in its nature, or otherwise to preach, (predicare,) or in any way whatsoever, publicly or privately, to teach (docere) in opposition to these things which we have made the subject of admonition in this our Apostolic Letter.

“In order, moreover, that this same letter (Bull) of ours may the more easily become known unto all, and that no one may allege an ignorance of it, we decree and command it to be promulgated according to custom by one of our messengers, at the gates of the Church of the First Apostles (St. Peter’s) and of the Apostolic Chancellery, as also at those of the Palace on the Monte Citatorio, and the Campo Di Piori; and copies of the same to be left affixed in those same places.

“Given at Rome, at the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, under fisherman’s seal, on the 3d day of December, 1839, in the ninth year of our pontificate.

“ALOISE LAMBRUCHINI, Cardinal.”

Now, if the Pope can extend his apostolic authority to priests on the subject of slavery, however viewed, and they must obey, cannot he extend his apostolic authority on any other subject, demanding a like compliance? Is not this dangerous power, call it what we may? *Sam* thinks so, and shows his faith by his works.

The Hon. Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, uniting the slavery question with what is commonly called the religious one, said: “But I think of all the Christian denominations in the United States, the Catholics are the last that Southern people should join in attempting to put under the ban of civil proscription; for as a Church they have never warred against us or our peculiar institutions.”

Can Mr. Stephens show that Romish policy has protested against that which we have given from the Pope? He cannot. Wonder if he would call the bull of the Pope a "war on our peculiar institutions!"

Southern mothers, fathers, and politicians, have in the Pope's decision a great inducement to send their children to Roman Catholic colleges, where they can learn true respect for the sovereign pontiff, and how he uses "the two keys—the civil and ecclesiastical." One thought more: the boys, when they become men, will be duly and fully qualified to defend Popish interests against the opposing forces of the American party, and the girls, when they become women, will be admirably qualified to say, Amen!

So much for the bull of the Pope on slavery. The extract is taken from the New Orleans *Tropic*. The whole originally appeared in the New York *Herald*, vouched for as a literal translation. The author was elected Pope the 2d February, 1831.

CHAPTER IX.

Lafayette and the Romish Priests.

AN article, which appeared originally in the *Ohio Statesman*, was copied by the *Appeal*, Memphis, Tenn., denying that Lafayette expressed the opinion that "if ever the liberties of the United States are destroyed, they will be by Romish priests." The denial is based upon a letter from Jared Sparks to Bishop Spaulding, of Louisville. Mr. Sparks's letter is not a very creditable production. He adduces no evidence, but hopes to overthrow an historical fact by the potency of his individual opinion. He "often saw Lafayette in Paris in the year 1829;" and because he "never heard Lafayette speak disrespectfully of the Catholic Church," Mr. Sparks concludes he did not utter the sentiments attributed to him. The fact that Lafayette *did* express this opinion was published in the United States as early as 1835, and was never contradicted, as far as we know, until the present time. Fortunately for the truth of history, there are persons living who heard General Lafayette say that "if ever the liberties of the United States are destroyed, they will be by Romish priests." One of these witnesses is Professor Morse, of Poughkeepsie, New York, whose intercourse with Lafayette was of the most intimate character; and the other is the Rev. Dr. Vanpelt, a venerable and excellent minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York. When Lafayette visited this country in 1824, Mr. Vanpelt had two special interviews with him—one on the day of his arrival on Staten Island, before he went

to Boston, and the other after his return from Boston. The following extract from Mr. Vanpelt's letter covers the whole ground in controversy, and establishes the fact that Lafayette did express the opinion attributed to him :

“Of the conversations at both interviews my recollection is vivid and distinct.” . . . “On my next interview and conversation with Lafayette,” says the venerable Dr. Vanpelt, “after his visit and return from Boston, he said to me : ‘My dear friend, I must tell you something that occurred when I was in Boston. I received a polite invitation from the chief Catholic priest or bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Boston to attend his church on the Sabbath. I wrote him an apology, saying, as I never expect to be in Boston again, and as during the Revolution when in Boston I worshipped sitting by the side of his Excellency George Washington, and as I see that the church and the pews are the same, except that they are decorated with paint, I wish to occupy the same seat in that church on the Sabbath. He took it in great dudgeon that I did not attend his church. But I could not help that. I follow my inclination. Now, my friend, I must tell you that I was brought up in France a Roman Catholic, and believed that the Roman Catholic Church was the only true and mother Church till I came to this country, where I saw his Excellency General Washington and the officers of the American army, of different religions, worshipping in different churches. My eyes were opened. I see men can be of different religions and worship in different churches, and yet be good Christians :’ then saying, ‘It is my opinion that if ever the liberties of this country—the United States of America—are destroyed, it will be by the subtlety of the Roman Catholic Jesuit priests, for they are the most crafty, dangerous enemies to civil and religious liberty. They have instigated most of the wars in Europe.’ He further said : ‘I wish my country, France, had such government and ra-

tional liberty as you have in this country.' To which I replied that France nor any other country could have rational liberty without the free circulation and knowledge of the Bible. To which he gave ready and cordial assent.

“With sincere respect and esteem,

“Your obedient servant,

“P. J. VANPELT.

“Prof. S. F. B. MORSE,

Poughkeepsie, New York.”

This, it seems to us, is conclusive; and places the charge of forgery, so glibly made by the *Ohio Statesman*, “on the other leg.” Before the Sag-Nichts attempt to assault a well-established historical fact, they should at least be backed up with something like evidence.—*Memphis Eagle*.

CHAPTER X.

How the spirit of Popery works against our educational interests, and shows its opposition to every thing contrary to the councils of the Romish Church, to which we have already directed attention.

THE Dublin Evening Mail speaks truly and pointedly of the design of Romanists on our institutions of learning. We prefer, however, to see, and to let every one see, what the Romish writers of America say on this subject. The language of the Western Tablet, published at Chicago, is—

“It is a principle of the Catholic Church,* laid down and enforced by several of her Councils, and especially by the Council of Trent, that her pastors are to direct and watch over the education of the children of her communion. This principle has ever been maintained and acted upon. Religion

* Romanism is the same in all countries. Any apparent difference is the result of circumstances. The Romish bishop of Toronto, Canada, says :

“Catholic electors in this country (Canada) who do not use their electoral power in behalf of separate schools, are guilty of *mortal* sin. Likewise parents not making the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools, or sending their children to mixed schools. Moreover, the Confessor who would give absolution to such parents, electors, or legislators, as support mixed schools to the prejudice of separate schools, would be guilty of a *mortal* sin.”

Catholic electors, who do not use their electoral power in behalf of separate schools, are guilty of *mortal* sin! In the face of this, however, the Anti-Americans lustily declare that “priests never intermeddle with politics!” Wonder how they will dispose of this matter?

is, by the Catholic Church, considered an *essential* branch of education; and without religion she conceives no *real education* possible."

The Romish sense of this is, that schools not teaching the religion of Rome are worthless, and must be opposed by Catholics.

Mr. Brownson says :

"Our enemies rely upon Godless schools—State education, as a means of checking the progress of Catholicity. We must admit they have laid their plans with infernal skill. The result will not meet their anticipations, however. *The attention of the Catholic world has been directed to this subject by those whom God hath sent to rule over us*, and a struggle which will end in victory for the Church has begun between Catholicity and the State, to see who shall have the child."

This needs no comment—it makes plain the sense, declaring opposition to State affairs.

The New Orleans Catholic Messenger *significantly* states :

"Public schools infringe on our rights; and those who advocate them, such as they now are, would be betrayers of the Holy Faith which they received from their fathers."

Wonder if any of the Anti-Americans will see a dangerous letting out of power here?

The Freeman's Journal, the organ of Archbishop Hughes, *only* says :

"Certainly it seems as if the Devil were let loose upon the Godless schools, to render them abhorrent to even Pagan nature." Again: "Out of every hundred Catholic children that are educated in the public schools of the United States, the reviewer may set down ninety-eight as a clear and certain gain—to the Devil."

Many of the children of the Anties are at these Godless schools; and though we despise Anti-Americanism, we hope that they may escape the grasp of the Devil.

The Western Tablet, as if fearing its position might be misunderstood from what we have cited, thus speaks out :

“Parents must first come to feel the dangers of the Godless schools so profoundly, as to forego with alacrity all the apparent advantages they afford, and to dream no more of consigning their offspring to these nurseries of heathenism, vice, and crime, than they would of casting their children into some Ganges, or beneath some ear of Juggernaut, or immolating them to some grim and bloody Moloch, or making them over, soul and body, for time and eternity, to the Devil. * * * If your son or daughter is attending a State school, you may be as certain that you are violating your duty as a Catholic parent, and conducing to the everlasting anguish and despair of your child, as if you could take your oath of it! Take him away. Let him rather never know how to write his name, than become the bond and chained slave of Satan—than rise up at the last dread day of accounts, to curse you in all the unavailing repentance and bitterness of final despair! Take him away, if you do not wish your bed of death to be tormented with the spectre of a soul which God has given you as a sacred trust, surrendered to the great enemy of mankind! Take him away, rather than incur the anger of his God, and the loss of his soul!”

Yet the Anties by act say, “Three cheers for the Pope!”

The Celt, as if dissatisfied with the representations of all on this subject, shouts right out :

“Better languish and die under the red flag of England, than to live to beget children of perdition under the flag of a proselytizing republic.”

He that would say, after looking at this, and what precedes, Popery is not at war with our institutions, would endorse what Hon. J. R. Chandler said, in a speech lately delivered in Cincinnati, namely : “The Roman Catholic Church is the most tolerant and liberty-loving Church in the world.”

Godless schools, abhorrent to Pagan nature! the Devil let loose on them! nurseries of heathenism, vice, and crime! the Ganges, or a place under the car of Juggernaut, not worse! making their children over, soul and body, to the Devil, the same as sending them to State schools!

Put it on the unfortunate scoundrels, sons of perdition, whose fathers had the misfortune to rebel against Rome, and finally against England, now boldly preferred! the misfortune to lay the foundation of the Godless institutions, called State schools, where children are made over, soul and body, to the Devil! Some of them need your help, and will calmly submit to any indignity. Kick them, spit in their faces, and inwardly and outwardly curse every thing American! As to fear, you need not think of it; their political leaders will wring out of them, by word and act, "Three loud cheers for the interests of the Pope!"—signifying that Americans are unfit to govern America.

Sam, looking at the spirit and language of Romanism toward our schools, begs leave to wind the whole up thus:

“On horror’s head, horrors accumulate:
Do deeds to make Heaven weep, all earth amazed;
For nothing canst thou to damnation add,
Greater than all this.”

CHAPTER XI.

The relentless opposition of Irish Roman Catholics to the Saxons, or that of Popery to Protestantism; with an account of the disposal of Ireland to England, by Pope Adrian, 1155.

A WRITER in the *Citizen*, a paper published in New York, and dedicated to Irish interests, says:

“Now is the acceptable time for true and honest Irishmen. Now is the time to strike the felon foe. Remember the advice of O’Connell: ‘England’s difficulty is Ireland’s opportunity.’ England—beastly, bloody, brutal England—is now encircled with dangers and difficulties; and may they come thick and fast, until she sinks down into the deep and dark abyss, like her elder sister, Babylon the Great.

“Oh! McClanahan, why so long silent on this topic? On most subjects your views are just, and expressed in eloquent and vigorous language; and in this country your paper is the mainstay of Irish liberty and nationality. Why not rise up, and, like another St. Dominic or Peter the Hermit, preach a crusade against the Saxon foe through the length and breadth of the land? A diviner mission, a holier and juster cause, never inspired the tongue or pen of poet or prophet in battling for fatherland.

“In the United States of America there are between three and four millions of Irish, and out of that number can we not raise an Irish brigade of 10,000 well-equipped, well-drilled, fighting-men, which will be sufficient to drive into the sea every red-coat from Connemara to Cape Clear. In this matter all calculations should be based on the supposition that

we were not to receive any extraordinary aid. If we do, so much the better; '*shin fane*,' we are numerous enough. We can fight, we will do it, and we will show the world that we are Irishmen and Paddies evermore.

"I know members ready to join. I have a good rifle, (James's, Utica,) and can use it. If you doubt me, just stick up a red-coat at forty rods, and if I hit below the belt you can have my head and hat. I have some hundred dollars which no bogus patriot can handle. I know all the coast from Bantry Bay to Aran More. Myself, my money, and my rifle, are at your service any time at an hour's notice."—*The Citizen*, August 25, 1855.

An Irishman, once of the British army, in the same number of the *Citizen*, says:

"As well-informed men say, the time is at hand, and never was nearer: we have nothing to fear: we have a braver army in America than they can scare up in Ireland at present: we have the Irish cavalry, the Irish artillery, the Irish infantry: all, all, waiting for the word of command—well disciplined. I tell England that when she disciplined the Irish soldier, she cut a rod to beat herself. Poor as I am, I would not give to England all that I learned from her for the command of the regiment that I belonged to."

Comment here is needless. The design is self-evident. An individual in the same number of this paper, over the signature *Old Sam*, says:

"English intrigue and Orange influence are therefore tolerated, and Know-Nothing treason is backed up and smiled at, because it is the interest of the moneyed oligarchy to league with the cotton lords of England, to preserve the monopoly of making paper-money, to acquire monopoly of land, a monopoly of the law-making, a monopoly of the hereditary rights, a state-church monopoly, and, lastly, to secure these by an exclusive standing army of orthodox Puritans."

The word *Orange* is significant of a Protestant association. The editor of the *Celt*, published at Buffalo, New York, exclaims :

“Better languish and die under the flag of England, than to live to beget children of perdition under the flag of a proselytizing Republic.”

If so sickened with Americanism at present, what may we not expect in the course of time? England, with all her faults, is preferred to this republic. Wonder if we shall not soon see it announced that the above flourish of trumpets will be directed at our institutions?

Let us therefore close this branch of our chapter with a very significant extract from the *Citizen* :

“If there be upon the earth one being more contemptible than another, it is the Irish Orangeman. In degradation there is still a lower depth. If there be upon the surface of this globe one scoundrel greater than another, it is the Irish American Orangeman.”

Such is the relentless opposition of Roman Catholics to the Saxons, generally Protestants by the very constitution of their minds, or that of Popery to Protestantism.

We are now ready to direct attention to Ireland, respecting which we have such a flourish of trumpets, and such a manifestation of love and patriotism, in that which precedes. We confidently assert, notwithstanding all that has been said and written, resaid and rewritten, concerning “poor, downtrodden Ireland, and the cruelty, brutality, and usurpation of England,” that Popery is Ireland’s greatest enemy, in every particular.

Mark how Bishop Kenrick, a distinguished Romish writer of America, is compelled to talk respecting this matter: “Much odium has been attached to the Holy See in consequence of the act of Adrian IV., authorizing Henry II. of England to invade Ireland, and subject it to the British crown.

The grant of Ireland to Henry, although expressed in pompous terms, is, in the judgment of eminent Italian writers, no more than the sanction of the enterprise."—*Primacy*, p. 244.

Henry the Second is authorized by a Pope to invade Ireland, and subject it to the British crown. And this is the work of Popery! "Poor, downtrodden Ireland," is England your greatest enemy? No: the Pope. These words, "The grant of Ireland to Henry," are sufficient to make all sound historians and politicians stand shocked at the cruelty and usurpation of England, and to induce them to contribute largely to aid the army of patriots, mentioned in the first portion of this chapter, to break the chain of Ireland's bondage, and bid her go free! To speak plainly, the army just referred to would do a noble work by going to Ireland to fight as crusaders against the bondage in which Popery has placed it. Well may we here reiterate, after giving the defence made for the Holy Father in reference to his conduct toward Ireland, that the Pope is Ireland's greatest enemy.

Mageoghegan and Caron, friends of Romanism, boldly censure the bull of Adrian, which transferred Ireland to England. Adrian's sentence, says Mageoghegan, "violated the rights of nations and the most sacred laws of men, under the specious pretext of religion and reformation. Ireland was blotted from the map of nations, and consigned to the loss of freedom, without a tribunal and without a crime."—*Mageogh.*, 1, 440.

Adrian's bull, says Caron, "proclaims the author a tyrant and a transgressor of the law of nations and equity."—*Caron*, c. 13.

The Anti-Americans, who are citizens by birth, and who mourn over "poor, downtrodden Ireland," may wipe away their tears, and wash their faces clean, seeing that their friend, the Pope, has been the principal cause of Ireland's degradation.

In proof of this, we shall here give an extract from his bill of sale or transfer, called a bull: "No one doubts, (address-

ing Henry II., King of England,) and you know the fact yourself, that Ireland and all the islands which have received the Christian faith, belong to the Church of Rome. And you have signified to us that you wish to enter into this island, in order to subject the people to the laws, and extirpate their vices; to make them pay to St. Peter a penny a year for each house, and preserve in all things the rights of the Church, which we grant to you with pleasure for the increase of the Christian religion."—*Labbeus*, 13, 14, 15.

The Romish clergy met at Waterford, submitted to the terms of the bill of sale, or bull, and took an oath of allegiance to Henry and his successors.

Bishop Hopkins justly observes: "It is a marvellous thing how the poor Roman Catholics of Ireland, who are so ill at ease under the English yoke, can be ignorant that the whole right of the English crown was thus derived from the pretended prerogative of Popery."—*The End of Controversy Controverted*, vol. i., p. 105.

To this we add, that it is much more marvellous to contemplate the fact that we have not so much as met one of the prating political defenders of the Pope aware of how Ireland lost her nationality. Now all know; but the probability is that the whole will be called "a Know-Nothing lie, gotten up to ruin the Democratic party, and make the Pope obnoxious to republicans." Are such men qualified to enlighten the people on the great question now agitating the American mind—the relation of Romanists to the See of Rome? The idea is sickening. Rather seek the ways of Christianity from the tongue of a benighted heathen.

CHAPTER XII.

A little of this and a little of that respecting Sam, with cutting reflections, highly instructive to Anti-Americans.

AFTER the election in Tennessee, August, 1855, the Memphis Appeal, an Anti-American paper, published the following discovery: "The last we heard of *Sam* was that, on Thursday night after the election, the old man was seen slowly wending his way on a pair of crutches, with his foot dragging on the ground, for old Massachusetts. *Sam*, when asked whither he was going, with faint heart and tremulous voice, replied: 'I was born in the Hartford Convention, and from that day to this, I have been plotting treason against the South. I was told if I changed my name, I could, by sneaking into the South in the night, and by plotting in secret and oath-bound conclaves at the hour of midnight, succeed in my long-purposed ruin of the South. But, alas! the keen-eyed Democrats recognized me in my disguise, and if I can only escape with my life (you see how I am crippled) to old Massachusetts, Wilson and Sumner may save my life. If I can only once more reach that old enemy of the South, I never will again venture below Mason and Dixon's line.'

"Sam seemed to suffer so much from his wounds, and was so low-spirited, traitor as he was, that his gray hairs demanded pity. Poor old man, let him remain North without further disturbance."

The editor of the Louisville Democrat asserted that King George III. was "the first Know-Nothing," while Ex-Governor Brown, of Mississippi, contended "that Cain, one of the sons of Father Adam, was the first Know-Nothing;" but the editor of the Memphis Appeal, not being satisfied with the historical skill of his brethren, assured his readers that *Sam* was born in the "Hartford Convention."

Sam born in the Hartford Convention—George the III. the first Know-Nothing—Cain the first Know-Nothing! Well, well, what next in the progress of Anti-Americans? The gods know not, nor can men imagine.

But should the friends of the American cause feel surprised at any thing said, written, or published by the Anti-American party? Not at all! Why? The conduct of Demetrius and the craftsmen of Ephesus may be received as a just and expressive answer. The moment it was announced in the papers that the Hon. E. B. Bartlett, of Kentucky, a Democrat, who is represented as having said "that six out of the seven of the Grand Council were Democrats," presided at the National Convention of the American party, the Anti-American editors and speakers, as if determined a triumph must be gained "by hook or by crook," proclaimed: "Bartlett is not a Democrat—never was: he is an Abolitionist from Massachusetts, and one of the three thousand clergymen who signed the petition against the Nebraska Bill."

This we set down as falsehood number one; for his brother, who lives in Carroll county, Mississippi, thus addressed the *patriotic* editor of the Mississippian:

"Now, as a brother of the injured person so wilfully and wickedly traduced, I take this occasion to say that there is not a line, word, or syllable of truth in the famous publication to which I have alluded. My brother, E. B. Bartlett, was born and raised in Henry county, Kentucky, and has always resided in that gallant State—is a lawyer by profession

—was once the *Democratic* candidate for elector in the Tenth Congressional District of that State—*has always been a Democrat, and belongs to the true State-Rights school of politicians—is a slaveholder, and has always been one of the most firm, unwavering, and decided friends to slavery and slave institutions in the South.*

“There are several gentlemen now residing in the State who are well acquainted with my brother, and among them I will mention Judge Daniel Mays, of Jackson; Dr. L. P. Blackburn, of Natchez; A. M. Payne, of Carroll county; B. C. Adams, of Grenada, etc.

“As you have given circulation to these atrocious calumnies, and have in effect endorsed their truth by publishing them in your paper, I demand, as an act of justice, that you shall give this denial a prominent place in your next issue.

“A. W. BARTLETT, of Carroll co., Miss.”

The Anti-American editors and orators, speaking of Gen. J. R. Taylor, Holly Springs, Mississippi, while running for Congress, said: “General Taylor, after all we have heard and read of their opposition to Popery, is a Catholic.”

This we set down as falsehood number two; for Mr. Taylor thus responded:

“JACINTO, Miss., July 9, 1855.

“MESSRS. LEDBETTER AND ODOM:—*Sirs*: I reached this place yesterday, and fully intended to visit Eastport, but am compelled to return to the county of Tippah, to fill several appointments made by my friends for me. I regret this, for I had wished to meet with my fellow-citizens of Eastport, and freely interchange sentiments upon the great political topics which now agitate the American people, but find it impossible for me to do so at this time.

“There is a rumor, I find, industriously circulated through-

out this as well as other counties of the district, to the effect that I am a ROMAN CATHOLIC. Such a charge is prejudicial to me as a Protestant and candidate of the American party. I sprang from the loins of Protestant parents, and grew up under the teachings of those who hate and fear the corrupt tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church; and I would here say to those who *ignorantly* assert that I am a Roman Catholic, that I forgive them, but to those who *understandingly* circulate the *foul* and *malicious slander*, that they are beneath my regard, and the regard of all honorable men.

“Sirs, as you know, I am the American candidate for this district, standing upon the American platform, the principles of which are *patriotic, national, and constitutional*; and nothing shall induce me to turn aside from their advocacy, to meet the electioneering slander of political demagogues.

“I have the pleasure to be your friend,

“JAMES H. R. TAYLOR.”

What we here give is but a small sample of *their way* of defending the Pope.

But, in order to print a suitable answer respecting the *birthplace* of *Sam*, not forgetting interest on the original, we beg leave to submit the following considerations, beginning thus: That the first time we learned Anti-Americanism was abroad, full-grown, with a silver-headed cane in hand, wearing long whiskers, and making a mighty noise, was in the spring of 1855. We at once discovered that he was engaged in a heavy speculation, that of bartering away the grand interests of the country to the Pope, and certain foreigners in the political market, for the *noble* purpose of securing a party triumph. He embraced the “Roman Catholic Irishman,” with all his superstition and opposition to Protestantism—calling him the bravest of the brave: “the free German,” with his atheistic hatred of the Bible, the Sabbath, and prayers in Congress—

pronouncing him a loyal Democrat: "the Turner," with his fixed hatred of *Sam* and slavery—looking on him as England among the Allies: the Abolitionist, with all his faults and opposition to the South—declaring his vote as valuable as the vote of any man; and the Disunionist of the South, with his uncompromising dislike of Northern men and Northern measures—representing him as being like Joseph in Egypt.

When asked concerning his life and purpose, he made this honest reply: "I live by deception, and flourish by foreign influence. I plot treason against Americanism, patriotism, and Protestantism, under the name of Democracy. The knowing ones, who wish me a long and prosperous life, beg of me, persuaded that there is much every way in a *word*, to make Democracy my text at every point, keeping its past history and future prospects prominently before the people. They assure me that but few of the lower classes of society pause to distinguish between a name and a principle, and that but few of the higher classes are entirely free from the prompting of habitual prejudice, while a number of them cannot resist, whatever may be the cost, the bewitching influence of office. They also assure me that I must call, and continue to call, those of the American party, *bats, owls, traitors, a midnight conclave, even a Murrel gang*; that all my fortunes in the future will depend on a strict compliance with this policy.

"I reduced to practice the views and wishes of my friends, and wonderful success accompanied my efforts. But, alas! alas! the keen eye of *Sam* discovered where my strength lay, and, at the sound of his voice, thousands assailed me all over the land. My wounds daily increased in depth and number. In a word, I and my allies—'the free Germans,' 'the Turners,' 'the Roman Catholics,' and 'All Sorts'—felt that another such conflict, without some strange turn of the wheel of fortune, would prove my ruin. Thus circumstanced, I resorted

to all manner of measures to secure the spoils of government as long as possible for my friends; but, at the same time, I inwardly said: Men are fools, and the profession of principles worse than a jesuitical humbug, if things should not terminate according to my fears and feeling. The thought was hourly present with me, that judgment overtakes the sinner. In my calm moments I seriously reflected on this, and felt, though young in a public enterprise, that I was old in crime, having told not less than *one thousand and ten falsehoods* to injure *Sam*, and about the same number respecting Jeffersonian Democracy; and consequently was continually exposed to punishment.

“To tell the whole truth in reference to Jefferson, I cannot so much as call up one instance of letting the people know that he said: ‘I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence—political, commercial, or in whatever form attempted. I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Dean, “that there were an ocean of fire between this and the old world.”’ Such is the confession of my conscience, whether I ever receive pardon for my many and grievous sins or not.”

This, without doubt, is a lifelike picture of Mr. Anti-Americanism.

We are now ready to present *Sam* in his true light. He was not born in the Hartford Convention, nor in any other convention. He is as old as organized society. Those who do not know this, may be set down as natural know-nothings—worse than natural know-nothings, if such a thought be admissible. To illustrate their excess of know-nothingism, we remark, that we once heard of a man who, for the first time, had seen a certain animal, and, wishing to know the name of the thing, asked the owner if it were a mule, and was thus answered: “Yes, only more so.”

The reader will please indulge us a little longer on this

branch of our subject, as our head is brimful of things pertaining to Popery and Anti-Americanism, and their opposition to *Sam*. That which follows is a translation of four stanzas of a sacred ode, originally chanted at high mass in the Romish Church, where the object of praise, the ass, was one of the humble worshippers :

“The ass he came from eastern climes ;

Heighho, my assy :

He’s fair and fit for the pack at all times.

Sing, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,

And straw and hay too in plenty.

The ass is slow, and lazy, too ;

Heighho, my assy :

But the whip and the spur will make him go.

Sing, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,

And straw and hay too in plenty.

The ass was born and bred with long ears ;

Heighho, my assy ;

And yet the Lord of asses appears.

Grin, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,

And straw and hay too in plenty.

The ass excels the hind at a leap ;

Heighho, my assy :

And faster than hound or hare can trot.

Bray, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,

And straw and hay too in plenty.”

(Du Cange, 3, 426. Velly, 2, 537.)

In order to make this *assish* ode exactly complete, we beg leave to suggest materials for the doxology, in hope that the whole will be sung at the close of every Anti-American meeting. Let the Pope be the lord of asses, the pack political humbug, and the spoils of party “the straw and hay in

plenty;" and then "won't it sing sweet?" He who thinks a better disposition can be made of this, let him try his hand on it.

Returning from this apparent digression, we observe, *Sam* was simply in a heavy sleep, and the Protestant press and pulpit of the United States, by continued efforts, aroused him. Did not the press and the pulpit, previous to the year 1855, (during this year they were almost silent, on account of the influence of Popish politics, and the disposition of many to save their party at the expense of the Church,) proclaim from time to time that Popery was the great enemy of civil and religious liberty? Was not the fact continually kept before the people, that the Pope claimed temporal as well as ecclesiastical power? Was not the assertion boldly made, that he would not let the institutions of this country stand, provided he had the power to destroy them? Under these circumstances, what could have been expected but the harvest-signs which appeared in 1855? The sentiment of inspiration is, and hell and earth cannot prevent its blossoming: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." What a verification in that which precedes!

In order that the reader may see that we are not influenced by a misapprehension on this point, we remark, that we repeatedly asked men, both Democrats and Whigs, to tell us how they became one with the American party in view and feeling, and received this, or a similar answer, to every such inquiry: "What we heard from the pulpit, and read in papers and books, made us opposers of Popery, and caused us to adopt the doctrine of the American party." Now, if this should fail to be satisfactory, perhaps the following *items* will not. One of the resolutions passed at an Anti-American meeting in Indiana runs thus: "Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the clergy are to be held justly responsible for a large portion of the lawless violence that has fol-

lowed in the footsteps of Know-Nothingism—that it is in a great degree to their teachings that we are to look for the origin of that spirit of religious bigotry, that is manifested by the Know-Nothing Fusion Party.”—Taken from the *Bloomington News Letter, Indiana*. The editor adds: “Yes, political preachers, who have inveighed so terribly against the Catholic priests for influencing their members in politics, have done more than any other class of an equal number to bring about the state of affairs mentioned in the resolution.”

The *Freeman's Journal*, the organ of Archbishop Hughes, talks thus: “Let it be recorded in ineffaceable characters, that the conspiracy which, in the year 1855, aimed a deadly blow at the rights of American citizens, drew its hot, pestiferous breath within the chamber confines of the Protestant churches.”*

* How fearful the spirit of Romanism! Rev. Dr. McEnvoy, at a Popish political meeting lately held in Dublin, Ireland, in consequence of the prosecution of the Government for burning the Bible, used this shocking language:

“Would you know what is the nature of the charge? It is that of committing to the flames *a thing which pretends to be the Bible*, but which is a vile and blasphemous perversion and corruption of the word of God. (Cheers.) It is for committing to the flames a volume which, if I myself, in the absence of attorneys-general and solicitors-general, were going to commit to the flames, *I should take it up with a pair of tongs for fear of soiling my fingers*, (tremendous cheering,) *and so with that tongs would I hurl it into the consuming fire!* (Renewed cheering.)”

We say, with the *New York Commercial*, that we lay our hand upon the Holy Book which this *very reverend* gentleman so blasphemously denounces, and from our heart of hearts solemnly and devotedly thank Him who inspired the volume that our country is a Protestant country in the genius of its institutions, and is not and never shall be cursed with the supremacy of men who hold that Divine revelation to be a vile and blasphemous *thing*. And if there is one among our readers whose love of Protestantism and horror of Romanism have waned, we

Passing over every thing objectionable in these quotations respecting Protestant ministers, we ask, Do they not by assertion and inference clearly establish what we have said concerning *Sam*?

In plain terms, the ship of state was far out at sea. A storm had long been gathering, which at last burst in fury on the already laboring vessel. *Sam*, the genius of Americanism, was asleep in the hinder part of the ship, and the helmsman intoxicated by foreign influence. The crew, the American people, were filled with affright. In this perilous hour, two instrumentalities, the Protestant press and Protestant pulpit, at last succeeded in awaking him with the cry: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" *Sam* awoke! This is the way he was born in the Hartford Convention.

REFLECTIONS.—1. Every lover of truth, justice, and consistency, expected to see all the Protestant ministers, with warm hearts, faithful acts, and strong words, attending to the object of their labors; and hence was badly prepared to see any of them, Peter-like, disowning him in the day of trial. Sad thought! but may we not indulge the hope that they will yet repent, and go out from the halls of Anti-Americanism and weep bitterly? Should this last hope not be realized, their reward will come on the wings of the future—a reward similar to that of him who repented too late, even after his treachery had been consummated; and then, though they may wish to repudiate the price paid by Anti-Americanism, the answer will be: "What is that to us? See ye to that."

bid him read the remarks of a high Roman Catholic dignitary, so vociferously applauded by a Roman Catholic multitude in the greatest and most enlightened city in Ireland, and then to thank God that we live in a Protestant country. If Romanism only had sway here, our Bibles, if not our bodies, would be consigned to the flames, and we would hear such sentiments as those of the Rev. Dr. McEnvoy thundered abroad through the land.

But doubt may urge the question, Did any of the Protestant ministers disown *Sam* in the day of trial? In advance we answer positively that they did. We know ministers who were, in the mighty struggle of 1855, *Sam's* most bitter and violent enemies, though they had all the way, previous to this time, preached a crusade against the Pope and the corruptions of Romanism. All at once, however, a wonderful change came over them. They discovered that the Pope was a very harmless old man, and that the Romish Church was not what they had said she was; and, for fear any human creature should doubt their sincerity, they went to their respective polls and voted full tickets for the friends and defenders of the Pope. No wonder that an honest-hearted, observing woman, looking at all this, and calling up their past sayings, exclaimed: "There must be a strange power in the love of party!" This is what we call hitting the nail on the head; and so saying we turn away from this reflection, as from a hated thing.

2. We have spoken of the "Free Germans," and the "Turners," also Germans, as portions of the Anti-American party. The *Memphis Appeal*, describing a meeting held for the purpose of rejoicing over the result of the Tennessee election, 1855, says: "In the evening the German brass band made its appearance on the bluff, and played some national airs." We hope that the members of the brass band were not of the "Free German school," nor of the "Turner school." A hint to the wise is sufficient.

And has it come to this, that a German brass band must be called out to swell the tide of rejoicing over the doctrine that Americans shall not govern America? Washington emphatically states: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of

the most baneful foes of our republican government." But the Anti-Americans have grown so wise as to discover that George Washington was an "old foggy;" so wise as to see clearly that his principle is illiberal and unpatriotic; and so courageous as to repudiate it, not with a band of natives, but with a "German brass band." Bravo!

In reference to foreigners, whether from Germany, England, Ireland, or elsewhere, who duly respect the institutions of this country, keeping from the appearance of antagonistic associations and policies, the writer, being himself a foreigner by birth, would not apply an unkind thought nor word; and so feeling, he begs leave to close this reflection with the much-to-be-admired sentiment of a German: "We came here to live, and not to rule."

3. The spirit of hostility to the American party, of which we have already said a little, shows itself in colossal form in that which follows, taken from the *Montgomery Advertiser*, Alabama: "We see that the Know-Nothing party at Nashville have formed a military company. The very great danger of political associations combining in this way will be evident to every one upon the slightest reflection. All good citizens should discountenance and frown upon such dangerous proceedings."

Gentlemen of the Anti-American party, does not this look like claiming all the advantage of a patent-right to abuse every thing of an American cast? "The Free Germans" may unite as a political body, and demand the abolition of the Sabbath, prayers in Congress, and the banishment of God's book, the Bible, from the public schools; German military and Irish military companies may parade the streets of our towns and cities, and you remain as still as death; but the moment you hear of a native American association, you at once break the spell of silence, showering on the devoted heads of its members words of abuse.

This spirit of hostility we notice, working in another way, in the following extract, taken from the Memphis Appeal; Col. R. B. Harris, of Holly Springs, being the author: "Tennessee follows in the wake of old Virginia! There will be a grand rally of the Democracy (Anti-Americans) this evening, at the Court House, at eight o'clock P. M., to express their satisfaction over the glorious victory that the Democratic party (Anti-American party) and its principles have achieved over *Sam* in Tennessee. Alas, *Sam* is dead! dead!! dead!!!"

Thus did the spirit of Anti-Americanism laugh right out, clapping its hands with joy at a partial defeat of principles advocated by no less than Washington and Jefferson. Pray, what was the offence of *Sam*? This: "Americans shall govern America, and resist the corrupting tendencies of Romanism." We hesitate not to say, if the opposite of this should ultimately prevail, then indeed every true American, whether by adoption or birth, may justly declare, looking at the departing glory of his country: "Alas! it is dead! dead!! dead!!!" and so we close this reflection.

4. The Anti-American editors, of whom we have already made *honorable* mention, will now be pointedly and particularly noticed. They taxed their ingenuity for thoughts and arguments to blind natives and bewilder foreigners. The literary pride of Germany was not forgotten, while the honor of the French, and the bravery of the Irish, were not slightly passed over. Some of them almost went so far as to ask: "Were not Irishmen with father Noah when he built the ark, performing the principal labor, such as cutting trees, making nails, and carrying to the head-quarters of action prepared lumber? And did not an Irishwoman, whose name is not known, nurse George Washington, and, by singing the patriotic songs of her nation, instil into his tender mind those feelings for liberty which now make his name the pride of

the world?" They knew the meaning of the language of General Scott when he spoke of the "rich Irish brogue, and the strong German accent;" and what General Quitman meant when he said in a speech in New-Orleans, as reported by the Delta: "It had happened to him, he said, to have the rich blood of Irishmen spirted over him in battle, and he could not regard such men as enemies to the United States, or dangerous to their liberties."

Here *Sam* exclaims: "What a vast amount of instructive meaning there is in all this!"

Against secret associations, oaths, signs, and proscription because of religion, they absolutely fought like Turks of other days. But, in their *haste* to develop *honesty* and *patriotism*, they forgot to let the people know that the fortunes of the Democratic party, for nearly fifty years, had been in the hands of one of the most objectionable secret organizations on the globe, called "*The Tammany Society*." We say all this was done in their *haste* to develop *honesty* and *patriotism*, whether the reader believes the statement or not.

We shall now direct attention to the true character of their feelings and sentiments, presenting one as the representative of all. He may be regarded as talking thus to an Anti-American of the strictest sort, known by the name of Major Savage: "Major, the fact is, though we dare not let this be publicly known, the American platform is truly national. Cass speaks highly of one of its features. I like the slavery article very much, but must, in common with our editors and speakers, try to make the Southern people believe that it is not exactly what it ought to be. While we do this, however, the whole platform is encumbered by it in the West and North. In short, the liberty men oppose it with a vengeance. This, Major, is what editors must do, when pressed by localities and circumstances, or submit to defeat.

“Respecting what is called the religious article, much has been written, and more said; still the obvious intent is, not to proscribe on account of religion, but on account of allegiance to a foreign power, or when it amounts to this, in submitting to the will of a foreign bishop, under the doctrine that the temporal is subject to the spiritual. But by keeping up the cry of proscription, we accomplish two objects; that is, we secure the Roman Catholic vote, and keep many from joining the so-called American party who otherwise would. You may smile, Major, at our morality, but we are persuaded that ‘necessity knows no law,’ to use an old saying.

“On the question of foreignism, Major, we feel considerably perplexed. The public mind has been somewhat excited for years at the great increase of the foreign population, and at the conduct of many of them. There are foreigners in this country who are of great advantage to its interests every way; but, on the other hand, the masses are ignorant of our institutions, and vote ignorantly. The truth is, I would have no particular objection to a change in the naturalization law, like that contended for by our opponents. I have so felt for years, and previous to this excitement on the matter I had often so expressed myself. Besides, it is mortifying to my pride, as an American by birth, to see accounts in the papers concerning the use made of foreign flags in our country. For instance, I was lately informed that five foreign flags were unfurled at one of our meetings in Galveston, Texas. It will not do now, however, to turn on our friends. We have formed the alliance, and must do the best we can with the bargain. In plain English, when I look at these things, and at our position to our own native citizens, the thought arises that we have paid too much for the whistle. Nor is this all: I fear the time will come when we shall realize what our opponents apply to us, in reference to our relation with

Roman Catholics, The Turners, The Free Germans, and the Pope :

‘There was a fish whose name was whale;
He swallowed Jonah, head and tail;
Then swam the spacious sea around,
And threw him up upon the ground.’

“Well, Major, would not we look mighty slim after getting rid of all these? But, as I see you look somewhat serious—almost as if converted to a regular ‘Know-Nothing’ by my description of the great battle now going on between Sam, on the one side, and the Pope, foreigners and a large number of natives, on the other—you will please allow me to indulge in a loud laugh, satisfied that there is some philosophy in the act of the boy who, going by a graveyard, whistled to keep up his courage.”

The Major, however, stands half converted to Americanism, from the disclosures above given, and well he may; and so we close this reflection, and with it the chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sam's Platform of principles, or the Platform of the American party, with some accompanying remarks.

1. AN humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being who rules the universe, for his protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

3. *Americans must rule America*; and to this end, native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and municipal offices, or government employment, in preference to all others. Nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents temporarily residing abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens. But,

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of har-

mony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States; and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs, in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress. *Provided always,* That none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory ought to admit others than citizens of the United States to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not hereinbefore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing on our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between Church and State, no interference with religious faith or worship, and no test-oaths for office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in the reöpening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy the existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

15. That each State Council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions so as to abolish the several degrees, and institute a pledge of honor instead of other obligations for fellowship and admission into the party.

16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

This noble and patriotic platform was adopted at the session of the National Council, 21st February, 1856. The friends of the great and glorious enterprise of the American organization receive it with open arms and warm hearts, looking on it as the very thing needed—the guiding-star of true liberty and of national greatness.

The spirit evinced in the writings of the Anti-American

editors on the appearance of the platform of 1855, may be received as a just comment on their opposition to the one now before the people. The *Florence Gazette*, an Alabama paper, thus addressed its readers: "And, pray, who are these hypocrites? Most of them are neither Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, nor Congregationalists—men of no religion, who have no church, who never say their prayers, who do not read their Bible, who live God-defying lives every day of their sinful existence. We say these are the men, with faces as long as their dark lanterns, with the whites of their eyes turned up in holy horror at the Catholics, while they prate all sort of nonsense about Protestant America." Again: "Men who have never before on the face of God's green earth shown any interest for religion, or taken any part with Christ or his kingdom—men who are the Devil's own, belonging to the Devil's church. These are the defamers of Catholicism, and the champions of Protestantism."

The Nashville *Union* defends Romanism as follows:

"A Church that can boast of an existence of thirteen centuries—passing through all the various vicissitudes of her eventful career unscathed, can certainly show, with all her atrocious barbarity, many bright spots which may be placed in favorable contrast with the Protestant Church, with its thousand and one wrangling sects. Men are beginning to see through the transparent gauze that veils this Know-Nothing movement. They are beginning to ask, What has Protestantism done for the world? What has she done to alleviate and elevate the downtrodden? Is the race any better off for having accepted her faith? These reverend hypocrites—these Scribes and Pharisees—are treading on a terrible volcano. They will find their treasonable schemes and infernal plotting against the liberties of men tried and condemned by the pure light of God's own truth and love, which shines and throbs in every pulsation of Humanity's heart. If Protest-

antism proves recreant to her high trust, she will have to pass the ordeal of enlightened opinion, and be consigned to her merited obscurity. Popery, with all its crimes against God and man, adapts itself to the time and to circumstances, and thus saves itself from being absorbed in the mass of conflicting elements."

The Washington *Union* talked thus :

"When we deal with Know-Nothings, we deal with outlaws of society as well as of party : of men upon whom the ban has been placed by every sincere Christian as well as every true patriot. The sympathetic friends of the arraigned burglar are no doubt shocked at the plain manner in which his skulking villainy is spoken of by the prosecuting officer ; and we presume there are men at this day who are of opinion that the memory of Benedict Arnold should be treated with tenderness, and the acts of the Hartford Convention spoken of with extreme caution and courtesy. In speaking of bad men or bad actions, we have employed the plain and unfettered language of our thoughts and our feelings, and will continue to employ that language, regardless of consequences, and indifferent to the complaints and the abuse of the open or secret sympathizers with the enemies of the country and the sworn foes of the Constitution."

Do they not write like Romanists? What language to use in reference to a party composed of the best and purest men of the land—from the minister to the statesman ! The spirit of Rome and that of Anti-Americanism may justly be considered as one in word and feeling—debased by an unrighteous thirst for power at the expense of principle.

In reference to the platform, however, we would say, using borrowed language : "Platform—nay, that's not the word : 'tis a splendid Temple of Liberty, at whose altar every true patriot may worship. Here is presented a common ground and a comprehensive faith, where the Americans, the Demo-





NEW MODE OF NATURALIZATION.

crats, and the Whigs may all unite. The native-born American will here find the guaranty of his nationality, and the adopted citizen will also receive the assurance that his civil and religious liberty will be maintained and defended, and that all material rights and privileges consistent with the great cardinal principle that 'Americans shall rule America,' will be secured to him. Against religion as an institution—a faith—the American party wage no war; but when that institution is perverted and moulded not only to inspire faith, but also as a system to control political action, the Americans will resist the encroachment as one that is hostile to the spirit of our free institutions, and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

“Taken as a whole, we regard this programme of principles put forth at Philadelphia as second only in importance to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Before this noble and patriotic proclamation treason hides its hideous head, and faction stands rebuked. It calls on all good men of all parties to rally under the banner of their country—to come forth like freemen in defence of freedom, and to regard the maintenance of the Union of the States as one of the great objects of patriotic desire. And will you not respond to the call? Fancy that ye behold the guardian genii of our nation supporting in the air the spirits of the illustrious founders of our country's fame; fancy that you hear them cheering you on, and see them striving to relume in your bosoms the waning patriotic fire of '76, and then say, will ye not respond to the call? Will ye not show that you are worthy of the heritage of freedom which your ancestors transmitted to you, and that you intend to hand it down to your posterity, pure, perfect, and unadulterated? So mote it be.”

The engraving is designed to represent a Roman Catholic Irishman preparing a Mexican to vote contrary to law, and to

show, by an appeal to the eye, the necessity of the American platform. The process of naturalization is easy, simple, and cheap. It consists of a hair-cutting and shaving transaction. The evil one above, astonished at this new method of violating law—this summary way of making American citizens—inwardly says: "A strong argument for *Sam's* platform!"

The *True American*, published at Goliad, Texas, thus speaks of the above transaction: "An old Irishman, a man of a good deal of influence among *greasers*, took a Mexican, with long hair and beard, dirty and ragged, and just from Mexico, to the polls to vote as he (the Irishman) wished, having told the fellow to vote under an assumed name, and what answers to make to the questions of the judges. In this name the Mexican voted. The Irishman then took him home, changed his appearance by cutting his hair or beard, told him to assume another name, carried him again to the polls, and caused him to vote a second time. By changing dress, etc., the fraud was repeated until the Mexican had voted four different times. Of this the Irishman afterwards boasted, not caring for the facts that he had committed a base fraud, had polluted the ballot-box, had caused another to commit perjury, and was himself guilty of subornation of perjury. Our informant states that this instance by no means stands alone in that part of the country, but that such frauds are often committed. Is it not time that something should be done to put an end to such evils? Is it not a deep shame that such votes should be taken and counted equally with those deposited by intelligent American citizens—by the sons of the soil? Is there no danger from foreign influence?"

Proof can be had of name, time, and place."

CHAPTER XIV.

Would you be convinced that there is nothing new connected with the principles of *Sam*? Read this chapter, and carefully reflect on its details.

“THE American Party presents no novelties in its creed to the Republic. The Federal Constitution, made in 1787, and signed ‘George Washington,’ is a native American document all over. Even the ‘foreigners’ that helped to make that instrument, and that fought shoulder to shoulder with our fathers, from 1776 to 1783, had the sense and judgment to see that the executive power must be in the President of the United States, who must be a native. On this they insisted. They gave that ‘native’ executive the power of originating and making treaties, and they put in his hands exclusively the army and navy of the United States, with the militia of the several States, when called into action by the United States. The presiding officer of the Senate must be a ‘native’ too—that presiding officer who presides over that branch of the government which ratifies treaties, impeaches, judges, and makes all ‘confirmations’ of office, and thus holds indirectly all patronage and federal power. Our fathers, too, gave Congress the power to make ‘uniform naturalization laws,’ and so took from the State to give to the federal power the right of making or not making citizens of foreigners at all. Upon the qualification of senators and representatives in Congress, our fathers also imposed certain ‘native’ elements, which go a

great ways to keep authority in American hands. What is worthy of note: foreigners themselves, in 1787, all saw the justice of and the necessity for those restrictions. Such foreigners as Albert Gallatin, a Switzerman, cheerfully concurred in them, though they might cut him off from being President or Vice-President.

“Now, if the children of the Constitution, in 1856, carry out the principles engrafted upon the Federal Constitution in 1787, they present nothing new, though there is a little more danger of foreign influence in 1856, with a half million of foreign immigrants coming here annually, than there was in 1787, with the then only four or five thousand.

“So, then, the American party is no ‘ism,’ no new light, no novelty, no oddity, but the old organization of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, etc., of 1787. It refixes the public eye upon the polar star of the Federal Constitution. It is the restoration of an old landmark only. Indeed, the principle involved in it is as old as the eastern hills of Rome, and the outcry for it is of the eras of Demosthenes and Cicero. As Athens was swamped by the Macedonian phalanxes, and the Asiatic Greeks, against all of whom Demosthenes made the streets of Athens ring; as Rome was swamped by Gothic and Vandal legions; so America, under an emigration of half a million of foreigners a year, is in danger of losing its nationality, its *specialite*, its idiosyncrasy. Americans, then, preach no new principle, inculcate no new creed. Their lessons are twenty centuries old—older than the Pyramids of Egypt—and all history is red with beacons of forewarnings, where there is disregard of them.

“If intelligent foreigners among us, now in 1856, would only imitate the spirit of the foreigners here in 1787, we should have no trouble with any of them. To save their adopted land, they must see that it must not be thrown open to the scum of all Europe; and they must forbear, for the

public good, as did the Alexander Hamiltons and Albert Gallatins, the foreign-born men of our Revolutionary era. The ballot-box, a partnership in government, cannot be safely opened to half a million of strangers a year; for government is not an instinct, but a science, a training, an education, an experience, a heritage of hereditary precedents, to be studied, and to be obeyed. We take twenty-one years before we allow our own children to vote; and we expect them at that age not only to know our language, but to know by tradition, if not in theory and in practice, all the maxims and guides of our fathers, and all the ten thousand of unwritten laws and maxims on which stand, not alone our State and Federal Constitutions, but the whole fabric of the Republic. True, a studious and intelligent foreigner possibly may learn all these in a couple of years; but for one thus learning, tens of thousands never learn at all. But what would that one intelligence thus gain by his vote if that vote be offset by whole masses of ignorance and passion? Think of this, one and all."

George Washington writes :

“WHITE PLAINS, July 24, 1778.

“TO GOV. MORRIS, ESQ. :

“DEAR SIR :—The design of this is to touch cursorily upon a subject of very great importance to the well-being of these States; much more so than will appear at first view. I mean the appointment of so many *foreigners* to office of high rank and trust in our service.

“The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been bestowed on these gentlemen will certainly be productive of one or the other of two evils: either to make us despicable in the eyes of Europe, or become a means of pouring them in upon us like a torrent, and adding to our present burden.

“But it is neither the expense nor trouble of them I most dread. There is an evil more extensive in its nature, and fatal in its consequences, to be apprehended; and that is the

driving of all our officers out of the service, and throwing, not only our army, but our military councils, entirely into the hands of foreigners.

“The officers, my dear sir, on whom you must depend for the defence of this cause, distinguished by length of service and military merit, will not submit long, if any longer, to the *unnatural* promotion of men over them who have nothing more than a little plausibility, unbounded pride and ambition, and a perseverance in the application, to support their pretensions, not to be resisted but by uncommon firmness: men who, in the first instance, tell you they wish for nothing more than the honor of serving in so glorious a cause as volunteers, the next day solicit rank without pay, the day following want money advanced to them, and in the course of a week want further promotion. The expediency and policy of the measure remain to be considered, and whether it is consistent with justice or prudence to promote these military fortune-hunters at the hazard of our army.

“Baron Steuben, I now find, is also wanting to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line. This will be productive of much discontent. In a word, although I think the Baron an excellent officer, I *do most devoutly wish that we had not a single foreigner among us*, except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest. Adieu.

“I am most sincerely yours,

“G. WASHINGTON.”

Again :

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of our republican government.”

This is how Washington looks at foreign influence: still the Anti-Americans turn up their noses, asking: "What evil has arisen out of foreign power in this country?" Much every way; but we prefer to leave Washington's views to speak for themselves, without note or comment.

John Adams, in his letter to Christopher Gadsden, observes:

"Americans will find that their own experience tallies with the experience of all other nations, and foreigners must be received with caution, or they will destroy all confidence in government."—See his *Life* by his grandson, p. 584.

Jefferson says:

"Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass."—*Notes on Virginia*, p. 117.

In a letter to Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Speaker at that time of the House of Representatives, dated the 14th of May, 1801, just ten weeks after taking the Presidential chair, Jefferson spoke thus:

“A very early recommendation had been given to the Postmaster-General to employ no foreigner or revolutionary tory in any of his offices!”

Madison declared:

“Foreign influence is truly a Grecian horse to the republic: exclude its entrance.”

Andrew Jackson declared, in his emphatic way:

“It is time we should become a little more Americanized; and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or we shall soon become paupers ourselves.”

And Daniel Webster, the mental giant of a gigantic nation, the man of a century, speaks thus:

“There is an imperative necessity for reforming the Naturalization Laws of the United States.”

On consulting the past, we find “that, prior to 1800, the annual foreign immigration was not over 5000. In 1787, when the Federal Constitution was formed, the Washingtons, Franklins, Madisons, Shermans, and Hamiltons that made it, deemed it their duty to provide:

1. That the President of the United States should be a native-born citizen.
2. That the Army of the United States should be in his native-born American hands.
3. That the Navy of the United States should be under native-born American control.
4. That Treaties should be originated and made by a native-born citizen.
5. That Federal appointments and patronage should come from this native-born American source.
6. That the Militia of the several States, when called into the service of the United States, should be under the President's native-born command.
7. That only a native-born citizen should have the Federal veto power.

8. That the Vice-President of the United States should be a native.

9. That the branch of the government which confirms Federal appointments, and gives its consent to the President to make Treaties, should have a native to preside over it.

10. That in case of a tie vote in the Senate, a native only should have the casting vote.

11. That Congress and the President should make uniform naturalization laws—that President a native.

12. That to be a Senator in Congress, one must have been naturalized nine years.

13. That to be a Representative, one must have been naturalized seven years.

The President having the appointing of the Supreme Judges, a native alone can name the men who are to expound all laws, and cases arising under the Constitution, treaties, and the laws of the United States.”

If we now see foreign-born citizens representing America in distant lands—exclusive foreign companies among us, with arms in their hands—riots by foreigners—foreigners murdering American citizens, as in Louisville, Kentucky—foreign legions organized to vote down American-born citizens at the polls; if then, we say, we now see, with the precedent of 1787 before us, an American party organized to carry out American principles, and in its own way to correct evident abuses in these particulars—let no man complain: it is but Americanism struggling for original principles of policy, and for a wise and just application of them to men and measures. In addition, when we learn that the Nuncio of the Pope, in a distant land, can tell our minister that a Roman Catholic makes one of the cabinet of President Pierce—can tell him in advance of information from his own government, need we be surprised at the efforts of *Sam* to check and crush the growing and corrupting power of Romanism in this country?

Therefore, the spirit of Americanism may proudly proclaim :

What! dost thou think I'll bend to thee?

The free in soul are ever free.

Can force or Jesuitism bind

The noble will, the thinking mind?

CHAPTER XV.

Would you be fully satisfied that the fifth article of the American Platform is not fighting with a man of straw? Read this chapter twice, pausing at the movements of the Irish, and those of the present Postmaster-General, Mr. Campbell.

WE take the following from *The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, fully persuaded that every reflecting man, if honest, will see the force, propriety, and necessity of the fifth article of Sam's creed:

"But a few weeks previous to the election of 1852, the leading partisans of General Scott were elated with the expectation that the vote of Pennsylvania had, after serious efforts, been secured for their leader; and at Washington, among those politicians, the belief was strong that the Catholics of the State were certainly enlisted in the ranks of the hero of Lundy's Lane. At the very moment of their exultation, however, the Whigs were suddenly made aware of a remarkable movement among the Catholic clergy. Deputations of priests, vicars, and prelates visited every portion of Pennsylvania, and all the towns in the southern tier of counties of this State; and wherever there was a Catholic congregation, or a little knot of Papal subjects, there was to be seen an emissary from the head-quarters of Catholicism in New York or Baltimore. These agents labored strenuously; and in less than one week, every Irish Catholic whom they could reach had been positively pledged to vote for Pierce.

"We know of Irishmen living in towns in New York which

lie contiguous to the Pennsylvania line, who had for years voted with the Whigs, but who, at the time mentioned, stated to their friends of that party that they should go for Pierce, and many of these admitted that the irruption of priests had something to do with the coming election. Those men, and hundreds like them, were absent from their own polls on the day of election; and it is not doubted, in that part of the State, that they crossed the line and deposited their votes, as bidden by their fathers in God, in the ballot-boxes of Pennsylvania.

“And when the occurrence of the priestly crusade became known in Washington, the leaders of the Whig party at once understood the object of the move, and it was commonly remarked then that this State would be lost, would go for Pierce, and that the price of the victory, to be paid by him, was a seat in his Cabinet for Judge Campbell, of Philadelphia. That was well understood to be the return promised for the Catholic votes of Pennsylvania, and the writer heard the statement made frequently among the knowing Whigs of Washington. The event proved the correctness of the prediction.

“Judge Campbell is the son of an Irish carman of Philadelphia, whose industry and thrift enabled him to own and keep for hire several street-trucks. One of these his son James, the present Postmaster-General, drove, until he arrived at an age when his developed capacity rendered him a fit subject for jesuitical training. He was then sent to a Jesuit institution, educated in their scholastic as well as their social tenets, and came out a finished lay disciple of that *academus*, the walls of which are blazoned with such mottoes as, ‘The end justifies the means,’ ‘Do evil that good may follow,’ ‘Mental reservations are to be practiced in communicating with the heretic;’ and the like moral teachings.

“The young Celtic Jesuit was finally elected by the votes of his brethren to an associate judgeship of the Police Court of

Philadelphia—for he lived in one of the Catholic-infested districts of that city—and in that position he remained until nominated for election to the Supreme Bench of the State. Then, when Americans had something like a fair chance to be heard in reference to the selection of their own judiciary, he was defeated, of course; for he had not only shown himself a bigoted Catholic, but had evinced a want of capacity as a judicial officer. It was on account of this overwhelming defeat that he was proposed as the person in whose name Pennsylvania should be made over to Pierce. These we know are facts, and we do not fear successful contradiction.

“After Judge Campbell’s accession to the chair so lately occupied by a man whose private virtues and whose official superiority made the contrast almost ridiculous, there were, of course, for a period of some weeks, constant and pressing applications, by political friends and strangers with various objects, for admission to the presence of the new incumbent. Many of these visitors had come from long distances; many had urgent business in charge, demanding instant attention; all were anxious to see the Postmaster-General, and to conclude the settlement of their affairs in the shortest space of time possible.

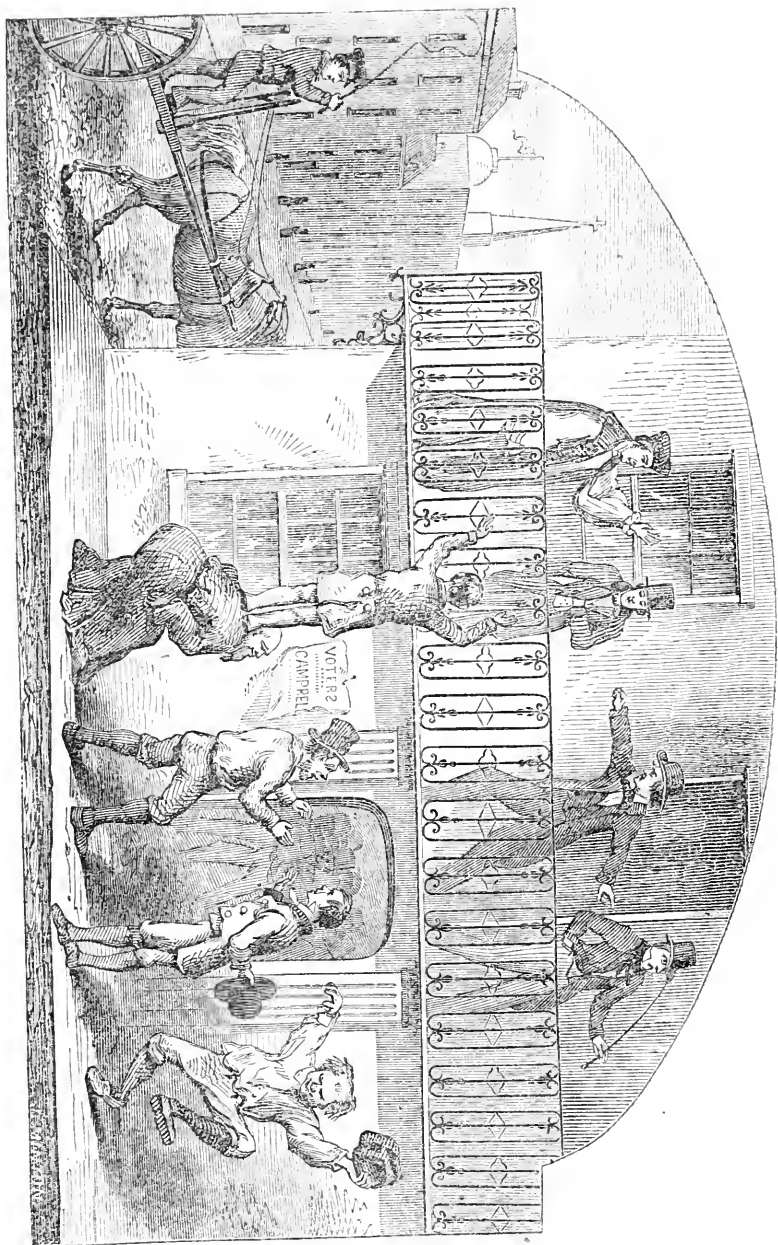
“Yet we have seen scores of such petitioners, suppliants for the attention of the person whom they had elected to office, kept waiting outside the locked door of his room, while priests—Catholic priests—held him in conversation for hours at a time! This did not occur once, but many times, during the first month of the present reign of Jesuitism in the Department, and can be attested by many willing witnesses.

“And yet the waiting and suppliant men, the humble people outside, were Americans, and the supercilious official was a Catholic, and his favored guests were the loyal subjects of a foreign potentate. Can any one blame us for wishing to see Americans, and none but Americans, on guard in the high

places of our land? sentries on the rights, protectors of the privileges guaranteed us as the descendants of the men of Bunker's Hill and of Yorktown?"

The engraving is intended to illustrate the successful progress of Mr. Campbell, the subject of the preceding strictures, from obscurity to notoriety, and the agencies by which he has succeeded. In the outset of his career, you have him driving a truck; a little in advance you see him on his way to public notice on the shoulders of an able-bodied and strong-minded Jesuit; a little in advance of this you see the Celtic Irish voting for him, to fill the chair of associate judgeship of the police court; and above you perceive Bishop Hughes, by the side of President Pierce, waiting to introduce the *chosen* object for a certain place in the cabinet. *Sam's* looks and position are volumes of censure. He plainly tells the President and the nation: "This sort of political jesuitical juggling will not begin to do—will eventually ruin the country if allowed to proceed after this fashion: Americans must govern America."

For other particulars in the engraving, we refer the reader to its introduction and application at the end of Chapter XXIX.





CHAPTER XVI.

Proscription of Roman Catholics on account of religion denied and refuted—The proscription of men because of attachment to the American party proved.

THE Anti-American editors and speakers talk as if their political fortunes were in one word—*Proscription*. The *New York Express* thus meets them, exposing their silly humbuggery: “This is the cuckoo-cry of a great many unthinking, but echoing men, against the American party, which is warring with Papacy, not with Catholicism. Papacy—that is, allegiance to the Pope of Rome—is one thing, and Catholicism is altogether another.

“What a man thinks of ‘Confession,’ ‘Transubstantiation,’ ‘Purgatory,’ ‘Nunneries,’ ‘Monasteries,’ is his own business, not ours; nay, what he thinks of the Pope of Rome is also his business, and not ours, until he wishes to become an American citizen, and to share with us in the partnership of this government; when it does become our business to know whether he, our partner in this government, owes allegiance to the Roman potentate, or to the government of the State of New York and the United States of America. Partners in government, thus divided, owing double allegiances to conflicting sovereigns, cannot, it is certain, transact business in government together; and hence they had better never begin to try.

“Everybody assents to all this. ‘But,’ says the Roman Catholic, ‘I owe nothing but “SPIRITUAL ALLEGIANCE” to

the Pope.' This has ever been Greek to us, and we could read Greek, too, in our earlier days, with some facility; but the more we read this Papal Greek, the older we grow, the harder becomes the understanding of such an absurdity. 'The Pope,' says the Roman Catholic, in substance, 'has my *spirit*, my *soul*, but not my *body*.' Now, if the Catholic would only give his spirit to his own country, as the rest of us do, the Pope might have his temporalities and his body in welcome—the spirit of a man, in our estimate, being of far more importance to have than any of his temporary possessions, or even his body. Indeed, the Pope may have any man's *temporal* allegiance, if he will only give his *spiritual* allegiance to his country. He who owns the mind, the spirit, the soul of a man, owns all a man hath.

“Papacy, then—Papal allegiance, not Catholicism—is what we quarrel with. Man or woman may worship the Virgin Mary till doomsday, or believe in the 'Immaculate Conception,' or confess wives' or husbands' secrets to the priest, if they choose; and we can vote for, elect to office, and consent to be governed by such men. We may have in them that sort of confidence and love, by which we can trust them in any thing and every thing, when they act of their own free wills, under the inspiration of their own consciences, and by the conclusion of their own judgments; but if a conscience in Rome, four thousand miles off, is to rule them—if Roman judgment is to be our judgment, and Roman will the will over us—we demur to the partnership and to the subserviency. The allegiance of Americans to a Roman potentate, is not the allegiance of an American citizen.

“To priests—to Catholic priests—to their churches, their ceremonies, their burning candles, their Latin masses, their rosaries and their breviaries, we may not object. The dashing magnificence of their ceremonies may be useful, may be necessary, perhaps, to overawe and elevate the unthinking

mind of Irish, Spanish, or Italian multitudes. But to a priest sent from Rome, independent of us all—not of us, nor knowing us, nay, owing temporal and spiritual allegiance in all matters of faith and practice to a Roman potentate—we do demur. That stupendous hierarchy, of which the Holy Father is the head, and which dictates a priest from Austria to the United States—from Spain to Chili—from the East Indies to the West Indies—is a despotism we will not, if we can help it, submit to. We may so love our own self-chosen priest, that we may be willing our wives and daughters shall enter his confessional, almost lip to lip, and breathe into his attentive and luxurious ear the consecrated secrets of our beloved homes and families; but we are not willing to have that priest forced in upon us, and dictated to us from Rome, four thousand miles off. The monarchy of Rome, that stretches over us Americans its authority, is of that sort and class that in 1776 provoked rebellion, and is provoking rebellion now.

“Now then, let it be understood, it is not upon a man’s religion, or his forms of religion, that the American party wars, but upon American Papal allegiance, and Papal government in America. Protestantism is in Catholic countries ‘a crime,’ we know, and punished as ‘a crime’ in Italy and Spain; but Catholicism is no crime here—disqualifies no one for office, and deprives no one of citizenship. Nay, absolute Papal allegiance is no crime here; every man that pleases can be as much of a Papist as he pleases. All the blessings and privileges of our country, and of our government, are recognized as his, even in the American party—save only that with this man, thus owing Papal allegiance, the American declines to share the partnership of the government of this country. Let us hear no more, then, of this cuckoo-cry, ‘Proscription because of religion.’”

Mr Morehead, the American candidate for Governor of

Kentucky, in a speech delivered in Louisville, July 15, 1855, said :

“The American party was called proscriptive in matters of religion. He denied the accusation. He was the friend of the broadest, the most unlimited religious tolerance. It was upon this continent that the star of religious liberty first arose. Roger Williams was the great and first evangelist of the new gospel in our western wilderness. For himself, he desired every man to worship as he chose. The religion of the citizen is a matter between him and his God. But there was an intolerant Church—one that sought to interfere in temporal matters—one, of whose members allegiance to a foreign sovereign pontiff was required. Such men he would tolerate; but if he had never taken the oath in any secret society before, he would now swear before high Heaven, that for none such men would he ever vote. That was a vow he intended keeping to the last of his life.”

The following, taken from the *Camden Journal*, South Carolina, we deem highly worthy of a place here, as it has been used by the American papers in vindication of their principles, and to meet the *pretended* opposition of the Anti-Americans respecting proscription :

“Some of our friends appear to be alarmed for our safety, for fear that we should identify ourselves with the American party, *alias* the Know-Nothings. We have no apprehensions of a serious character, having, as we think, arrived at the *stature* of a full-grown man, if not full in the years of discretion. We have avowed, and do distinctly avow our disinclination to engage in any political crusade, where party lines are to be drawn and observed. We are disgusted—heartily sick and tired of *all* party organizations, whether of Whig, Democrat, or otherwise; for our limited experience assures us, that after all they are nothing but sounding brass or tinkling cymbals. Yet we do not see the philosophy of rejecting

every thing, because they may not be in exact accordance with our preconceived opinions and predilections. Whilst we are as free as ever to say that certain features of the *new* platform of the American party pleased us, and if carried out by them as a party, in good faith, we shall approve and heartily endorse, we cannot perceive that we are committed to a blind and indiscriminate endorsement of *every* thing which the new party professes or does. Not at all. The assumption is unreasonable; we don't mean that it shall be so, and it is unwarrantable to assign us such a position.

“If to love our country, with a jealous regard for her peculiar institutions, and no disposition to see her overrun by a wild swarm of isms and errors, calculated, in their very nature, to subvert the principles upon which our glorious *Magna Charta* rests—in a word, to destroy true republicanism, and place us upon a footing with other priest-ridden and abused governments—if this be Know-Nothingism, be it so, we are willing to shoulder the reproach. If to ‘advocate an amendment of the naturalization laws, with proper safeguards to preserve the purity of the elective franchise,’ and the ‘passage of such laws as will prevent the immigration of paupers and criminals to this country,’ be Know-Nothingism—be *American*—then we glory in the appellation. If to ‘oppose any interference in the vested rights of persons, whether they be of native or foreign birth,’ or to declare ourselves ‘in favor of non-intervention with slavery by the Federal Government, except for the protection of our constitutional rights,’ or to ‘advocate a high national policy, such as will afford stern and unwavering protection to the American name abroad, and will follow and guard the American citizen wherever he moves,’ and with all our heart to ‘believe that America should be governed by Americans, effecting the same through the ballot-box alone, the only legitimate instrument of reform in this country,’ and endorsing most heartily the noble and patriotic

sentiment, 'that the office should seek the man, and not man the office,' and oppose with zeal and energy the distribution of office and office spoils among office-seekers as a reward for partisan services:—if it be treason to hold and avow these sentiments, then, in the language of Patrick Henry, we say, make the most of it—we are traitors.

“And, again, as another reason of the faith that is in us, ‘we will maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the rights of the States without diminution, insisting upon a faithful performance on the part of the General Government of all the duties enjoined upon it by the Constitution;’ and, whilst we hold that religious faith is a question for each individual to settle for himself, we regard it as of the utmost importance—to use the original language in the constitution of one of the ‘old thirteen’ Confederates—‘that no person who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority of either the Old or New Testament, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office, or place of trust and profit in the civil department within the States.’ These are a few of the reasons which we give for the present, why we favor certain principles avowed by the American party.”

Would that such proscription had been more generally preached in every city, town, and neighborhood of the land of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson!

The Hon. Archibald Dixon strongly advocates the proscription for which the American party so zealously contends, as that which follows, taken from the *American Organ*, will clearly show:

“HENDERSON, July 11, 1855.

“MESSRS. IRA AND W. DELANO:—

“Gentlemen: With the view of gratifying many friends who desire to know my views on the American question, I

must beg the favor of you to publish in your next paper the enclosed synopsis (taken from the Louisville Journal) of a speech delivered by me at Madisonville, on the 4th day of May last. The opinions as expressed by me at that time are those which I still hold, and for which I am ready to do battle at all times and against all opposition. I then was, and am now, against all foreign influence in the affairs of our government, whether political or ecclesiastic. I then believed, as I now believe, that if this government is destined to fall, and its liberties be destroyed, it will be by the influence of foreign governments and foreign emigrants.

“And I then was, as I now am, as a means of preventing the overthrow of our republican institutions, and of sustaining our glorious Union, for requiring all foreigners who may hereafter emigrate to the United States, to reside in the United States at least twenty-one years previous to acquiring the right of citizenship, and disclaiming all intention of interfering with the rights of others in worshipping God in their own way and according to the dictates of their own consciences. I would, nevertheless, as a citizen, in the exercise of a right common to all the citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, refuse to vote for any man to fill any office under the Federal or State government who acknowledges any temporal or civil allegiance to the Pope of Rome, or to any foreign government or potentate whatever. And where a native and naturalized citizen are running, or may be candidates for office, their merit and qualifications being equal, I would, in all cases, vote for the native in preference to the foreigner or naturalized citizen.

“And, without belonging to any party or political organization whatever, I shall support such men for office as I believe will be faithful to the Union, firm in their support of the Constitution of the United States, and of the rights of the people of the different States under it.

“ARCHIBALD DIXON.”

Thus we see that proscription on account of religion is not in the creed of the American party—that it stands denied and refuted.

We shall now proceed to show that men were proscribed at the fountain-head of Anti-Americanism for being connected with the American party, for simply thinking and acting as freemen. “The Secretary of the Navy removed from the office of foreman of the Engineer’s Department of the Washington Navy Yard, Mr. George Wilson, because he was a member of the American party, and substituted in his place Michael E. Bright, a Roman Catholic.” The case at the time was thus presented to the public by the *American Organ* :

“Mr. Wilson has been attached to the Navy Yard from his earliest youth, and by his mechanical skill, industry, and excellent character, he has risen from a subordinate position to one of the most important and responsible stations in the Yard. As foreman of the machinist department, he has been intrusted with the onerous duty of superintending the construction of the engine of the new steam-frigate Minnesota. He is also an accomplished draughtsman, which his successor, Michael E. Bright, is not; and is justly regarded by the engineers and machinists of the Navy Department as one of the most accomplished mechanics in the country.

“The following testimonial will show in what manner he is regarded by William M. Ellis, late superintendent of the engineer’s and machinist’s department of the Navy Yard, with whom he served his time; by H. Hunt, Chief Engineer of the Navy, and by Commodore Paulding :

“UNITED STATES NAVY YARD, }
“Washington, Sept. 10, 1853. }

“SIR: Before giving up the superintendence of the engineer’s and machinist’s department of this Yard, I deem it due to express to you my opinion of the manner in which you

have performed your duties as the foreman of the machinists. Your energy and attention to your duties, both while serving your apprenticeship in the department, and since your promotion to the position of foreman, have always met my approbation. I cheerfully recommend you to my successor as highly worthy of his confidence in conducting the execution of the machinist's work of the department.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM M. ELLIS.

"MR. GEORGE WILSON, Foreman of Engineer and Machinist Department."

We take the following letter from the *Confederate*, Galveston, Texas. The author was turned out of office for voting the American ticket, by the Popish Postmaster-General, Mr. Campbell. He then addressed him thus :

"SIR : The order dismissing me from the office of Deputy-Postmaster at this place, was not unexpected. Being yourself a member of that intolerant sect who have never been known to forgive opposition, or hesitate at any iniquity to punish those who might differ with them, I should have been infatuated indeed if I had expected you to retain me in office after I had dared to vote as my conscience dictated. My dismissal is only a *proof* of what I *believed* you capable, and may serve to show the American people what they have to expect if ever your Church should obtain the power for which it is struggling.

"The office was, indeed, worth something to me, and, so long as it could be retained by an honest and faithful discharge of its duties, I desired to retain it; but no office, however lucrative, would have charms for me if it was to be held on condition of truckling to a thing so mean as James Campbell, Postmaster-General of the United States. An humble individual like me might suffer no disgrace by surrendering

his own opinions in deference to a great man, such as Washington or Jackson, because, in such a case, he might well plead that it was the part of patriotism to trust to the judgment of one whom he knew to be wiser and better than himself. But he must be low indeed who could plead such an excuse for following your leaders, or that of the petty tyrant to whose corrupt bargain with the Pope, your master, you owe your present official position.

“Thank God, that with the office of which you have deprived me your power over me has departed. If it were otherwise, I do not doubt that you would apply the torch as readily as you now resort to the political guillotine.

“The mean and cowardly are always vindictive and merciless. Mr. Pierce came into power under pledge to apply only the Jeffersonian test, and never yet has that test, *and that alone*, been more earnestly insisted upon than by the Anti-Americans in the recent elections throughout the Southern States. From every stump we heard their orators declare that they never asked whether a man was a foreigner or a Catholic; that all they wanted to know was, “Is he honest, is he faithful to the Constitution?” Now, it may be true that they have made very few inquiries about foreigners or Catholics, but it is very certain that you have often asked, Is he an American? And whenever the answer has been in the affirmative, if he had an appointment or was seeking one, his doom was sealed.

“To love our own blood—to profess an attachment to the religion of Milton, of Knox, or of Wesley—is a sin for which the Catholic Church has no absolution.

“From you no one expects any thing better: there never has been an hour when you possessed the humblest share of the confidence of the country.

“But from your chief (Gen. Pierce) something was hoped for, chiefly I suppose because no one knew any thing about

him. It is the nature of the human heart to hope while hope is possible; and although there was little upon which to base it, we did trust that Mr. Pierce would prove an honest man and a patriot.

“The disappointment has been bitter, but the lesson will not be lost.

“It has put an end, I think, to the reign of small men, and hereafter the American people will be careful how they confer nominations upon those whose only merit is their obscurity.

“For one, sir, I was prepared to vote any ticket a democratic convention might give me; and if the infamous system of proscribing native Americans in favor of foreigners had not been adopted by the present administration, I should, most probably, have continued of that mind. But when I saw them turning out even watchmen about the Capitol grounds for Americanism, and made their *tools* at the same time on every street corner declare that the American party ought to be damned for its intolerance and proscription, indignation got the better of contempt, and I determined to act no longer with those who sought to cover their treasonable practices by such barefaced hypocrisy. I voted, sir, the American ticket, and as I am a young man, I hope to live to cast many votes of the same kind.

“For that vote you have turned me out of office. Be it so. I do not pretend that its perquisites were indifferent to me, for I am poor and needed them. I am honest, and have discharged my duties faithfully. An honest man in your position would have made no further inquiry: you acted differently; but I have the consolation of knowing that in a short time your power ceases.

“Office has given you a momentary consequence: the next election strips that from around you, and then you will sink

again to the insignificance from which you never ought to have been dragged.

“I am, sir,

“W. H. RANDOLPH.

HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS, Jan. 12, 1856.”

We take that which follows from the *Eagle and Enquirer*, Memphis, Tennessee :

“ALEXANDRIA, VA., July 16th, 1855.

“W. W. DAVIDSON, Esq., Memphis, Tenn. :

* * * * I have had to give up my situation in the Post-Office here—having had the misfortune to have been born in this country instead of Ireland—and want you to try and get me a situation in your city, so I can make an honest living.

“Yours respectfully,

“T. A. STONENBURGH, JR.”

Respected reader, what think you of the proscription involved in these cases? The first was turned out of office for acting with the American party, and a vassal of the Pope placed in his situation; and the second and third, for a similar offence, were alike treated. What an opening for comment by the future historian, philosopher, and statesman! Talk of republicanism after this! Men who declare that Americans shall govern America, are disqualified to hold offices. Shades of Socrates and Plato, is this the freedom of the model republic of the nineteenth century?

The Anti-Americans, however, talk horribly long and loud respecting proscription; but, while they thus vent off their hypocrisy, do not many of them stand accused of having proscribed merchants, doctors, lawyers, workmen, and minis-

ters, because they said by word and act that Americans ought to govern America? Have not some of them even refused to pay their subscriptions for the support of the ministers? Nor is this all. Have not a few become so violent, so infatuated with party love, as to return their religious papers for containing Protestant teachings? These things we state as facts, and not as hearsays. And this is how the advocates of the Pope have acted, after all their cant, humbuggery, and hypocrisy concerning proscription.

A doubter might justly doubt the capability of such men for self-government, leaving the pure and high demands of a religious profession out of the question. However viewed, they are a disgrace to the age, and a mockery on Protestantism.

Any thing more of the same sort? Yes: this from the *Confederate*, Galveston, Texas:

“An order has been received by Mr. Nevitt, the Postmaster of New Orleans, to discharge every man from his office who is a member of the Know-Nothing or American party; and every employee has been called upon for a distinct annunciation of the faith that is in him. What a misfortune it is to be born in America!”

And is this the freedom for which Washington fought? An indignant voice from his grave asks, What next? The Hon. R. C. Puryear responds, addressing the nation through the editor of the *Washington Organ*:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
Dec. 24, 1855. }

“DEAR SIR: I see in your paper of the 22d inst., a statement concerning the appointment of a postmaster in my district, at Madison, Rockingham county, North Carolina, which I desire to correct. The conversation to which you allude was between Mr. Horatio King, First Assistant Post-

master-General, and myself, and not with Mr. Campbell, the Postmaster-General, as stated in your article. With this exception, the statement is correct, so far as it goes, but it does not embrace all that occurred between Mr. King and myself on that occasion.

“When I made the application for the appointment, Mr. King asked me if the applicant were a Know-Nothing? I replied that I did not know whether he was or not; and asked him if it were possible that his being a Know-Nothing would be an objection? He replied, ‘Yes, I am acting under orders not to appoint any Know-Nothing, and to turn out all whom I know to belong to the order.’ I then asked him, if a native-born citizen and a foreign Roman Catholic, both equally competent, were to apply for the appointment, on which he would bestow it? He said he should be compelled to appoint the foreign Catholic. I then left the Department, and do not know whether any appointment has yet been made or not.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“R. C. PURYEAR.”

The Romish Church, through the Postmaster-General, is now applying the principle of the Index Expurgatorius to Protestant citizens, having successfully applied it to books in Italy. Well may we here say, looking at the history of the *truck boy*, and the means by which he was made Postmaster-General :

“Those things alone
Are to be feared whence EVIL may proceed :
None else, for none are terrible beside.”

Respected reader, think of this : “I am acting under orders not to appoint any Know-Nothing, and to turn out all whom I know to belong to the order.” The American party but proscribes certain individuals on account of allegiance to a

foreign power; but the Anti-American, Popish party, proscribes a man for believing that Americans should govern America, and then hypocritically prates concerning proscription. Nor is this all. Mr. Puryear informs us that the representative of Mr. Campbell, a vassal of the Pope, declared that he should be compelled, if a foreign Romanist and a citizen by birth were to apply for a situation, to give it to the former.

If things go on in this way, the reflecting mind will soon be forced to feel that the mighty struggle for independence will terminate in a grand farce, leaving the Pope master of the soil through the blundering conduct of contemptible Protestants. This is mild language to what we might justly use.

CHAPTER XVII.

The state of the controversy respecting persecution stated.

THE Anti-American editors and speakers, in defending the Church of Rome, act on the principle of justifying sin by sinning; for their leading plea is: "Did not Protestants persecute as well as Catholics?" The point at issue is the civil power of the Pope in this country, and not whether Protestants persecuted as well as Catholics; but, as the parties do not confine themselves to this, we shall allow them a place in print on persecution.

We take the following from the *Vicksburg Whig*:

"MR. ARTHUR:—In the *Sentinel* of this morning there appeared the following paragraphs:

"'Mr. Lake is an Episcopalian, and we propose to show that he and his Church, in this particular, are not one whit better off than the Catholics. We are prepared to show two cases against his Church for each case of persecution he will cite against the Catholics, since the establishment of his. It is a matter of history that his Church, in its infancy, fed only upon blood and plunder: upon such food alone it grew fat and strong. As his almanac only gives three noted cases, we will only cite, from half a million or so, six, to make our word good.

"'John Nelson, for denying the Queen's supremacy, (of Mr. Lake's Church, mind,) was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and hanged, embowelled, and quartered. About the

same time, and for the same cause, Sherwood was hanged, embowelled, and quartered—a favorite mode of punishment with Mr. Lake's Church! On the 28th of May, 1582, Luke Kirby, a priest, for no higher offence than reciting mass in England, after being cast into a hoop, called the Scavenger's Daughter, in which his body was folded up, so that his hands, head, and feet were bound fast together, was hanged, embowelled, and quartered, as were three other priests at the same time: Kirby being made to look on while his companions were being embowelled, and the head of Wm. Filbie, one of the priests, was held up before him! One's blood shivers at the thought! At York, in 1585, Hugh Taylor, "for being a priest"—nothing else—on the 25th of November, was drawn, hanged, and quartered. At the same time, Bowes, a gentleman of family, was similarly executed for giving Taylor a cup of beer to relieve his thirst! We have, without thinking, exceeded our promise.'

"I do not know whether it is any compliment to the intelligence of our community to suppose that the above extract demands a reply. As there may be supposed, however, to be some persons as uninformed upon the subject of his remarks as the editor of the *Sentinel* himself, I will state that there was an essential and obvious difference between the cases of Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer and Rogers, and some hundreds of others, and the cases cited by the *Sentinel*. Every one of the former suffered death for the sole reason that he was a Protestant. Not one of the latter suffered death *because* he was a Roman Catholic.

"In the case of every Protestant martyr, the crime charged was heresy. In the case of almost every Roman Catholic victim of the English policy, the crime was virtually treason. It is to be remembered that the cases of Joan Bocher and Jean de Paris, who were executed for heresy, were in the reign of Edward VI., the very infancy of Protestantism, when

the reformed were in fact but partially reformed, and still in many respects influenced by the views of the religious policy in which they were educated.

“In the reign of Elizabeth, in which the Protestantism of England was firmly established, and became in all essential particulars what it remains to this day, the parliament *confined the punishment* of heretics to those who should oppose the decrees of the first four general councils, which councils the Roman Catholics acknowledged; and therefore no Roman Catholic, *as such*, could thereafter be punished for heresy.

“It is not true that Hugh Taylor, or any other priest, ‘for being a priest, nothing else,’ was hanged, drawn, and quartered in 1585. The parliament and crown of England, as we are prepared to show, acted strictly upon the defensive.

“The Roman Catholic Church, in virtue of her assumed right to meddle in such matters, considered and declared, through the Pope and other ecclesiastics, that the Protestant princes of England *were heretics*, and of consequence could not hold rightful rule in any Christian land. Can any one wonder at the severity of the laws passed and put in force against those Roman Catholics who, by *openly upholding* the pretensions of the Pope, *encouraged* rebellion against the existing civil authority, and we may say against the rights of all states and civil governments throughout the world? But for the article which has called forth these remarks, we should have supposed the editor of the *Sentinel* acquainted with the origin of the name Protestant.

“It originated in the protest which various civil governments felt themselves compelled to make against the usurpations of the Pope, in regard not less to their civil than their religious rights.

“Having shown the difference between the martyrdom of a Protestant subject of Mary, on religious ground, and the execution of a Roman Catholic subject of Edward or Eliza-

beth, on political grounds, we wait what further developments the Romish reading of the Protestant editor of the *Sentinel* may elicit.

“And we might concede more than his studies are likely to discover, and still be able triumphantly, in the language of a recent able defender of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to ask :

“ ‘By what act of that Church is persecution authorized? When and where did she pronounce *anathemas* against Romanism, or any other form of religious error? When did she make it the duty of her archbishops to *hunt out heretics*, in their visitations every year? When did she affix the penalties of her severest discipline to the *neglect* of this active barbarity? In what part of her standard system does she recommend that heretics shall be *exterminated* by direct attacks upon their liberty and life? In what act of hers will you find a *Te Deum* ordered to celebrate the butchery of Romanists? When did her clergy publish such nefarious rules of moral abomination as your Jesuits, or direct the assassin’s knife against the persons of kings? When did they hold up, as glorious martyrs, the perpetrators of such deeds as those of Jacques Clement and Ravailiac, in France; and raise religious murders to the rank of the loftiest virtue?

“ ‘The difference, therefore, between the two Churches of Rome and England is enormous. Your Papal system had fastened upon all Europe, for centuries, the positive obligation and duty to *exterminate all heretics*, by the laws of every land, by crusade, by fire and sword, by inquisitions, dungeons, tortures, and death by flames. And yet, in the very reign of Elizabeth herself, the parliament confined the punishment of heretics to those who should oppose the decrees of the first four general councils, by which an immense number of those whom your Church brands with that odious name, were set free from the terrible penalties which were executed upon

them in the reign of Mary. And in a little more than *one* century, all *Protestant dissenters* were tolerated by law; and in a little more than two centuries, all the hardships of Romanists themselves were gradually removed, with the approbation of the majority of the bishops. For a long series of years, the government has even supported your Irish seminary at Maynooth, while an English cardinal, and all your accustomed array of bishops, priests, and convents, have been allowed to sustain your religious principles, without let or molestation.’

“STATE RIGHTS CHURCHMAN.”

Again:

“STATE RIGHTS AND CHURCH WRONGS.—The only matter which seems to call for remark in the lengthened recrimination of the *Sentinel* in reply to a ‘State Rights Churchman,’ is the part relating to the two prominent issues, as he terms them, presented in my article over that name. Here let me remark that, ‘imitating my mildness, but not my modesty,’ the *Sentinel* assumes that the *nom de plume*, ‘a State Rights Churchman,’ is an appeal to his clemency, or, as he even says, mercy, in view of the anticipated severity of his reply. The modesty and the clemency of the *Sentinel* are, it is evident, about equal proportions. ‘When a man’s good wit,’ says Touchstone, ‘is not seconded by the forward child understanding, it strikes a man more dead than a large reckoning in a little room.’ The modesty attributed to me by the *Sentinel* prompts me to explain, what the general direction of the article, it was thought, would reveal to him, viz. : that the term State Rights Churchman was not used in the sense of State Rights Democrat, but rather as a play upon that phrase, the intention being to imply that, though a Churchman, I uphold the rights of States against any usurpations by the Church.

“With regard to the first issue, it is granted by the *Sen-*

tinel, 'that Catholics who were the victims of Episcopal persecutions were guilty of high treason.' 'But what,' says he, 'did your Church call high treason? By the statute of 27 Elizabeth, any Papist priest born in the dominions of the crown of England, who shall come over hither from beyond sea, or shall be in England three days without conforming and taking the oaths, is guilty of high treason.' After the words, taking the oaths, the *Sentinel* interpolates the explanatory phrase, 'abjuring his religion.' As they stand, they might appear to be the words of Blackstone. Most readers will not fail to perceive at once that it is the gloss of the *Sentinel* upon the text of Blackstone. It appears, then, from the passage of Blackstone—not Blackstone and the *Sentinel*—that a *natural-born subject of the crown of England*, refusing to take the oaths, was guilty of high treason. What were these oaths? Were they oaths to abjure his religion, as this skilful interpolator of Blackstone would lead us to think? By no means. They were oaths of allegiance to the civil authority, of which he was a *born and lawful* subject. If taking these oaths involved the abjuring his religion, it was the fault of that religion. It was because the head of that religion placed his religious subjects in a predicament which would not allow them to swear or owe allegiance to a heretical sovereign, of whom they were the natural and lawful civil subjects. The reason of the severity of the laws against Romish plotters and emissaries I explained in my first communication. And it was to a great extent justifiable. From the time of Fisher and More to Guy Fawkes and his celebrated scheme for blowing up the Parliament, they never ceased to intrigue and plot against the state. So much for the first issue.

"As to the second, it is really met and disposed of in what has been said of the necessity which compelled the civil government to watch the Pope and his emissaries as they

would assassins, and upon the refusal of the latter to clear themselves, by taking a just oath to the lawful government of their *native* land, to treat them as such. That Montesquieu thought these laws rigorous, is not strange. That Blackstone thought them too liable to abuse to remain unrepealed, does not strike me, who entirely agree with him, as wonderful.

“The conspiracies of the Papists, as every reader of English history knows, were a vast organized and continuous movement, that, until the time of William and Mary—rather we may say to that of Charles Edward, and his overthrown pretensions—left not the Protestant government of England in peace. As to the disjunction of the spiritual and the civil arm in capital proceedings against heretics, it is indeed, as the Sentinel remarks, a pretence. But there is a difference between heretics guilty, and punished *as such*, and heretics guilty and punished as traitors.

“What I have to say on the part of the Episcopal Church is, that in England the State both *made* and *punished* the crime, viz. : actual or constructive treason; whereas, in Roman Catholic countries, the Church *made* the crime, viz. : heresy, though she left it to the State (Catholic, and obedient of course) to punish it.

“I append a quotation from Hume, which will satisfy most that the sovereigns of England did not persecute Roman Catholics for their religion’s sake. Vol. 4, p. 182, Boston edition :

“The queen and Parliament were engaged to pass these severe laws against the Catholics, by some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of their priests. When the ancient worship was suppressed, and the reformation introduced into the universities, the King of Spain reflected, that as some species of literature was necessary for supporting these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the

ecclesiastics; and for this reason he founded a seminary at Douay, where the Catholics sent their children—chiefly such as were intended for the priesthood—in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The Cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the Pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the Catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen, whom they treated as a usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the Catholics labored, made them the more willingly receive from their ghostly fathers such violent doctrines.

“ ‘The Jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous Catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behooved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen’s usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive that by this clause they were obliged in conscience, even though no favorable

opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two Jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partisans, it did not oblige the Catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it.'

"I append also the continuation of the passage from Blackstone, quoted by the Sentinel :

" 'The useless machinations of the Jesuits, during the reign of Elizabeth, the turbulence and uneasiness of the Papists under the new religious establishment, and the boldness of their hopes and wishes for the succession of the Queen of Scots, obliged the parliament to counteract so dangerous a spirit by laws of a great, and then, perhaps, *necessary security*.'

"A STATE RIGHTS CHURCHMAN."

Pope Pius the Fifth, 1570: "Anathematized her Majesty (Elizabeth) as a professor and patron of heresy, despoiled the English Queen of all dominion and dignity, and freed the British nation from all subjection and fidelity." Parsons and Campion, however, two Jesuits, acting out the principle of Romanism, persuade the Queen's subjects to keep quiet until the bull of the holy father can be respected with safety. They talk of moderation, and of respect to law, while their hearts and heads are full of the devil—wholly under the influence of the decision of the Council of Trent, which "enjoins the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it can be done with safety." All remember the fate of the "formidable *Armada*, which Philip of Spain," to use the language of a Roman Catholic bishop, "sent to enforce the sentence." And this is how Romanism works—first the promise is made of respect to law, and then

an opening is sought through which heretics may be exterminated by "the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means."

If there be more philosophy in heaven and earth than we comprehend, one thing is certain—the philosophy of that which follows might be profitably studied by all :

"A pebble, in the current of time,
Has turned the course of many a river ;
A dew-drop on the leaf of a plant
Has warped the stout oak for ever."

Let not the pebble of Popery be so much as lifted, and the course of Protestantism will be as in days past—its star of empire westward !

CHAPTER XVIII.

Roman Catholic proscription and persecution established by the statements of Romish advocates.

WE shall first place before the reader the views entertained by Roman Catholics respecting those who are of the Protestant faith. We take the following from Dr. Dens' system of theology, a text-book in Romish seminaries :

"1st. Protestants are heretics, and as such, are worse than Jews and pagans. 2d. They are, by baptism and blood, under the power of the Roman Catholic Church. 3d. So far from granting *toleration* to Protestants, it is the duty of the Church to exterminate the rites of their religion. 4th. It is the duty of the Roman Catholic Church to *compel* heretics to submit to her faith. 5th. That the punishments decreed by the Roman Catholic Church are confiscation of goods, exile, imprisonment, and death."

We shall now give a few extracts from the Romish Testament. The comments respecting *Protestants* run thus :

"To be present at their service is a great and damnable sin. The church service of England, they being in heresy and schism, is not only unprofitable, but damnable. The *translators* of the English Bible ought to be abhorred to the *depths of hell*. Just and rigorous punishment of sinners is not forbidden, nor Christian princes for putting heretics to *death*. Heretics ought by *public authority*, either *spiritual* or *temporal*, to be *chastised* or *executed*. The blood of millions of saints, shed by the Papal Church, is not called the

blood of saints, any more than the blood of *thieves, man-killers*, or any other malefactors, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, *no commonwealth shall answer.*"

We have a great anxiety to know how the Anti-American Protestants feel after reading the Romish view of their condition—after reading that the translators of that Book which guided their entombed fathers and mothers to the home of God, "ought to be abhorred to the depths of hell." Will some of them be so kind as to furnish us with the much desired information?

A gentleman, writing from Washington City, September 10th, 1855, thus addressed the editor of the *Flag of the Union*, Jackson, Mississippi: "An incident in this city came to my knowledge, illustrating the views of American Catholics on this point—citizens whose patriotism and love of republicanism I have ever been disposed to rely upon, with perfect confidence. Two respectable gentlemen of intelligence—the one a Know-Nothing, and the other an Anti—were in conversation upon the allegiance of Catholics. The Anti reproached the American party with intolerance toward the Catholics, and said: 'There is Mr. H——, a wealthy, intelligent American citizen, and a Catholic. Your order excludes him: would you not trust him in any post under the government?'

"The American replied: 'I know Mr. H—— well. He is an intelligent gentleman, and as I do not think his views of the power of the Pope coincide with the claim set up by the Church, I do not know but I would trust him, having been born in the United States, and educated in our republican form of government.'

"At this juncture in the conversation, Mr. H—— himself joined the party, and entered into conversation, reproaching also the American party for its intolerance of Catholics.

"The American remarked: 'Your reproaches, Mr. H——, do not come with a good grace from you. You are a Catholic,

and the Pope of Rome not only prohibits Protestant worship in Rome, but denies to Protestants the right of decent burial.'

" 'That is very true,' replied Mr. H——, 'but the Pope is the spiritual and civil head of Rome, and has the right and the power to do so.'

" 'But Mr. H——,' said the American, 'do you think it is proper and just for the Pope to exercise this right and power to prohibit Protestants from worshipping as Protestants, and from decent Christian burial?'

" 'Most certainly I do,' was the prompt reply of Mr. H——.

" 'Suppose,' said the American, 'the Pope should get the civil and spiritual power in the United States: is it your opinion he would have the right, and ought to exercise it, of preventing Protestant worship, and the rights of conscience, in this country?'

" 'Ah! that's not a supposable case,' said Mr. H——.

" 'But I insist that it is a supposable case,' said the American; 'and I ask you, as an honorable man and a Catholic, if in your opinion, in the case supposed, the Pope would exercise the power to prevent the Protestants from worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience in this country?'

" 'Most certainly I do,' was the response.

" 'Would you think it right that he should do so, Mr. H——?'

" 'Most certainly I would,' was his frank reply.

"Satisfied, from this demonstration, that the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the intelligent and the ignorant, the native and the foreign Catholic, are alike bound by the dogmas of the Romish hierarchy, as above all allegiance to home and country, the American retired from the conversation with the conviction that none were worthy to be trusted with the suffrages of our government, whose obedience to the Roman Catholic Church was paramount to their allegiance to their country."

Alphonso de Castro, a star of the first magnitude in the

Romish Church, says: "There are various punishments with which ecclesiastical sanctions and imperial laws order heretics to be punished. Some are spiritual and affect the soul alone; others are corporal and afflict the body. We will speak of each in its order, and first of corporal punishments, and afterward about spiritual. Among corporal punishments, one which very much annoys heretics is the proscription and confiscation of their property."—Cap. v., p. 98.

"Another punishment of heretics, is the deprivation of every sort of preëminence, jurisdiction, and government, which they previously exercised over persons of every condition. For he who is a heretic is, *ipso jure*, deprived of all such things."—Cap. vii., p. 105.

"This authority have kings, dukes, earls, and other governors who rule the people. Those over whom this authority is exercised are not called servants, but subjects: they are also called by the universally received term, vassals. This authority is also lost by manifest heresy: thus a king having become a heretic, is *ipso jure* deprived of his kingdom, a duke of his dukedom, an earl of his earldom, and so with other governors of the people, by whatever name they are known. Nor should any one wonder that the Pope, on account of the crime of heresy, deprives a king of his royal dignity, and strips him of his kingdom; for in the matter of faith, kings, like other subordinates, are the subjects of the sovereign Pontiff, who can punish them as he does others."—Cap. vii., p. 108.

"The last punishment of the body for heretics is DEATH, with which we will prove, by God's assistance, heretics *ought to be punished*."—Cap. xii., p. 123.

"It hence comes to pass, in order to create a horror for so great a crime, and to produce in others detestation of it, that it is *just* to inflict the punishment of *death* on an incorrigible heretic."—Cap. xii., p. 126.

“But there is no greater sin (as we have shown above, in book first) than that of heresy, and therefore there is no crime the hatred of which is more to be impressed on a Christian. Whence it follows that there is no crime for which one may be more *justly put to death* than for fixed and incurable heresy. If Martin Luther, when he first began to pour out his poison, and after being lawfully admonished would not repent, had been *capitally punished as he deserved*, his followers would have been terrified, and there would not have burst forth so many and so great heresies as, alas! Germany now endures. But because Luther escaped with impunity, Œcolampadius, Zwingle, Carlstadt, and the Anabaptists, the worst of all heretics, dared to go abroad in public and vent their heresies.”—Cap. xii., p. 126.

“In Flanders and other parts of lower Germany, when I was there ten years ago, I saw heretics punished by decapitation. In Guelders, however, heretics, tied by the hands and feet, by order of Charles, Duke of Guelders, were cast alive into a river, there to be swallowed up by the stream. A Lutheran was punished in this way at Antwerp, as I heard from many that saw it, by Lady Margaret, aunt of Charles Cæsar, who, in Cæsar’s absence, governs that country. I heard, also, at Bruges, in Flanders, from many eye-witnesses worthy of credit, that it was the custom in that city to cast heretics alive into boiling oil, that they might thus be the more speedily burned.”—Cap. xii., p. 128.

“St. Gregory, in his first book of Dialogues, cap. 4, states that a certain magician was burned at Rome, and praises the transaction.”—Cap. xii., p. 128.

“From which words it is abundantly plain that it is not a modern invention, but that it is the ancient opinion of wise Christians that heretics should be burned with fire.

“Ex quibus verbis apertissime constat non esse reagentem inventionem, sed antiquissimam sapientum Christianorum

sententiam hæreticos esse igne cremandos."—Cap. xii., p. 128.

"After I had completed this work about the just punishment of heretics, I happened to hear a young man relating to me all sins in sacramental confession. I asked him whether he knew of any concealed heretics. To this question he openly replied that he knew his father to be a heretic. On hearing this, I advised the son to reveal the hidden crime of the father to the inquisitors; yet I could not persuade him to do it, for he shielded himself by saying that it was not becoming or natural that a son should lead his father to death."—Cap. xxvi., p. 185.

The son is advised to present his own father at the tribunal of death. Beyond description awful.

Again, Alphonso de Castro says: "From all these things it is plain, that he who knows any one to be a heretic is not bound to observe the order of fraternal connection laid down by Christ our Saviour."—Cap. xxvi., p. 182.

In the face of all this, sufficient to shock the sensibilities of the devil, Bishop Doyle, now living, declares: "And it is the same Church now as in the day that De Castro defended it against the acts of those who were sinning against it."—Quoted in *Cumming's Lectures*, p. 42.

Call you this "a Know-Nothing lie?" That which precedes ought to arouse the States into a voting army against the claims and teachings of Popery—that is, in a political sense.

St. Liguori, whose writings are endorsed by the authorities of Rome, says:

"The bishop is bound, (referring to the oath to exterminate heresy,) in places where the Holy Inquisition flourishes, to purge the diocese committed to him of heretics."—Vol. ix., p. 345.

How could he purge the diocese without a resort to the temporal sword?

In the Introduction to *Sismondi's History of France*, we are informed thus: "From every point we are brought to the same conclusion, that the Church claims a divine right to extirpate heresy, and exterminate heretics, with or without the consent of the sovereigns in whose dominions they may be found."

Charles Butler, one of their most approved writers, says: "It is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be unchangeable; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it is now, and such it ever will be."—*Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church*.

In the Maynooth class-book, by De la Hogue, which is used in all Catholic universities, it is said: "The Church commands that so far as possible the canons be observed. She indulges, in cases of necessity, that they be occasionally relaxed. She tolerates whatever she cannot punish without much inconvenience."—Cap. viii., p. 370.

Aquinas, a saint of the Romish Church, says: "Heretics may not only be excommunicated, but justly killed. Such the Church consigns to the secular arm, to be exterminated from the world by death."—*Aquinas*, ii., iii., p. 48.

Rather spicery talk, this, for a saint!

The general Council of Trent, the last which recommended persecution, "enjoined the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it could be done with safety."—*Paolo*, iv., p. 604.

That which follows is highly significant to the Protestants of this country: "If it would benefit the cause of Catholics, he (the Pope) would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you, possibly he may even hang you; but be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the glorious principles of civil and religious liberty."—*Rambler*.

We shall now see how the spirit and teachings of Romanism have been working in the fields of heresy, not in books, canons, and councils, but in murderous persecution, allied with the most damnable and brutal acts. Torquemada, on being made Inquisitor-General, burned alive, to signalize his promotion to the holy office, "no less than two thousand of the sons of heresy."—*Dellon*, c. 28. Is not this account too hellish for even the eyes of hell to look at with any degree of pleasure?

Pope Innocent the Third proclaimed a wholesale crusade against the Albigenses. He proposed to all that would march against them, and fight for the holy Catholic Church, pardon of sin, the glory of martyrdom, and a home in heaven. About half a million of HOLY WARRIORS, composed of bishops, soldiers, and people, assembled, and undertook the crusade. The Earl of Montfort became their leader. The city of Beziers was taken by storm, and its inhabitants were murdered without even distinction of sex or religion. Arnold, the Popish missionary, when the crusaders and Albigenses were so mixed that they could not be discriminated, cried aloud, "Kill all, and God will know his own." Daniel reckons that thirty thousand were killed. Mezeray and Velley estimate the number at sixty thousand. The blood of those who fled to the churches for safety drenched the altars, and flowed around in crimson torrents. And all this by the *holy warriors* of the Pope! In the year 1209 this infernal act was perpetrated.

Lavaur was taken by storm in 1211. Eighty gentlemen, prisoners, were slaughtered as beasts by butchers. Four hundred persons were burned alive. The governor was hanged on a gibbet, and his wife was thrown into a well, and overwhelmed with stones. One shudders, declares Velley, in his history of the matter, while he relates such horrors.

Languedoc, a flourishing country, was literally ruined by

the *holy warriors*. Its cities were burned, and its inhabitants were swept away by fire and the sword. *One hundred thousand* Albigenses fell, it is said, in a day. Their bodies were heaped together and burned. Soldiers were sent to every part of the land for the purpose of destroying houses, vineyards, and the hope of the farmer. Females were defiled. Burning houses, the groans of the dying, and the screams of violated women, were sure signs of the onward march of the *holy warriors*. The war lasted twenty years. These sons of the Devil, however, did not leave the field of strife entirely free of punishment. Three hundred thousand of them fell on the plains of Languedoc, to which place our memory reverts as containing the most infamous remains of men known to history.

The infernal inquisition accompanied the Crusaders. Dominic—beg pardon—St. Dominic, looked at the dislocating of the joints of the Albigenses, the practice of the Tolosan Inquisition, as at a scene of amusement. The *Christian* operation he performed “by suspending his victim by a cord affixed to his arms, that were brought behind his back, which, being raised by a wheel, lifted off the ground the suspected Waldensian, man or woman, who refused to confess till forced by the violence of torture.”—*Limborch*, 4, 29. “His saintship convicted a hundred and eighty Albigenses, who were at one time committed to the flames.”—*Velley*, 3, 435. The Romish Breviary lauds “his merits and doctrines, which enlightened the Church, his ingenuity and virtue, which overthrew the Tolosan heretics, and his many miracles, which extended even to the raising of the dead.”

And as if a portion of the Protestants of the United States were not satisfied with all this, and wishing to perpetuate his memory, they send their daughters to be instructed by the *Sisters of St. Dominic*, while they themselves plead in justification of the sins of Popery, and vote for its strong defenders.

We shall here venture the thought, however, that if a ring-leader of the Abolitionists were to put a plan in motion which would destroy a Southern State by torture and fire, a man's life would not be safe a moment were he to attempt to commit the destroyer and murderer to posterity as a saint, incorporating his name with the ceremonies of any Church. Dominic destroyed the fair places of earth, and butchered our ancestors through the agency of the inquisition; yet many of our people look with indifference at houses raised to preserve his memory, and listen without horror to that which we have above given from the Romish Breviary, and which we shall here re-insert, hoping to rouse the guilty stupor of Protestant minds. It lauds "his merits and doctrines, which enlightened the Church, his ingenuity and virtue, which overthrew the Tolosan heretics." We think that the reading of this in a Protestant country ought to be viewed as a capital offence, a disgrace to humanity, an insult to the religion of the Bible and the God of the Bible, and ought most assuredly to be punished accordingly, not by another Dominic seeking retribution, but by the strong arm of law.

From what precedes, the reader will at once understand the meaning of Mariana, a Jesuit, who recommends "fire and sword, when mild means are unavailing and useless. A wise severity," says this son of Rome, "in such cases, is the sovereign remedy."—*Mariana*, 2, 686.

Oppeda, thirsting for the blood of heretics, and having a commission to slay men and women, burn towns, and demolish castles, went to work on the Waldenses, and massacred thousands of them. Twenty-four towns were ruined by this ruffian and murderer. Men, women, and children fled to the woods and mountains. Many of the weeping mothers carried their infants in cradles. The woods and mountains reëchoed the groans and lamentations of the sufferers. Three hundred children died in a cave where they had been placed by their

parents. Nearly two hundred children perished with cold on the top of a mountain to which their parents had carried them as a place of security. Sixty men and thirty women surrendered in Capraria, on condition that their lives should be spared; but Popery, true to its principle, "No faith is to be kept with heretics," had them brought to a meadow and murdered without pity or remorse. Five hundred women were thrown into a barn, which was then set on fire; and when any leaped from the openings, they were received on the points of spears or halberts. Girls were taken from the arms of their mothers, violated, and afterwards treated with hellish inhumanity. Mothers, after seeing their children murdered before their eyes, were, though fainting with grief and horror, violated by the soldiers* of the *holy war*. Some were dashed over high rocks, while others were put to the sword, or dragged naked through the streets.

Will it be believed in the nineteenth century that Pope Paul the Fourth made Oppeda, the head monster of such mortal devils, Count Palatine and Knight of Saint John, while the partisans of Romanism styled him "the defender of the faith, the protector of the faithful, and the hero of Christianity?"—*Ibid*, 2, 494. In all this we have the spirit of Romanism.

The massacre of Orange, in 1562, was accompanied with similar horrors. The Italian army, sent by Pope Pius the Fourth, was commanded by Serbellon, a bird of the same plume of Oppeda. Infants, and even the sick and dying,

* "Fœminæ a furentibus violatæ, et satiata libidine tam crudeliter habitæ, ut pleræque, sive ex animi mœrore, sive fame et cruciatibus perserint."—*Thuanus*, 1, 227. "Cruauté alla jusqu' à violer des femmes mourantes, et d'autres, à la veue desquelles on avoit egorgé leurs enfans."—*Gaufridus*, 2, 480. Let it be distinctly remembered that we are representing things in accordance with the Romish authors, *Thuanus*, *Gaufridus*, *Moreri*, and *Paolo*.

were assassinated. Children were snatched from their mothers, and killed with the blows of bludgeons. Some were hanged, and others roasted over a slow fire. Many were thrown on the points of hooks and daggers. Women with child were suspended on posts and gates, and their bowels let out with knives. The women, old and young, were violated. Ladies of rank were abandoned to the will of the ruffian soldiery, and afterward exposed to the public laughter, with horns and stakes thrust into their bodies in such a way as decency forbids to describe.—*Thuan.*, 2, 228. And this is Popery, the pet idol of Anti-Americanism!

We come now to notice the massacre at Paris, in 1572, on Bartholomew's day. The Duke of Guise was the chosen champion on this occasion. The people and the military, infatuated by the spirit of Romanism, thirsted for the blood of the Huguenots. Charles the Ninth, by way of showing the *tender mercies* of Popery, attacked, with a gun in hand, his unresisting Protestant subjects, "shouting, with all his might, *Kill, kill!*"—*Sully*, 1, 34.

One of the faithful sons of the Pope boasted of having, in one night, killed a hundred and fifty, and another of having slain four hundred. The carnage lasted seven days. Davila reckons the killed in Paris, during this time, at 10,000. The Seine was covered with the floating dead. The king went to see the body of the noble Admiral Coligny, which had been dragged by the populace, and brutally observed, that the "smell of a dead enemy was agreeable." The queen feasted her eyes on thousands of the naked dead, pleased to see so rich an offering to the god Popery. Such is the influence of Romanism on the mind of woman!

This bloody tragedy was not confined to Paris. It extended over the French nation. Sully represents the slain at 70,000. "The Parliament publicly eulogized the king's wisdom," which had effected the effusion of so much heretical blood

His Majesty ordered medals to be coined to perpetuate the memory of the transaction. This is the inscription: "PIETY EXCITED JUSTICE."—*Daniel*, 8, 786.

Hell would not acknowledge such piety, and the Devil would be ashamed to profess it.

The Pope, after hearing what had been accomplished in France, went "in a procession to the Church of St. Louis, to render thanks to God for the happy victory." His Legate in France thanked the king in the Pontiff's name, "and praised the exploit so long meditated and so happily executed for the good of religion." The massacre, says Mezeray, "was extolled before the king as the triumph of the Church."—*Mezeray*, 5, 162. *Sully*, 1, 27.

Coming down to our own day, we find Maria Joaquina Alves condemned to death for heresy, in the Island of Madeira. As close to us as 1844, the following judgment was pronounced:

"In view of the answers of the jury and decision of the cause, it is proved that the accused Maria Joaquina, perhaps forgetful of the principles of the holy religion which she received in her first years, and to which she still belongs, has maintained conversations and arguments condemned by the Church, maintaining that veneration should not be given to images, denying the real existence of Christ in the sacred host, (the bread,) the mystery of the most holy Trinity; blaspheming against the most holy Virgin, Mother of God, and advancing other expressions against the doctrines received and followed by the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, expounding these condemned doctrines to different persons, thus committing the crime of heresy and blasphemy. * * * I condemn the accused Maria Joaquina to SUFFER DEATH," etc.

"JOZE PEREIRA LEITO PITTA ORTEGUEIRA NEGRAO."

This is authenticated by Dr. Kelly, of Scotland, "who was present at the time."—*London Record*.

She was the mother of seven children, the youngest on the breast when cast into prison. It is due to truth, however, to state, that the sentence terminated in banishment. Romanism quailed, in this instance, before the frown of the nineteenth century.

Are not these alarming and shocking facts fully sufficient to convince all—we say *all* with emphasis—that the American Platform is absolutely needed? He who may fail to see in this chapter a just cause of alarm, need not be told that danger is at hand when robbers are at the door. Moreover, he who would reject the American Platform, after carefully examining the horrible truths contained in this chapter, will never be damned for an inclination to believe without a just cause.

CHAPTER XIX.

A short review of the allusion of General Cass to what is called the Religious Article of the American Platform.

GENERAL CASS, in *The Detroit Free Press*, August, 1855, thus addressed the public by a letter to the editor :

“I have no sympathy with this plan (American) of political organization—none whatever : neither with the means it employs, nor the object it seeks to attain.

“It is the *Orangeism* of a republic—scarcely better in principle than its monarchical prototype—of a republic whose freedom and equality justify as little as they invite the introduction of a machinery whose operations are concealed from public observation, but whose consequences are as clear as they are alarming.”

Let the nation have a drink of water, ye philosophers of the nineteenth century, or it may faint after reading the forebodings set forth in this provoking and dismal array of words.

General Cass has “no sympathy with the object” the American organization “seeks to attain—none whatever” Well may we here pause, while we ask, “What is the object it seeks to attain, so far as men who are in allegiance to a foreign power are concerned? Just this, that Americans, whether of native or foreign birth, ought not to vote for them. General Cass, having a discriminating mind, ought to have discovered this in bold relief on the very face of the platform, and used his thoughts and pen accordingly.

The American party never contemplated the proscribing of a man on account of his religion, but, as already stated, on account of allegiance to a foreign power. This has been a thousand times proclaimed; then why intimate the reverse? For instance, if Mr. Seward, of New York, were to run for the Presidency of the United States, would not the Southern people refuse to vote for him—literally proscribe him? Why? Certainly not on account of being either an Episcopalian or a Presbyterian, but on account of being an Abolitionist. The Americans, in their platform, but plainly set forth a similar principle. As Seward would be proscribed for being an Abolitionist, not for being either an Episcopalian or a Presbyterian, so the American party would proscribe a Roman Catholic for his allegiance to the Pope, and not for his religion. Would General Cass vote for any man in allegiance to a foreign power? We are certain he would not. He who would is unfit to be trusted with the interests of this great republic. From what precedes, is it not clearly established that those who declare that the American party proscribes on account of religion, as understood and defined by critics and Christian writers, ignorantly or knowingly make a false statement?

General Cass speaks of the American organization as the "Orangeism of a republic." A Roman Catholic editor, who publishes a paper in the city of New York, observes: "If there be upon the earth one being more contemptible than another, it is the Irish Orangeman. In degradation there is still a lower depth. If there be upon the surface of this globe one scoundrel greater than another, it is the Irish-American Orangeman." And this is the abuse Americans receive for trying to save their native land from the corrupting influence of Romanism!

Why are the Protestants of Ireland called Orangemen? Because they organized, as the Americans organized, to save their homes and their altars from the iron grasp of Popery.

From this the reader can now understand the exact meaning of General Cass and the editor to whom reference is made above. Why did not these gentlemen dip their pens in ink, and write in capital letters scorching rebukes of "The Free Germans," "The Turners," and "Ribbonmen"—political organizations? We answer, because these organizations support, by word, act, and vote, the doctrine of Anti-Americanism. Here they find a king-cure for their sin, while the American organization stands out before them as Lazarus covered with sores. Surely the love of party is occasionally found in a wicked extreme. How true in this instance!

What next? This: that it does seem as if *The New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* has become greatly encouraged in its course of abuse of *Sam* and of Protestantism by the example of General Cass, and that of the Anti-American speakers and editors all over the land, as that which follows will show:

"Our countrymen have torn the mask from the midnight tramper, (the American party;) have flashed the torch upon his countenance, and read in his distorted features the fell purpose of the assassin. Shall those who armed the stabber, and whetted the dagger for his parricidal purpose, escape the retribution which waits on meditated crime? Shall Protestantism skulk from the scene of its foiled villainy, and spill the odium of the guilt on its detected ruffian? Never, never. Let it be recorded in ineffaceable characters, that the conspiracy which, in the year 1855, aimed a deadly blow, not at Cæsar, but at the rights of American citizens and the permanency of this Union, drew its hot pestiferous breath within the chamber confines of the Protestant Churches. Let it be *frescoed* upon the mind of the country: it is history."

Respecting this the *Nashville Gazette* truly observes: "The article from which this is taken seems, from its general style, to be from the pen of Archbishop Hughes. It is worthy of a

Charles IX., a Catharine de Medicis, or a Pope Alexander; and if the malignity and venom of its author were blackened by corresponding power, we might expect it to be followed up with the torch and the torture. It breathes the fiercest intolerance; and remember that it comes direct from the accredited organ of Archbishop Hughes. The American party has no rejoinder to make in the same vein. It has no quarrel with the religion of the constituents of Archbishop Hughes. It simply denies the expediency of permitting priest-ridden ignorance to hold the balance of political power in American States and cities, and it points to the above extract as a sufficient reason for the position it has taken upon this subject."

General Cass calls the American organization "the Orangeism of a republic;" and a Roman Catholic editor says: "If there be upon the surface of this globe one scoundrel greater than another, it is the Irish-American Orangeman;" while the organ of Bishop Hughes, as if encouraged by such examples, asks: "Shall Protestantism skulk from the scene of its foiled villainy, and spill the odium of the guilt on its detected ruffian," the American party? "Let it be recorded that the conspiracy which, in the year 1855, aimed a deadly blow at the rights of American citizens, drew its hot pestiferous breath within the chamber confines of the Protestant Churches."

Such is the language of the friends of the Pope toward *Sam*, and such the indignity they offer to Protestantism. A dog so treated might justly bark; yet there are men who call themselves Protestants and freemen, who not only are so enslaved by the love of party as to submit to all this without a murmur, but proscribe ministers, and editors of religious papers, for the *shocking* offence, that of defending the creed of their fathers. Great is the power of the Pope! *Unit* is the name of the vote of his subjects, when his will is known. What an age we live in! Are not *these considerations* per-

fectly sufficient to drive dull care from the breast of every Anti-American?

Well may we close our short review of the allusions of General Cass to what is called the religious article of the American Platform thus:

“Let Hercules himself do what he may,
The cat will mew, the dog will have his day.”

CHAPTER XX.

A review of the Hon. H. A. Wise's letter to the Anti-American meeting in New York, improperly called Democratic.

THE letter of Mr. Wise is dated October 18, 1855, and is directed to Alexander C. Morton, New York, chairman, etc. In its outset he expresses a regret that he cannot "attend and address a mass-meeting of the national Democratic party of the city and county of New York." This pleasing task being accomplished, he descants freely and fully on "consolidation, isms, fusion of fusions, non-intervention by Congress, the reserved rights of sovereign States, the Constitution, Kansas-Nebraska bill, Missouri prohibition, envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness." The distinguished letter-writer, as if anxious to show by a *just and gentle spirit* the true meaning of envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, turns aside for the purpose of thus paying his respects to the Americans generally, and *preachers* particularly :

"As to the secret 'Americans'—the Know-Nothings—day has broke upon them. And it is amusing to see Sam's bats and owls of midnight, flitting and flapping, blind, about in the sunlight. They are seeking sorrily to skulk from light and sight—here some flap back to poor, deserted whiggery, and there some escape to the 'republican' fusion. The day has dissolved the charm. The true bird of America, Jove's own eagle, is on a wing that never tires in the lambent light of the mid-heavens. Uncle Sam has roused himself and

shaken off the slumber and stupor of the night-dreams, and is at his active work in broad day.

“The devil baited the hooks of some preachers with the politics of the Pope’s big toe, and the hooks of some politicians with the unco-righteousness of a knavish priestcraft, and set them bobbing together for the souls of dupes, for the corruption of the Church, and for the destruction of the State. No heat but one could have ever welded such a fusion. In the Shades they were taught their parts by the gloom-light of the dark lantern! But

‘The sun is in the heavens, and life on earth.’

“Day has caught them in their incantations, and light is dispelling their mysteries. The next you will see of Sam, he will be on his knees praying against slavery and John Barley-corn. He has dropped Pope Pius Nonus, and has just discovered, after all he has said about his Holiness’s supremacy, that every naturalized Catholic takes an oath expressly to renounce all allegiance to any and every prince, power, potentate, king, sovereign, or state, and particularly to the prince, power, potentate, king, sovereign, or state, of which he was before a subject.”

What an exalted opinion Mr. Wise must have of the majority of his own countrymen! It seems as if he were anxious to transcend the editor of the *Celt* in abusing that which is American in feeling, purpose, and principle, who contemptuously says: “Better languish and die under the red flag of England, than to live to beget children of perdition under the flag of a proselytizing Republic.”

We love to see men thus thrashed, who seem to be at a long distance from self-respect, patriotism, and Protestantism. Lay on, Macduff!

“It is amusing,” says Mr. Wise, “to see Sam’s bats and owls of midnight, flitting and flapping, blind, about in the

sunlight." If the author of this declaration be in any sort of sunlight, we fondly hope that not one of the rays may ever favor our vision. How elegant the diction! How soul-stirring the sentiment! Is not the whole beautified by the purest love of country? Wonder if proud Virginia will not yet erect a monument to his name? Would he not highly honor the presidential chair, after being elected against the wish of his countrymen by the votes of Johnny O'Doharty, Patrick O'Flaherty, and Holstein Sheumester? Moreover, would he not reflect, by his *respectful language*, lasting honor on the American name, even to distant lands? Clear the track for the distinguished advocate of Anti-Americanism!

Speaking of Protestant ministers, Mr. Wise exclaims: "The devil baited the hooks of some preachers with the politics of the Pope's big toe, and the hooks of politicians with the unco-righteousness of a knavish priestcraft, and set them bobbing together for the souls of dupes." The ministers who voted for him to fill the governor's chair of Virginia, must feel *greatly delighted* at the form and spirit of this quotation. He but speaks of their brethren, for simply carrying out their solemn convictions of duty, as he would of so many pickpockets. We can, however, see an apology for them in the fact, that the love of Anti-Americanism has often triumphed over the plain and undeniable dictates of Protestantism. In saying this, we but record that which we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears.

Mr. Wise, in the insulting language above given, seems to rival the organ of the notorious Bishop Hughes, the *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, which says: "Let it be recorded in ineffaceable characters, that the conspiracy which, in the year 1855, aimed a deadly blow, not at Cæsar, but at the rights of American citizens and the permanency of this Union, drew its hot, pestiferous breath within the chamber confines of the Protestant Churches."

After all this, however, there are a few Protestant ministers, and more than a few Protestant laymen, who are so lost in the love of Anti-Americanism as to submit calmly to the behests of those who thus wantonly insult the religion for which martyrs toiled, bled, and died. O the degeneracy of the age!

A Romish paper may say: "If Catholics ever gain an immense numerical majority, religious freedom in this country is at an end," and Mr. Wise will sit as silent as a statue: not a word respecting this in a letter to a Democratic, rather Anti-American meeting; but the moment Protestants undertake to save their altars and cherished principles from the inroads of Romanism—not Gallicanism—language is found too feeble to express the horror felt at their conduct. Who can fail to see the corrupting tendency of Romanism here?

Again, the Hon. H. A. Wise says—and surely, judging from what precedes, we must look on him as an *honorable* man—"He (Sam) has dropped Pope Pius Nonus, and has just discovered, after all he has said about his Holiness's supremacy, that every naturalized Catholic takes an oath expressly to renounce all allegiance to any and every prince, power, potentate, king, sovereign, or state, and particularly to the prince, power, potentate, king, sovereign, or state, of which he was before a subject."

Is Mr. Wise aware of this: "Pope Innocent III. excommunicated John, King of England, absolving all his subjects from their allegiance to him?" Does Mr. Wise know that Brownson, endorsed by the authorities of the Romish Church in this country, says: "The Catholic dogma, in regard to every subject whatsoever, has always been the same from the beginning, remains always unchangeably the same, and will always continue in every part of the world immutable?" We presume he does not, being perfectly satisfied that the fact of sitting in the chair of state furnishes but little evidence

of general reading and true scholarship. The quotations given go to prove that Mr. Wise need not put himself to the trouble of "bobbing for a dupe," to use his own classic language: he will find in himself one on the hook of his own duplicity.

Of Romanism we may truly say, whether it plants itself on the banks of the Tiber, the Ganges, or the Bosphorus, or floats across the blue Atlantic, or places itself on the shores of the Hudson or the Potomac, or ascends or descends the Mississippi, it is the same politico-ecclesiastic institution, claiming alike spiritual and temporal power, enslaving the minds and consciences of men. And shall such an organization, with its aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies, flourish in this free and happy land, the birthplace of Washington and Jefferson? It will have to wait until the love of country is ready to take to itself wings and fly away; wait until the American heart becomes colder than the snow that drank the brave Montgomery's blood; and then this, the land of the free and the home of the brave, will become

"A strange record of a nation that was."

Mr. Wise thus *wisely* concludes his letter: "We shall strike together, and strike home for our God, our country, and our Constitution." Here a question naturally arises, Who with? We unhesitatingly answer, with all sorts, embracing the deceiver and the deceived, the infidel, the abrogator of the Sabbath, of thanksgiving days, of public prayers in Congress, the excluder of the Bible from free schools, the vilifier of American institutions, the Abolitionists, the Red-Republican from a foreign land, the Hard and the Soft, the Temperance and the Anti-Temperance, the Pierce faction and the Anti-Pierce faction, the Greek and the Celtic Irish, and the Mohammedan and Mormon. All these united make the party with which Virginia's Governor intends to strike for God, country, and Con-

stitution. If the devil ever indulges in a smile, he may well put his hands on his sides, and indulge, while looking at so ridiculous a spectacle, in a wholesale one. "What a party!" *Sam* exclaims.

Here we beg leave to illustrate our conception of the Hon. Mr. Wise. A servant, after doing that which was forbidden at head-quarters, was asked by his master if he could give any reason for his conduct. He paused for a moment, and then replied: "No reason, Master, for you are so smart a man that you could pick a hole in any gentleman's character." Mr. Wise is so smart in reference to the peculiar interests at head-quarters, Washington, that some of the ministers feel inclined to favor him with silence, knowing that he could pick a hole in the character of an archbishop of angel purity, and then bespatter him with the elegant diction of an ordinary grocery; especially when cheered and sustained by Arnolds in the Church. We mean exactly what these words naturally express, whoever may feel hurt on account of guilt.

It is to be hoped, however, that our truthful and *beautiful* compliment will not be the cause of a rupture in the bump of his self-esteem.

"Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat does this our Cæsar feed,
That he has grown so great?"

There is, without doubt, a remarkable charm in "the politics of the Pope's big toe." In proof of this we remark, that "the devil baits the hook of such a statesman as Mr. Wise with said politics, and sets him a bobbing for the votes of Popish slaves," irrespective of the consequences on liberty, patriotism, and Protestantism.

Our respects are now paid to the Governor of Virginia, under the abiding conviction that his vulgar sneers at ministers ought to receive a much more severe rebuke. The pulpit will soon be a place of degradation, if the professors of reli-

gion continue, by word, smile or vote, to favor those who seem to take pleasure in abusing it, because it exposes error, corruption, and wickedness, contending for truth, honor, patriotism, and Protestantism.

CHAPTER XXI.

Strictures on Judge Longstreet's Anti-American articles of 1855; and on his Appeal to the preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to abandon the American party.

JUDGE LONGSTREET is a good man, possessing more than ordinary attainments; still, we must be permitted to declare that his position on the American question is but another evidence that good and great men may sadly err. Speaking of a conflict between Methodism and Romanism, he observes; "Put Methodism and Romanism on the field of fair argument, and I will stake my all on the issue." How appropriate the old saying: "If the sky would fall, we could catch larks!" Does he not know that a remarkable change must be wrought in his own mind, and in the minds of many Methodists, before such a controversy can be even named? Does he not know that there are more than a few Methodists who would, influenced by party feelings, be found on the side of the Pope? Does he not know that Methodist ministers, were they to talk at a Tract meeting, a Bible meeting, or at any other meeting, as in past years, respecting Romanism, would be most sternly opposed by a portion of the members? Does he not know that the editors of the Church papers, were they to write against Popery as in past years, would soon see a mortifying and ruinous decrease in their subscribers? In a word, if the bishops and ministers, who agree with us in opinion, and who are only what they have ever been, were to propose a discussion with the vassals of the Pope on this

question: "That Romanism does teach the doctrine of civil as well as religious power, not only in foreign lands, but even in the United States," where would Judge Longstreet and a sprinkling of the preachers then stand? Most assuredly against us. In consequence of this we ask, how could we meet "Romanism on the field of fair argument?" The house would practically appear divided, leaving Popery to laugh at the battle-scene. True, we could establish our position; but the mortification we should experience at the thought of our broken ranks, would be as a canker in the glory of our triumph. This is a just representation of the struggle we should have "with Romanism on the field of fair argument." Anti-Americans, who abuse the Protestant name, would be greatly improved, if not thoroughly converted, by a calm examination of these considerations, provided the love of party has not made their cases chronic and hopeless.

The Judge exclaims: "I am sure that there are yet more than ten thousand Christians in and about the State who have not yet bowed the knee to Baal;" that is, the American party. The doctrine of the party is: "That those who are in allegiance to a foreign power ought to be opposed by votes; that Americans should govern America." To support this, according to the quotation now under examination, is to bow the knee to Baal. What an idea! Better, much better do this, than bow the knee to the Baal of Popish politics—the glory of Anti-Americanism, and the curse of nations. Here we rebukingly ask:

"Is there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said—
This is my own, my native land?"

We hesitate not to say, that those, whether natives or foreigners by birth, who oppose the reformation contemplated by the American party, are enemies to the best interests of this land of hope, light, and freedom.

Speaking of a Methodist minister and the demagogue, the Judge observes :

“I will warn the first, by the shade of Wesley, to return to his first love; and I warn the other, by the shade of Washington, to repent and turn to the principles of that great man.”

We presume that the author is not aware that Wesley and Washington would unite with the American party, could they arise from their graves. We shall now demonstrate that we are not mistaken in our conclusion respecting the mighty dead. John Wesley, what is your opinion in reference to the allegiance of Roman Catholics? He answers: “I insist on it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion. I prove this by a plain argument—let him answer it who can—that no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance or peaceable behavior. I prove it thus: It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by public council, that ‘No faith is to be kept with heretics.’ This has been openly avowed by the Council of Constance; but it was never openly disclaimed.”

Does not Wesley fully and clearly vindicate the doctrine of the American party? Well may the Methodist minister here reply: “Judge Longstreet, I beseech you, by the shade of Wesley, to return to the creed of his advocacy.”

George Washington, what is your opinion respecting foreign influence in this country? He answers: “Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of our republican government.”

Does not George Washington plead for the very doctrine of the American party, saying: “I conjure you, Judge Long-

street, and all my fellow-citizens, to believe me, that the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of our republican government!" Well may the politician, of the American school, here retort; "Judge Longstreet, I beseech you, by the shade of Washington, to repent, and turn to the principles of this great and good man."

Our inference here is, that the Anti-Americans, while abusing the American party, have this *consolation*, that they abuse the ashes of Wesley and Washington. In their calm moments, when not infatuated by *party* feelings, we presume they must realize that they are engaged in an inglorious work. Here they have the whole truth plainly presented.

The Judge, in common with Anti-Americans, seems to feel quite easy respecting the influence and character of Romanism. We do not, and in consequence shall direct attention to a few startling facts. Popery can talk thus:

"Did I not beat back Protestantism from the base of the Alps, enriching the soil with the bodies, the mangled bodies of its votaries? Did I not dethrone sovereigns, and give away their thrones at will? Did I not sell Ireland, in the person of Pope Adrian, to King Henry II., at the rate of a penny a year for each family? Did not Roderick O'Connor, the last of its kings, submit to my dictation, promising to pay tribute to the throne of England? Did I not kindle a thousand fires, and burn men without pity or remorse? Did I not, in order to show my eternal opposition to heresy, dig up the ashes of heretics, and bitterly curse its every grain? Did I not cause the blood of men, women, and children to run down the streets of Paris, like water after a rain? Do I not refuse to grant Protestants the right to build churches, and to worship according to their faith, from the Island of Cuba to the city of Rome? Do I not close the door of office against Pro-

testants, and inwardly laugh at their quiet submission to the voice of my power? Do I not feel greatly encouraged over the thought that they grant to me what I would not grant to them? Do I not keep my dominions free of their schools and colleges, while I plant such in their midst, with the intention of proselyting, and of eventually subverting their liberties? Have I not proclaimed in the United States, that 'Catholicity enters in her catalogue of mortal sins Protestantism of every kind:' that 'she endures it when and where she must; but hates it, and directs all her energies to effect its destruction?' Do I not wield an influence at Washington that strikes a chord which vibrates through the lines of the Anti-Americans to the far-off Pacific shores? Do I not feel proud of my influence, and of the defence made for me by more than a few Protestants? Do not politicians, from the centre to the circumference of the land, bow at my feet, begging my favor, as mendicants would beg for alms? Could those editors who control what is called the Anti-American press be induced to write against my power and influence? Are they not the most useful servants of my will? Do I not, in a word, feel that the triumph of Anti-Americanism is but the triumph of my policy in the United States?"

Such is the character of Popery, and such its influence on the Anti-American mind! Well may we therefore say, Americans, awake to duty—do or die! Your fathers met this cruel and bloody monster in days past, and nobly bled for the cause of liberty. They committed to you freedom and Protestantism. Will you betray the trust? Never. The trying hour will convince Popery and its advocates that the spirit of bravery and patriotism can be revived in the bosom of every true follower of Calvin, Luther, and Wesley.

We are now ready to notice the appeal of Judge Longstreet to the preachers, connected with the American order, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Judge says: "I

stand where I have always stood since I joined the Church—upon the platform of Wesley.” The reader can see, by referring to the quotation from Wesley, above given, how much the author is mistaken. To stand on the platform of Wesley, is to stand on the fifth article of the American platform.

The judge speaks of those who compose the American party as standing on “a rickety structure, first reared by a criminal, if report be true, and miserably patched up by unchristian hands.” The whole of this is remarkably offensive. The foundation of the American party was not *reared* by a criminal, nor was it miserably patched up by unchristian hands. It is the work of patriots and Protestants—a work to which children unborn will look with pleasure, and bless the memories of its founders.

The Judge consoles himself thus :

“I am not the only Methodist, by hundreds, if not thousands, who entertains my opinion of your order;” that is, that those of the order “speak great swelling words, having men’s persons in admiration, because of advantage;” and so on, and so on.

To our mind it is perfectly clear that the author, by turning to the Anti-American party, could at once find a head that this hat of words would exactly fit. What of “the Turners,” and the “Free Germans?” Using the language he applies in another place to Methodist ministers, we here ask those of the Anti-American party, who love the common proprieties of even nominal Christianity: “Do you not blush to fraternize with such men?”

The Judge, speaking of the opposition of the American party to Roman Catholics, observes: “Verily, if you [ministers] did not revive Catholic sins three hundred years old to justify your wrath against that Church; if you did not at times evince a higher regard for the sinners of your order than for the saints of your Church, and chafe at opposition to you from any quarter, I should regard yours as the master institu-

tion of the world for teaching men to forgive injuries and love their enemies."

"Revive Catholic sins three hundred years old!" O no!! Does the author forget the Madaia family? Was not this family imprisoned within the last five years for reading the Bible? Does the author forget the evidence Popery gave in Montreal, but as yesterday, of its vile and persecuting spirit, while a certain priest from Italy lectured on the evils connected with its history and profession? Did not Romanists, a short time ago, enter into a Methodist church in Florida, and, by way of showing that the days of persecution *were all* past, pull the mourners from the altar? Did not Romanists, a short time ago, enter into a Methodist church in the West, and put the congregation to flight by the use of clubs? Did not Romanists, within the last twenty years, dig the bodies of Protestants out of their graves, in Ireland, and then hang them with ropes round their necks to the branches of trees? This was proved at a court of justice, and the actors were punished according to their guilt. Are these Roman "Catholic sins three hundred years old?"

In connection with these facts, we invite attention to the following communications. They will show what the spirit of Romanism now is, and not what it was three hundred years ago. Mr. Goodrich, (Dick Tinto,) one of the special correspondents of the *New York Times*, wrote as follows from Florence, in Italy, March 1st, 1855:

"A man suspected of reading the Protestant Bible, from the fact that he had been singularly lax of late in his attendance at mass, was waited upon by a deputation from the government and the Church. His house, his books, his papers were examined, and he and his family interrogated. He did not deny, or attempt to deny, that he had long entertained doubts, both of the Divine mission of the Pope and of the virtues of the priesthood. He asserted that he determined

to investigate the doctrines of the reformed religion, and to learn something of the character and practices of its professors. This he had done, but without seeking to propagate his doubts and hesitations among others—an offence which he knew to be punishable. But he had hoped, he said, that he might be allowed to set his mind at rest upon a subject so important. The committee asked a variety of questions, and succeeded in satisfying itself that the man was a confirmed Protestant, and was quite lost to Catholicism in this world, and to beatitude in the next. ‘You will hear from us soon, sir,’ said the committee, taking leave; ‘and be careful not to leave the city.’ Four days after, *and at four o’clock in the morning*, the guilty apostate was summoned to listen to his sentence—hard labor in irons in the prison for one year; the prison selected being at a distance, and, if I am not mistaken, on some Mediterranean island. The verdict was immediately carried into execution. Such are the winning ways employed by modern inquisition to preserve souls to God, to discountenance Lutheranism, and to maintain this country in its present matchless state of ignorance, misery, and degradation.”

A Romanist thus replied in the *Times* :

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK DAILY TIMES.—My attention has been directed to a letter in the *Times* of Friday last, written at Rome, by a contemptible libeller, who calls himself Dick Tinto—a near relation, I suppose, of a distinguished personage known as Old Nick. Will you allow me to inquire if you cannot find enough to fill your newspaper with, in abusing that great and good man, the patriotic Pierce, in glorifying niggerdom, and what not, without descending to lower depths still, by uniting with Brooks, and such like damnable hellhounds, in covering with your slime *the ancient, the most populous, the most holy, and the truest Church that exists, or ever did or can exist on the face of God’s earth?* Has this once glorious republic become indeed

so bestial, so blasphemously, and outrageously, and unblushingly degenerated, that one's holy religion must be held up to ridicule for the purpose of catering to its appetite? Now, sir, be warned in time: there is a point beyond which patience ceases to be a virtue. Beware of the fate of the Philistines. Remember Sampson, how, in order to avenge him of his enemies, he destroyed their temple, and buried them in its ruins.

“The sword of Democles is suspended over this republic; and sure as there is a God in heaven, if these sneers against his holy Vicegerent and the Church's holy institutions are persisted in much longer, his people will become aroused, the thread that now holds that dreadful sword will be severed, and then wo! wo! to all your boasted greatness, and, like every other republic that ever cursed the world, the historian will hold you up to the scorn, and contempt, and ridicule of mankind. Once more, I warn you to beware! I now wish you personally no harm, but your paper, I am told, is somewhat extensively read, and perhaps you exert an influence through it; therefore, I hope you will heed the warning of one who knows what he asserts.

“I write this hastily, and with no view to have it printed; but if you are a gentleman, or a patriot, if you are a man, for God's sake be warned of the consequences before it is too late, and cease insulting high Heaven through those true and holy men to whom alone he has intrusted the keys that ever can open the gates of paradise to the fallen sons of Adam. As for the pitiful wretch, Dick Tinto, who wrote you from Rome, no stronger argument could be urged to show the necessity of the purifying virtues of the inquisition, than is afforded by his most damnable letter, and I trust in season its efficacy will be tried on him, before he escapes from the Holy City he now pollutes with his dirty presence. *Philo Veritas et Philo Justitia.*

“NEW YORK, May 5, 1855.”

Are these "sins of Catholics three hundred years old?"

Pierce Connelly, a reformed Catholic priest, very justly observes: "And now, as then, the duty and the will are both the same; and a new sovereign would replace Victoria if Rome had but the power."—Taken from "*Reasons for Abjuring Allegiance to the See of Rome*," ed. 1853.

Again the Judge says:

"If any bishop, any elder, any deacon, any brother, any press of our Church, has raised a warning voice against them, (vulgar anecdotes, spreading falsehoods, etc.) except my poor solitary self, and one old brother more, I have yet to learn who, when, and where!"

It is to be regretted that either of them saw fit to assail the workings of Protestantism in the American party, by making vulgar anecdotes pretexts, in connection with an assumed sense of duty. The reasoning of the Judge on foreign influence we consider badly founded. He sees no cloud of alarm. One of our editors does, however, and in the following language not only speaks his own sentiments, but the sentiments of multiplied thousands:

"In 1850, our native white population was about 17,300,000. In the same year, our foreign population was about 2,300,000. In 1852, the foreign immigration was about 100,000. At that rate, it would take only six years to double the foreign population here in 1850. This is about five times our own population's increase, which is in a ratio of about three or four per cent. per annum, while the increase of foreigners is from fourteen to sixteen per cent. on the census of 1830, '40, '50.

"In 1852, our Presidential vote was about 3,130,000. In 1848 it was about 2,880,000. Increase in four years, of voters, 250,000. In 1852, our foreign arrivals, as shown, were 400,000; and 240,000 of these were males: thus showing that, in one year, the arrival of foreign males into this country was nearly as great as the increase of our whole voting population during four years!

“When it is remembered that a large part of this increase in the voting population is a foreign element, just naturalized, and that at least one fourth of those who come every year are adult males, who will vote in five years; and that this tide of immigration is increasing, while its character is annually growing more vicious and objectionable; we say, when all this is remembered, it requires no prophet to foresee or foretell that the votes of that population will in a few years give complexion to our national legislature, and color to our national laws.”

The foreign vote is now giving complexion to our national affairs. In view of this we ask, Is there a Methodist in the cabinet? No. What is the cause? The superior attainments of Romanists? Not at all. The decision of the German critics is: “That there is not so much as one good writer in the Catholic Church of the United States.” If one of them has ever originated a good school-book, we are not aware of its existence. The Methodist Church has wealth and intelligence, such as the Romish Church cannot claim; but the fact of the vote of the latter being a unit, while that of the former is divided, explains the whole matter.

The Nuncio of the Pope informs the American minister at Madrid, Spain, that the Romish Church is much gratified in finding one of her sons—the Postmaster-General, Mr. Campbell—in the cabinet of President Pierce. The question is, How does he know this in advance of the American minister? An honest man would reply, The whole affair might be justly explained by the suggestions of a political bargain. Exactly so.

We think, and cannot cease to think, that such considerations are sufficient to drive every honest Protestant out of the Anti-American party, causing him to preach by word and act against the corrupting influence of Romanism.

And in reference to the ministers we would say, in unmistakable language, instead of abandoning the American party,

remember your martyred forefathers ; the rack, the fire, and the inquisition ; and gird on your armor with renewed zeal for the great battle between *Sam* and the Pope. In a word :

“Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate ;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.”

CHAPTER XXII.

A Review of a "Letter to the Bishops, Elders, and other Ministers, Itinerant and Local, of the M. E. Church, South, by Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, Tennessee," on Americanism.

THE letter of Mr. Brown to the Bishops and Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, all things considered, such as the style, motive, character of the author, and the personages addressed, is certainly one of the most remarkable productions of the age. "Dante and Petrarch," says Hallam, "are, as it were, the morning stars of our modern literature." Who can tell but that the future historian may, when he comes to record the great men and great events of the nineteenth century, give Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown a prominent place, commending his patriotism, deep piety, and love of the Methodist Church, to the keeping and admiration of all ages? His abiding love of Methodism, at the very outset of the letter, is thus boldly and pathetically expressed: "The son of a now sainted father, who, for forty years, ministered at your altars, the co-laborer of that noble band of Christian ministers who, under Asbury and Coke, founded your Church in America, presumes, in all due respect, to address this letter to you. He sends it under a firm conviction that the interests of true and vital religion may be promoted by the suggestions it contains."

Does not all this seem to say :

——“ Majesty,
Power, glory, strength, and beauty, all are aisled
In your eternal ark of worship undefiled !”

Who but the son of a sainted father could so feel, think, and write? How can the bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, men noted for kindness and gratitude, resist, after consulting the age, experience, piety, prudence, moderation, wisdom, and research of Mr. Brown, such hallowed words and considerations? We fancy that we see him in ecstacy over the thought of converting bishops and ministers from the errors of their ways in the associations of the age. The *purity* of the motive, without doubt, is equal to the political *purity* of the man. He proceeds with caution, art, and skill, acting on the principle that sealing-wax must be duly prepared for the impression. Considering every thing exactly right, he assures them, without a word of circumlocution, that “it has been a conceded and settled doctrine, that the various religious denominations should not, as such, intermeddle with the political contests of the day.” Wonderful information for bishops and ministers. How thankful they ought to be for this delicate hint respecting their true relation to society! We would observe, however, being one of the ministers addressed, that our preceptor does not seem to understand that the Romish question is a political one in a religious garb. He, and every other Anti-American, ought to feel truly grateful to every educated minister who sees fit to instruct the benighted on this subject, by turning the attention of all to that which is in the religious order, and to that which is in the temporal or civil. Even Ex-Governor A. V. Brown, without such instruction, would fail to understand the exact issue with Romanism in the dominions of *Sam*—fail to comprehend the sense and application of what is called the religious article of the American platform.

On the fourth page we find this startling information: "In the mutations of parties in this country, a new one has lately arisen, (American,) to which, I apprehend, more of the Methodist ministers have attached themselves, at least in the State of Tennessee, than might have been expected from their known opinions on the various questions which have heretofore divided the former political parties of this country. This party is so peculiar in its organization, that it seems strange to me that any minister or professor of religion should be willing longer to continue in it." Well, whether it may occasion pain or not to "the son of a sainted father," *devoted*, soul and body, to the interests of Methodism and patriotism, the letter being taken as evidence, we beg leave to say that, as Methodist ministers are in Tennessee, so are they in every other State. Nearly every educated Methodist minister, from the centre to the circumference of the land, is a decided American in sentiment, determined so to continue, whatever may be the ultimate destiny of the party. Mr. Brown, and all who feel interested in the matter, may receive this as a just representation of the ministers of the Methodist Church. Were it otherwise, we should feel as if in bad company—as if associated with men not capable of appreciating their profession, duty and calling.

Mr. Brown's nice sensibilities seem shocked at the idea of oaths. His language is: "It (Americanism) is unchristian; because the numerous and horrid oaths which have been published to the world, have no Scripture warrant for their administration." Are not ministers who are members of the Masonic order open to the same objection? Does not Ex-Governor A. V. Brown know that oaths are directly connected with their introduction to degrees? And does he not know, unless he is a *wilful Know-Nothing*, that the Tammany Society, New York, which has controlled the destiny of the Democratic party for many years, is in a similar condition?

Have not its leading men, or at least a portion of them, East, West, North, and South, been members of this society? So much, then, for the reference of Mr. Brown to oaths. We should deeply regret, however, if this disclosure should injure the piety of the lecturer of bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The reference to the notion of Mr. Freeman, of Mississippi, respecting conspiracy, is sufficient to disturb the gravity of a dying man. J. D. Freeman a lawyer of eminence! This cat, magnified into a tiger by Ex-Governor Brown, undertook to show, in 1855, that the members of the American party were guilty of conspiracy, and subject to punishment by the law. What an idea for the critics of the future! We heard this eminent lawyer deliver a long speech against *Sam*, in which he said "That the Romans had bulls with horns, as well as paper bulls;" alluding to the battle between themselves and the Carthaginians. The truth is, that the remarkable and courageous Hannibal, in one of his critical situations, caused small bundles of vine-branches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen; and, toward the dead of night, having commanded the branches to be set on fire, he ordered the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. The plan was successful, and Hannibal escaped the grasp of Fabius.

We submit to the reader whether a man who did not know the difference between bulls and oxen, nor who used them, ought to be called a lawyer of eminence. Well may we here insert what Mr. Brown gives as the response to the cry of distress, in time of danger, from the American: "Hio! Hio! H-i-o!" What a simpleton a man may make of himself! Did Mr. Brown—beg pardon—Ex-Governor A. V. Brown suppose that the presentation of J. D. Freeman's notions of conspiracy—a man who did not know, in 1855, the difference between bulls and oxen—accompanied by the insertion of "Hio!

Hio! H-i-o!" would cause a general stampede of the Methodist clergy, leaving the American party to mourn over its broken ranks? If so, the poor man may justly say:

"This my fondest wish I've seen decay!"

Mr. Brown, on the fourteenth page of his letter, thus sagely talks: "I know well the predominant motive which has prompted many of the Protestant Churches of this country to unite themselves with this new order. It was a thorough and settled opposition to some of the tenets of the Romish creed, and a deep abhorrence of certain alleged abuses and abominations that had grown up under it. These errors in faith were known to the Wesleys, and Cokes, and Asburys, who founded your Church; but they never proposed to kindle, in this enlightened age of Christianity, the consuming fires of religious persecution." Here we have a large sample of barefaced impertinence. He, Ex-Governor A. V. Brown, knows the predominant motive which has prompted many of the Protestant Churches to favor the claims of the American party. Socrates, the greatest of the philosophers, said: "This I know, that I know nothing." The difference between these two *great men* is, that the *know-nothing* knows much, while the *know-well* knows but little. For instance, Wesley, one of the individuals referred to, says: "I insist upon it that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established, not by private men, but by public council, that 'No faith is to be kept with heretics.'" Would not Wesley, if again with us, make a distinguished leader of the American party in this particular? In a word, does he not go far beyond the doctrines of the American party? We are particularly anxious that the son of a sainted father should remember this, so that if he should write another letter to the bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

South, he may avoid the very appearance of an appeal to Wesley.

His implied assertion respecting the fires of persecution is without the most remote sanction of truth. Not one man of the American party proposes "to kindle the consuming fires of religious persecution." This is but a conjured-up scarecrow of the Anti-Americans. Allegiance to the Pope is the ground of objection, and not the religion of the Romanist abstractly considered. If Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown does not know this, he is too ignorant to be a teacher of Methodist bishops and ministers. Fixed propensities need powerful correctives. This is our apology for the force of our language.

Mr. Brown, speaking of Wesley's letter, and what he considers the exact relation of Romanists to the Pope, says: "Ten years after the date of Mr. Wesley's letter, the British minister, Mr. Pitt, instituted an investigation into the fact whether, according to the Catholic creed, its members were bound to acknowledge allegiance to the Pope as a temporal potentate. He applied to the six leading Catholic Universities of Europe for information, and to this end he addressed the following questions: '1. Has the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or preëminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

"2. Can the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever? 3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or private nature?" In proof that there is, see Chapter III.

"These questions," says Mr. Brown, "were sent for

answers to the Catholic Universities of Paris, of Douay, of Alcalá, of Valladolid, and of Salamanca." He continues thus: "We have space only for the answer of one, though we have them all before us, and state that the answers of all are about the same. To show what they all answered," says he, "we select the response of the University of Paris, as follows: 'Neither the Pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the Church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever, in *any* kingdom, and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or preëminence by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the Pope or the Church of Rome. This doctrine the sacred faculty of divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.'

"Answer to the second query. 'Neither the Pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the Church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance.'

"Answer to the third query. 'There is no tenet in the Catholic Church by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet that it is lawful to break faith with heretics is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinion of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them.'

"'Given at Paris, in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the 11th day before the Calends of March, 1789.'

"This investigation," Mr. Brown observes, "swept away

all the premises on which Mr. Wesley wrote his letter ten years before; and the authoritative disclaimer was hailed in every country with the highest satisfaction." You are mistaken, Mr. Brown, greatly mistaken; and Wesley exactly right in his statement. All this we shall prove to the satisfaction of every honest mind.

The Paris University informs all thus: "This doctrine" (that is, that the Pope has no civil power, etc.) the sacred faculty of divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools." Truth, like murder, seems destined, however concealed, to make its appearance. From the quotation we learn that the contrary doctrines were proscribed. In a word, the Paris University was under the influence of Gallicanism, which rejects the civil authority of the Pope, and not Anti-Gallicanism, the doctrine at Rome, which receives it, and labors to defend it. This is a true representation of the matter—a correct exposition of the answer; still, other proof is needed to satisfy the captious, and such we shall at once proceed to give.

Dr. McClintock, in his *Letters*, p. 119, says: "These Universities were, at the time, under the influence of Gallicanism, and of course their answers were of the Gallican sort;" that is, opposed to the temporal power doctrine.

The editor of the Boston *Pilot*, a Roman Catholic, speaking of Dr. McClintock, Hon. J. R. Chandler, and the spiritual and temporal power of the Pope, observes:

"Some time since, Dr. McClintock published an elaborate review of the speech which the Hon. Joseph R. Chandler made in the House last January, in reply to Mr. Banks, who had about that time become a Know-Nothing, and had made in the House an Anti-Catholic speech. The intentions of Mr. Chandler were excellent, but his effort did more harm than good, because it was easy for a Protestant whose studies

in ecclesiastical history were at all respectable, to ask questions which would puzzle any Catholic who adopts Mr. Chandler's method of argument to answer. Dr. McClintock is a Protestant minister, an able man, and a close, earnest reasoner. With his argument and that of Mr. Chandler before us, we cannot but admit that Dr. McClintock has the best of the argument. A friend of ours, and a theologian of considerable note, observed to us the other day, that this is one of the penalties which the church militant has to suffer, in consequence of having children who insist upon defending her, not in her own way, but in their peculiar fashion, paring down Catholicity so as to make it suit Protestant taste. We believe that it is generally admitted that the *weight of Catholicity* is decidedly against the explainers away of the Roman Catholic doctrine with reference to the relation between the spiritual and the temporal. Even the explainers away admit this. They cannot help admitting it, since every parish priest really exercises and must exercise the authority which they deny to the Pope. They say that Brownson is right in principle. But it is inexpedient to bring out the doctrine *now*. The prejudices of the people are too warmly enlisted against it. Let us wait until a more convenient season. Brownson comes in precisely here. In the first place, he shows that learned and acute Protestants, like Dr. McClintock and others, can cite an overwhelming mass of authority against the explainers away—can cite against them *their own practice*, and can accuse them of the fault which by Protestants is called '*Jesuitism*,' *quasi lucus a non lucendo*, the Order of Jesus being as remarkable for plain and logical speaking and acting, as for other sound, good qualities. In the next place, Brownson shows that the doctrine which is called Ultramontane is the very doctrine which American Catholics should state to well-disposed Protestant Americans.

“They know very well that, when we try to modify our

doctrines to suit what we suppose to be their tastes, we are acting a part through which they can see with the utmost ease. Our part is the true, straightforward one. It is, to state our doctrines boldly and fairly, and to try to be thorough Catholics in every sense of the word—to prove, by our daily actions, that Catholicity is the only sure pillar a State can possibly have in these days. Brownson enters here into a clear and most conclusive argument to prove that this is the very ground which we should take with Americans, as with all others; that Americans are, by their genius and historical antecedents, eminently fitted to appreciate and to embrace ‘Ultramontane doctrine;’ that no other doctrine will suit them, and that if the conversion of this country is ever to be accomplished, that event will be due, in a great measure, and under God, to a full, fair, clear, and bold persistence in the enunciation of the doctrine that *the temporal is subordinate to the spiritual.*”

Wonder what Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, and all those who have acted with him in slandering the Pope, will think of this! Respecting the “Ultramontane doctrine,” we would observe that it embraces, as we shall immediately show, the opposite of Gallicanism—the temporal power idea.

Bishop Kenrick, one of the most intrepid defenders of Romanism in the United States, thus expresses himself: “I care not to refer to the disclaimers of the Universities of the continent of Europe: the answer of Pius VI. is more authoritative.”—*Primacy*, p. 471. Well, as the bishop appeals to the chair of St. Peter, so shall we. Innocent III. speaks thus: “The Church has given me a crown as a symbol of *temporalities*: she has conferred on me a mitre in token of spiritual power; a mitre for the priesthood—a crown for the kingdom: making me the vicar of Him who bears written on his garment and thigh, ‘The King of kings, and Lord of lords.’”—*Serm. in festo, S. Silvest.* What now? This,

that the language of the Pope accords with Anti-Gallicanism, while that of the Paris University is the language of Gallicanism. Those, therefore, who deny the temporal power of the Pope, must not appeal to the Pope. The temporal power principle he boldly asserts—the very thing at issue. Who will question the clearness, application, and generality of this evidence? Respected reader, in the creed of the Pope above named you have the “Ultramontane doctrine.” What think you of it? See Chapter II. for a full account of Gallicanism.

Dr. Edgar justly observes: “The French have patronized this system (that which opposes the transferring of kingdoms, and the absolving of subjects from the oath of fidelity) on the subject of the papal primacy. The Gallican Church maintains this plan of moderation and freedom, and disclaims the ultraism and servility of the Italian school. The same views have been entertained by the University of Paris, followed by those of Angiers, Orleans, Bononia, Louvain, Herford, Cracow, and Colonia.”—*Variations of Popery*, p. 153.

The fact is, if Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, one of the pillars of Anti-Americanism, knows the difference between the Italian, Ultramontane, or Anti-Gallican school, and the Anti-Italian, Anti-Ultramontane, or Gallican school, he leaves us without the slightest evidence of such knowledge in his letter. But, thinking that the ordinary reader may not fully understand all the preceding terms, we remark, that those who contend for the temporal power of the Pope are of the Italian, Ultramontane, or Anti-Gallican portion of the Romish Church—these names being significant of the same thing; and that those who deny the temporal power of the Pope are of the Anti-Italian, Anti-Ultramontane, or Gallican portion of the Romish Church—these names being significant of the same thing.

From these considerations and facts, all can see that the

testimony of the Universities appealed to by Pitt in 1787, and cited by the Anti-American speakers and writers, is not worth a straw to the deniers of the civil or temporal power of the Pope. It does not touch the question.

While on this branch of our investigation, we deem the following remarks of Dr. Edgar highly worthy of a place, as they will conclusively show that particular care must be exercised in receiving testimony from either the high places or low places of Romanism: "A late discovery has shown the deceitfulness of all popish pretences to liberality, both on the continent and in Ireland. *Dens*, a doctor of *Louvain*, published a system of theology in 1758, and in some of the succeeding years. This work awards to the patrons of heresy confiscation of goods, banishment from the country, confinement in prison, *infliction of death*, and deprivation of Christian burial. This production was dedicated to Cardinal Philippus, and recommended to Christendom by the approbation of the University of Louvain, which vouched for its 'orthodox faith, and its Christian morality.'" "A few years after its (Louvain's) approbation of *Dens's* Theology, Pitt, the British statesman, asked this same University, as well as those of Salamanca and Valladolid, whether persecution were a principle of Romanism. The astonished doctors, insulted at the question, and burning with ardor to obliterate the foul stain, branded the insinuation with a loud and deep negation. The former, in this case, copied the example of the latter. The divines of Salamanca and Valladolid, questioned on the same subject in 1603, in reference to the war waged by the Irish against the English in the reign of Elizabeth, patronized the principle of persecution, which, in their answer to Pitt, they proscribed. Such, on the European continent, were the candor and consistency of the popish clergy, who in this manner adapted their movements, like skilful generals, to the evolutions of the enemy, and suited their tactics to

the emergency of the occasion."—*Variations of Popery*, pp. 274, 275.

But, suffer us here to observe, if we receive their disclaimers without a doubt respecting their honesty, we have but the doctrine of Gallicanism set forth: if otherwise, we have but what Edgar calls the suiting of tactics to the emergency of the occasion. And here we leave the reader and Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown to shape their own conclusions, and to act accordingly in the great battle now going on between *Sam*, the Pope, and his allies.

Having prepared the way for our direct evidence on the temporal power of the Pope, we beg leave to introduce it as follows: "Long before the Bishop of Rome," says Bishop Kenrick, "exercised temporal power, or directed or influenced civil legislation, Christian emperors subjected heretics to the severest punishment."—*Primacy*, p. 329. But Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, the son of a sainted father, would have the bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, believe that the Popes are slandered when charged with exercising civil or temporal power.

Again, on page 331, Bishop Kenrick says: "It were in vain to deny that the Popes, in appointing inquisitors, had ultimately in view to suppress heresy by the aid of the civil power." We hope that the son of a sainted father, after reading this, will see the necessity of repenting over the thought of having deceived his Anti-American brethren on this subject, to say nothing of his attempt to administer a portion of the same dose to bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

And again, page 353, the bishop observes: "In regard to the inquisition, the Popes are fairly responsible for its origin and organization as an ecclesiastical tribunal; and they may be considered as approving the civil jurisprudence of their age, by which heresy was declared a capital crime." This

admission reflects much credit on its author, when in contrast with the pitiable shuffles of Mr. Brown, in his letter, to make the contrary appear.

Well may we here ask, Are all "such charges against the Popes Know-Nothing lies?" Facts respond, No—they are Roman Catholic admissions.

Bellarmino, speaking of the opinions entertained respecting the temporal power of the Pope, says: "The first opinion is, that the Pope, by divine right, has supreme power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the opinion of Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, and many others."—*Bell. de Pontiff*, V. i.

In his continued remarks he observes: "The existence of this power in the Pope concerning temporals, is not a matter of opinion among Catholics, but a certainty. It is not right for Christians (Romanists) to tolerate a heretical king, if he endeavor to draw away his subjects to his heresy."—*Contra Barclaium*, c. iii. He reckons up of this way of thinking twenty-one Italian authors, fourteen French, nine German, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spanish—seventy in all—and these not common, but eminent authors.—*Contra Barclaium*, c. iii. Ought not this, Mr. Brown, to satisfy even the most obdurate Anti-American respecting the temporal power principle?

Ex-Gov. Brown, according to this Romish author, has fallen into his error through *ignorance*. All the Anti-American speakers and writers are in a like condition. Has any one of them ever read three volumes on the subject? We may safely say that some of them have not even read so much as three pages of an authentic work on the supremacy of the Pope. One of their members of Congress observed, in a public speech: "Who ever heard of the Halbinginsis before?" We heard an intelligent Anti-American say: "I do not think that there are three men in any section of the

country who can tell what an Ultramontanist is." How true the saying, "When the blind become leaders of the blind, both fall into the ditch!"

Ferraris, in his *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, a standard work of Roman Catholic divinity, says: "The Pope is of such dignity and highness, that he is not simply man, but, as it were, God, and the vicar of God. He is called bishop of bishops, ordinary of ordinaries, universal bishop of the Church, bishop of the whole world, DIVINE MONARCH, SUPREME EMPEROR, and KING OF KINGS. Hence the Pope is crowned with a triple crown, as king of heaven, of earth, and of hell. Nay, the Pope's excellence and power is not only about heavenly, terrestrial, and infernal things, but he is also above angels, and is their superior; so that if it were possible that angels could err from the faith, they could be judged and excommunicated by the Pope. Hence the COMMON DOCTRINE teacheth that the Pope hath the power of the two swords—the spiritual and TEMPORAL, which jurisdiction and power Christ himself committed to Peter and his successors, Matt. xvi.: 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' etc; where doctors note that he did not say key, but keys, and by this comprehending the TEMPORAL and spiritual power: which opinion is abundantly confirmed by the authority of the holy fathers, the decision of the canon and civil law, and by the apostolic constitutions; so that those who hold to the contrary, seem to adhere to the opinion of the heretics reprobated by Boniface VIII., in his *Extravagant*, entitled, *Unam Sanctam*. Hence infidel princes and kings, by the decision of the Pope, may be deprived, in certain cases, of that dominion which they have over the faithful, as if they have occupied the country of the Christians (Romanists) by violence, or endeavor to draw away their faithful (Catholic) subjects from the faith, or any such thing, as Bellarmine, Laurez, Barbara, Gonzalez, Cardinal Petra, etc., very fully demonstrate. And if

a king becomes heretic, he can be removed from his kingdom by the Pope, to whom the right of appointing his successor belongs."

As if not thinking this sufficient, he exclaims: "Which plenitude of power, not only once, but often, the Popes used, whenever it was necessary, by binding, most courageously, the sword on their thigh; as is sufficiently manifest, not only from the most ample testimonies of theologians, the assertors of pontifical and regal right, but also of innumerable historians of undoubted credibility, as well profane as sacred, as well Greek as Latin."—*Ferraris in Papa, Art. II., No. 1.*

Is it not surpassing strange that Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, the assumed teacher of Methodist bishops and ministers, and prominent opposer of "Know-Nothingism," should be found *knowing* so little, as not to *know* what is set forth in an Ecclesiastical Dictionary of the Romish Church, and represented as being noted by theologians, and also historians, profane and sacred, of undoubted credibility?

Alphonzo de Castro says: "If the people be infected with the same pestilence (heresy) as the king, the people will be deprived *ipso jure* of the power of choosing a king, and then the business will devolve on the sovereign Pontiff."—*Cap. vii., p. 108.* No temporal power here, Mr. Brown!

Gregory VII., who was made Pope in 1073, deposed Henry IV. in the year 1075, saying: "For the dignity and defence of God's holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry, some time emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy Church; and I absolve all Christians, subject to the empire, from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings; for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the Church."—*Plat. in Greg. VII., et tom VII., Conc.*

Rom. III., *apud Binium*, p. 484. No absolving here, Mr. Brown.

Sixtus V., elected 1588, thus spoke in his bull against Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé: "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms. By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws and commands."—*Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr.*, etc. Is this, Mr. Brown, the mere repetition of the assumed and popular opinion of the age of Wesley?

Gregory XVI., elected 1831, as if foreseeing that such a letter as the one before us should appear, denying the doctrine of the Pope's temporal power, observed, writing in the year 1832: "Ever bearing in mind, the universal Church suffers from every novelty, as well as the admonition of Pope St. Agatho, that from what has been regularly defined, (such as the civil power,) nothing can be taken away, no innovation introduced there, no addition made; but that it must be preserved untouched as to words and meaning."—*P. Greg. XVI., Epistola Encyclica, ad omnes, Patriarchas, Primate, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos, anno 1832.*

Here pity cries aloud, pleading for Ex-Gov. A. V. Brown, of Tennessee, on account of being "the son of a sainted father: "Hold, hold! Enough, enough!!" Well, we shall immediately submit to the request of nature's last and most successful beseecher, *satisfied* that justice is *fully satisfied* with the result of the review.

Looking at what precedes, we need not be surprised at the following information, taken from the *Miner's Journal*, 1855: "In the Canton of Ticino, Switzerland, the Legislative Assembly has abolished the right of Romish priests to vote, on

the ground that they owe allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and not to the Constitution of that Canton in Switzerland. The Cantons in Switzerland are organized similar to our State governments, and subject to the Federal Diet in Switzerland."

Mr. Brown will discover from this that *Sam* is also at work in Switzerland, affording him a fine opportunity to address the ministers there who favor his opposition to the civil influence of the Pope.

Respected reader, in bringing our review to a close, we beg leave to introduce for your serious consideration a few more extracts from Romish writers. Mr. Brownson, an endorsed expounder of Romanism, observes: "The Catholic dogma in regard to every subject whatsoever has been always the same from the beginning, remains always unchangeably the same, and will always continue in every part of the world immutable. The power she (Roman Catholic Church) exercised over sovereigns in the middle ages was not a usurpation, was not derived from the concessions of princes or the consent of the people, but was and is hers by divine right, and who resists it rebels against the King of kings and Lord of lords. What the Church has done, what she has expressly or tacitly approved in the past, that is exactly what she will do, expressly or tacitly approve in the future, if the same circumstances occur." Bravo!

Butler, of world-wide notoriety in the Romish Church, says: "It is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be unchangeable; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it is now, and such it ever will be."—*Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church.*

Bishop Kenrick, already noticed as one of the leading Romish writers of America, declares: "All doctrinal definitions already made by former pontiffs are landmarks, which no man can remove."—*Primacy*, p. 356.

Boniface decreed: "We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether a matter of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." —*Corpus Juris Canonici. Ed. Bæhmer, tom. ii., p. 1139.*

Now, if all this should fail to correct the opinions of the instructor of bishops and ministers, and to convert him from the error of his Anti-American ways, he may be looked on as being beyond the power of redemption.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How he talks! Who? The editor of the *Nashville Union and American*. How will he be answered? All will see—the question being, “What has Protestantism done for the world?”

RESPECTED reader, at the outset of this chapter we unceremoniously inform you that a child from the brain of the editor of the *Nashville Union and American* appeared before the public in 1855, talking thus: “What has Protestantism done for the world?”* Men are generally proud, as you are aware, of their offspring, and derive considerable pleasure from all well-intended and respectful notices of them. Influenced by this view of matters, we shall, without any embarrassment, liberally pay our respects to the inquiring child of the editor. True, we are far from being pleased with its appearance! We see, or think we see, in the expression of its face the strongest indications possible of impudence, arro-

* We are informed that the editor proper denies the authorship of the article from which the extract before us is taken. We fail to learn, however, that he and the acting editor are truly penitent under the sin, the outrage involved; hence we still hold the paper responsible before the public. An editorial appears of the most offensive character, and the principal editor turns round and says, I did not write it—presuming this to be perfectly satisfactory, exactly in accordance with ethics, honor, and righteousness. What a mistake! The whole article is cited in Chapter XIII., and without hesitancy we pronounce it the most contemptible thing of the age.

gance, and insult. The father may feel somewhat fretted at this, and continue so for a time; but the day will come in which an enlightened experience will fully satisfy him respecting the truthfulness of our expressed conviction, and teach him the necessity of guiding its wayward feet into the paths of modesty, propriety, and respect.

The brat asks us: "What has Protestantism done for the world?" Waiving an answer to this here, we shall proceed to give a running account of what Romanism has done for the world.

1. It gave to Rome a Pope for an Emperor; the images of saints for heathen idols; the inquisition for the temple of liberty; the seat of despotism for the palace of the Cæsars; a conclave of Cardinals for the noble Senate; crafty Jesuits for the Apostles Peter and Paul; the mummeries of the mass for the soul-stirring truths of the gospel; poverty for wealth; servility for dignity; weakness for strength; miserable crusaders for enlightened Christians; and the skulls, bones, and blood of heretics as an overplus. The precious memory of the glorious past felt insulted, outraged, and became eloquent in appeals; but Romanism cared not, heeded not, shed not a tear of regret over its blood-stained acts, damnable policies, and hellish inventions.

2. It stole its pompous notions of attraction, ornament, power, government, gorgeous dress, and the poetry of its ceremonies, from the heathens and the Hebrews; and then, with an impudence such as earth had never furnished a precedent for, and such as heaven had never seen before, assured the world that the Pope, Vicar of Christ, was the successor of Peter—a man who, with staff in hand, walked from place to place doing good.

3. It allowed priests to have wives at the beginning of its reign; but, from some cause or other, best known to itself, the idea of ecclesiastics marrying, in the lapse of ages, became

a thing of sin ; though inspiration proclaimed loud and long in its ears the fact that Peter was a married man—that his wife's mother lay sick of a fever in the days of the man of Calvary.

4. It caused certain bishops to come to the following conclusion, which they were not the slightest ashamed to give to mankind—that they would remain united, as one man, “For the correction of kings, the nobility, and the people.”

5. It made Charles the Bald humbly utter this confession : “That he held his empire by the gift of the Pope.”

6. It made Henry, Emperor of Germany, make this humiliating promise to the Pope : “That he would observe his fidelity to him and his successors in every thing.”

7. It disposed the mind of the *gracious* Pope, Alexander II., to recognize the claims of William, the Norman Duke, to the crown of England ; and to make this known by a bull, in which “was sent a hair from the head of St. Peter, enclosed in a diamond ring of great value, accompanied by a consecrated standard.”

8. It published in the eleventh century, through Pope Gregory VII., a series of *Constitutions*, of which the following will give a just idea : “That the Roman Pontiff alone can be called universal ; that princes are bound to kiss his feet, and his only ; that he has a right to dispose of emperors ; that no book can be called canonical without his authority ; that his sentence can be annulled by none, but that he may annul the decrees of all ; that the Roman Church has been, is, and will continue infallible ; that subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes.”

9. It induced Pope Paschal II., at a Council held at Rome, 1116, to make the clergy take an oath “of implicit obedience to the Pope and his successors ; to affirm what the holy Church affirms, and condemn what she condemns.”

10. It smiled at the *daring* act of Pope Celestine III., in

kicking the crown from the head of the Emperor Henry IV., "to show his prerogative of making and unmaking kings."

11. It was filled with unspeakable happiness when it saw Pope Celestine IV. seated on an ass, after his election, with two kings waiting on him—one of them the perjured sovereign of Naples; and all this to bring before the spectators an imitation of Him who rode into Jerusalem—the man of Nazareth, who was meek and lowly in heart.

12. It could scarcely restrain itself from shouting aloud with joy when it saw how "Pope Alexander III. forced the Emperor Frederick I. to hold his stirrups while mounting his steed."

13. It said in its heart, Great is the holiness of the chair of St. Peter, when it saw the eulogy of Pope Sixtus V. on Clement Jacques, who assassinated Henry III., King of France—a eulogy in which he "impiously compared the assassin to Judith and Eleazer;" and this, too, in an assembly of cardinals, who responded by their very smiles, *Well done, master!*

14. It received with marked pleasure the election of Pope John XII., at the age of eighteen, and never robed itself in mourning after reading that the Emperor Otho the Great had to drive him from "the pontificate for his lechery and abominable crimes."

15. It has, from age to age, gloried in the succession of popes from the days of Peter, without evincing a sigh over the "election of Benedict IX., a bastard child, when only twelve years old."

16. It has again and again looked at the list of the popes with unbounded gratification; and, so far as we know, has never used one pint of holy water to wash its skirts of the sin of Pope Boniface VII., "who murdered his own brother."

17. It has heard and re-heard, without a blush, the fact

that "Gregory VII. lived in sinful dalliance with the Countess Matilda."

18. It has refused, up to this hour, to protest against the link in the chain of succession, made up by the election of Alexander VI., "who combined with his abandoned son, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, to poison four cardinals, but realized in the procedure the verification of an old saying, that the wicked are ensnared in the work of their own hands; for both inadvertently drank of the poison, and immediately fell into the arms of death."

19. It now listens with bitter regret to the story of the Armada, which Philip of Spain sent out to enforce the bull of the Pope against Elizabeth, but which became the sport of wind and wave—an offering to the god of justice, leaving her majesty undisturbed on the throne, laughing at the thunders of the Vatican.

20. It now reads with more than ordinary gratification the account of Pedro Melendez De Aville's attempt to uproot Protestantism in Florida, who, acting under a commission from the Romish throne of Spain, said, on his arrival, to the French commandant: "I am Melendez of Spain, sent with strict orders by my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchmen who are Catholics I will spare, but every heretic shall die;" and, by way of showing his commission and determination by works, "he butchered hundreds of men, women, and children."

21. It now receives with peculiar joy the startling and servile saying of Daniel O'Connell, which was thundered into the ears of Roman Catholics in 1843, and which runs thus: "You should do all in your power to carry out the intentions of his Holiness the Pope. Where you have the electoral franchise, give your votes to none but those who will assist you in so holy a struggle."

22. It looks and re-looks, without an emotion of horror, at

the declaration of one of its papers : " If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he (the Pope) would tolerate you, (Protestants;) if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you; possibly he might even hang you; but be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the *glorious principles* of civil and religious liberty."

23. It greatly admires the piety and fortitude of the present Pontiff, and gladly receives his bulls against Sardinia and the Republic of Granada, though they embody some of the most offensive doctrines of the dark ages; such as "the inviolable supremacy of the Holy See," and the "miserable concubinage" of women on account of marriage by officers of the "civil law."

24. It hails, with indescribable delight, the punishment of certain Roman Catholic trustees in the State of New York, who, in that which follows, give us their offence: "For no higher offence than simply refusing to violate the trust law of our State, we have been subjected to the pains of excommunication, and our names held up to infamy and reproach. For this cause, too, have the entire congregation been placed under ban. To our members the holy rites of baptism and of burial have been denied. The marriage sacrament is refused. The priest is forbidden to minister at our altars. In sickness, and at the hour of death, the holy consolations of religion are withheld. To the Catholic churchman, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the magnitude of such deprivations.

"We yield to none in attachment to our religion, and cheerfully render to the bishop that obedience in spiritual matters which the just interpretation of our faith may require; but in respect to the temporalities of our Church, we claim the right of obeying the laws of the State, whose protection we enjoy."

25. It contemplates the murdered hosts of Protestants, and

the earth smoking with their blood; and then turns round, and *kindly* informs us in one of its papers: "More than 100,000 persons perished in consequence of the heresy of Wycliffe, and a still greater number for that of John Huss; and it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther; and it is not yet over."

We now invite attention to Protestantism and Romanism in contrast.

Having given a running view of what Romanism has done for the world, we are now ready to lay before the reader a little of what Protestantism has done for it. Without ceremony we say, look at Mexico, Central and South America, in contrast with the United States; Spain; Portugal, Italy, and Austria, in contrast with Prussia, Scotland, and England; and the exclamation will be, as if sent out by a thousand tongues: "What a difference between the land of Romanism and the land of Protestantism!"

Passing from a general to a particular view of the question, we observe, that Bishop Spaulding (Roman Catholic) lately undertook the task of enlightening the good people of Louisville, Ky., respecting the superiority of France over England. He claimed for the former superiority in these particulars: "First, in the physical well-being of its people; second, in their political liberty; thirdly, in their religion and morality."

Now, as the Bishop sets before us a dashing example, and the editor of the Nashville *Union and American* propounds a certain question, we shall here insert, in order to defend our principles and their effects, some dark and disagreeable things. The following tables are compiled from Seymour's "Evenings with Romanists." The first is based on a careful digest and comparison of the criminal statistics of the several countries, ranging through periods of from ten to twenty years. The average committals per year for murder, in

Protestant England, is 72, or	4 to every million.	
Rom. Cath. Ireland,	130, or 19	“
“ Belgium,	84, or 18	“
“ France,	1089, or 31	“
“ Austria,	1325, or 36	“
“ Bavaria,	311, or 68	“
“ Sardinia,	101, or 20	“
“ Lombardy,	235, or 45	“
“ Tuscany,	84, or 56	“
Papal States,	339, or 113	“
Rom. Cath. Sicily,	174, or 90	“
“ Naples,	1045, or 174	“

Our next table shows the number of *illegitimate births* in the Protestant and Catholic cities named. The statistics are from governmental returns, and therefore strictly reliable :

PROTESTANT LONDON—1851.

Whole number of births,.....	78,300.
The legitimate were.....	75,097.
The illegitimate.....	3,203, or 4 per cent.

CATHOLIC PARIS—1851.

Whole number of births,.....	32,325.
The legitimate were.....	21,689.
The illegitimate.....	10,630, or 33 per cent.

CATHOLIC BRUSSELS—1850.

Whole number of births,.....	5,181.
The legitimate were.....	3,448.
The illegitimate.....	1,833, or 35 per cent.

CATHOLIC MUNICH—1851.

Whole number of births,.....	3,469.
The legitimate were.....	1,762.
The illegitimate.....	1,702, or 48 per cent.

CATHOLIC VIENNA—1849.

Whole number of births,.....	19,241.
The legitimate were.....	8,881.
The illegitimate.....	10,360, or an average from 1848 till 1851 of 51 per cent.

These proportions will appear more *striking*, viewed by the help of the following concise summary. The proportion of illegitimate births is:

In Roman Catholic Paris,.....	33 per cent.
“ Brussels,.....	35 “
“ Munich,.....	48 “
“ Vienna,	51 “
In Protestant London,.....	Four!

Mr. Seymour pushes his comparisons beyond these cities, and compares other cities and States together, but with similar results. Wherever he finds Romanism dominant, he finds illegitimacy fearfully prevalent.

Well may we ask, in view of such an array of figures, if murder and illegitimacy, which rank first among acts of crime and immorality, are greatest where Romanism forms the character of communities, and least where Protestantism is supreme, is not the inference irresistible in favor of the latter, and against the former? Do not these facts prove Romanism to be fearfully inefficient as a religious power? that it cannot even moralize society?

Now, as the editor of the *Nashville Union and American* has a child of his brain before the world, crying out as it goes: “What has Protestantism done for the world?” we deem it alike due to truth and justice to send this chapter, as a messenger, after it, proclaiming aloud: “And this is a little of what Romanism has done for the world!”

We cannot more appropriately conclude this chapter than with the language of the eloquent *Victor Hugo*:

“You (Catholics) claim the liberty to instruct. For some centuries you have held in your hands, at your discretion, at your school, under your ferule, two great nations—Italy and Spain, illustrious among the illustrious; and what have you done with them? I am going to tell you. Thanks to you, Italy, of which no one can think nor even pronounce her name

without inexpressible filial grief: Italy, that mother of genius and of nations, which has diffused over the whole world the most astonishing productions of poetry and art: Italy, which has taught our race to read, does not to-day know how to read herself! Yes, Italy has, of all the States of Europe, the smallest number of native inhabitants who are able to read! Spain—magnificently endowed Spain, which received from the Romans her first civilization, from the Arabians her second civilization, from Providence, and in spite of you, a world, America—Spain has lost, thanks to you, thanks to your brutal yoke, which is a yoke of degradation, Spain has lost the secret of her power which she received from the Romans, that genius in the arts which she received from the Arabs, that world which God gave her. And in exchange for all that you have made her lose, what has she received? She has received the *Inquisition!* The Inquisition, which certain men of a certain party are endeavoring to-day to reëstablish, with a modest timidity for which I honor them. The Inquisition, which has burned upon the funeral-pile five millions of men! The Inquisition, which exhumed the dead in order to burn them as heretics! Witness Urgel and Arnault, Count of Forcalquier. The Inquisition, which declares children heretics even to the second generation! It is true, in order to console Spain for what you have taken from her, that you have surnamed what you have given her Catholic. Ah! do you know that you have drawn from one of the greatest of men that dolorous cry which accuses you: ‘I would much rather that Spain should be great, than that she should be Catholic!’ See what you have done with that focus of light which you call Italy! You have extinguished it. That colossus which you call Spain, you have undermined. The one is in ruins, the other in ashes. See what you have done for these two great nations!”

CHAPTER XXIV.

A review of letters from Col. Tarpley, Rev. F. X. Leray, and C. H. Stonestreet, Esq., Sup. Jesuits of Maryland, published in the *Mississippian*, Jackson, Mississippi, 1855, under the startling heading: "Interesting Correspondence."

THE "Interesting Correspondence" runs as follows:

"The last *Flag of the Union* calls for the whole correspondence between Mr. Stonestreet, the Rev. Mr. Leray, and myself, and intimates that in my speech I omitted to read portions of those letters, because they would not sustain my positions. I am infinitely obliged to the editor for the opportunity he has given me of bringing the whole correspondence before the public; and no one who examines it carefully will fail to perceive that this hue and cry against the Catholics is a sheer fabrication, gotten up for the worst purposes, and persisted in with the criminal intent of deceiving the people. [We shall soon see who is badly deceived—completely duped.—Reviewer.]

"Mr. Stonestreet is at the head of the College in Georgetown, D. C., and enjoys an enviable reputation for learning, truth, piety, and devotion to republican institutions. I may say without exaggeration that no man in this or any other country enjoys a better reputation for all the virtues which adorn the character of a Christian gentleman, than does the Superior of the order of Jesuits who is the author of this letter. Of our fellow-citizen, Rev. Mr. Leray, I need not

speak. The best endorsement of his pious professions is an irreproachable life devoted to the good of those amongst whom he resides. In the hour of pestilence and sorrow, when fear lent wings to other Christian ministers, and they fled in all directions for safety, "the good Leray," as he is familiarly called, remained at his post, to nurse the sick, bury the dead, and perform his ministerial functions, not only toward his flock, but toward the flocks who had been deserted by their pastors. Such men are incapable of speaking falsely. They were applied to for information upon points they were known to understand, and will be believed in defiance of the innuendoes or assertions of interested politicians, or the grosser denunciations of unscrupulous proscriptionists.

"Very respectfully,

C. S. TARPLEY."

"JACKSON, July 6th, 1855. "

"REV. MR. LERAY :

"DEAR SIR :—In my addresses to the people of Mississippi, on behalf of religious freedom, I have been met by my opponents with the charge: 1st, That the Catholic Bible is essentially different from the "King James Version" used by Protestants, and that Catholics do not permit this version to be read by their communicants. 2d. That the Pope claims to exercise *temporal* as well as *spiritual* jurisdiction over all the nations of the earth, and that the oath taken by every priest at the time of his ordination recognizes such jurisdiction. 3d. That the Jesuits take an oath to subvert all republican institutions, and to bring them under subjection to the Pope. Although an entire stranger to you, sir, yet, as an advocate of the truth so far as I understand it, and wishing to inculcate proper sentiments amongst the people, I have taken the liberty of requesting that you will furnish me with a Catholic Bible, and point out the main distinctions and differences that exist between it and our own version, with such

explanations as you may think proper to make, and also that you will furnish me with all the facts connected with the oaths of the priesthood and the Jesuits, (if they take any,) with copies of such oaths. Also state how many communicants of the Catholic Church there are in the United States.

“You will understand of course that I desire and intend to use your answers in my public discussions; and as my only object is to arrive at the *truth*, I trust you will accompany them with such proofs and suggestions as your own good sense may dictate.

“Hoping that the liberty I have taken will find an excuse in the object which prompts it, I remain, Rev. Sir,

“Your obedient and very humble servant,

“C. S. TARPLEY.”

“HON. C. S. TARPLEY :

“DEAR SIR :—In answer to the inquiries contained in your letter of the 6th inst., I would briefly state :

“1st. That the R. C. Church does not approve of the reading of Protestant versions of the Bible by her members, on the ground that there exist many essential differences between the Protestant and the Catholic translations of the word of God. The versions of Tindal, Coverdale, and Queen Elizabeth’s Bishops, were so notoriously corrupt, as to cause a general outcry against them among Protestants as well as among Catholics. King James himself joined in the outcry, and ordered a new version of the Scriptures to be made, being the same that is now in use, with some few alterations made after the Restoration.—(See the Protestant *Bishop Watson’s Collect*, vol. iii., p. 98.)

“2d. As to the temporal power attributed to the Pope, I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England; and it must indeed be a source of no small humiliation for every true American to hear the same barbarous outcry

reëchoed on the shores of free America after it has been silenced by European civilization !

“There is not in the Catholic Church such a doctrine as the temporal power of the Pope over all nations : it has been denied by the bishops and divines of all countries. Any man who is not blinded by prejudice and fanaticism, ought to be convinced of it from the very fact that, though there are in the United States Roman Catholics from all nations, some being only nominal Catholics, others having abandoned that faith, some having entered the Know-Nothing lodges, not one that I have heard of has dared to come out openly before the people and to state that he has been taught such a doctrine, either privately or publicly, in this or in any other country. I appeal to the conscience of the people of this State ; I appeal to all impartial men, to all lovers of truth and justice, and I ask, Who is to be believed—the Know-Nothing, sworn to injure freemen in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights, or the Roman Catholic, who has never given cause to doubt his candor or veracity ?

“3d. In regard to the oaths taken by priests or Jesuits—oaths published with so much satisfaction by certain editors—let me tell you, sir, that there is not one word of truth about them ; I will further say, that any man who, in view to render me dangerous in the eyes of my fellow-citizens, asserts that, as a Catholic priest, I have taken any oath when ordained priest, or owe any temporal allegiance to the Pope, or any ecclesiastical body, has no truth in him.

“The doctrine which I have been taught, the same which I teach both privately and publicly, is, that the Church or the Pope has no temporal power of Divine right ; that the two powers, the spiritual and temporal, are distinct and independent ; that Christ’s kingdom is not of this world.

“The history of the Jesuits in Paraguay proves better than

all I could say, that they are not inimical to republican forms of government: there is nothing so stubborn as facts. [Thank you for this; and all will see in this chapter that "there is nothing so stubborn as facts."—Reviewer.]

"Yours, very respectfully,

"F. X. LERAY."

"JACKSON, July 6th, 1855.

"C. H. STONESTREET, ESQ., SUP. JESUITS OF MARYLAND.

"REVEREND SIR:—Though an entire stranger to you, I am, with yourself, an American citizen, born and reared under its institutions, and resolved to the best of my humble abilities to sustain them. Amongst the first and best lessons they inculcate is that of religious freedom, and without which I would consider all others "as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." I am now engaged in the discussion of the great questions of the day with the "*American party*," that openly avows its hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, and the order to which you belong, and who charge upon the Jesuits that they take an oath to subvert all republican institutions, and to bring them under subjection to the Pope, who has *temporal* as well as *spiritual* jurisdiction over all the nations of the earth; and in support of that assertion, they read an oath, by whom printed or where obtained I know not, but I have certainly somewhere seen over your own signature a denial of its being the oath of a Jesuit.

"My object, sir, is to arrive at *truth*, and to sow none but good seeds in the minds of the people amongst whom I live, and for whose well-being I am now struggling, as a member of a Protestant Church, devoted to the constitutional rights of every religious denomination. May I ask of you, sir, to furnish me the facts in reference to this matter, with references to such proofs, if attainable, as will satisfy the minds of the people of the truth or falsehood of the charge?

“Knowing the object I have in view, and that time is precious in eradicating false impressions, may I, dear sir, ask your immediate attention to this matter, and oblige

“Yours, etc.,

“C. S. TARPLEY.”

“GEORGETOWN COLLEGE, D. C., July 17, 1855.

“HON. SIR:—The Jesuits’ oath, the ‘*Monita Secreta*,’ and Jesuits’ devotion to absolute monarchy, are sheer fabrications. In answer to the first, I send you a copy of my denial which Maryland received as the assertion of a gentleman, and believed. The origin of the second I extract from a book written by R. C. Dallas, Esq., an Englishman and a Protestant. The book was printed in London, 1815. ‘The new conspiracy against the Jesuits detected and briefly exposed’ is its title. He writes thus: ‘In the early years of the 17th century, a Jesuit was dismissed with ignominy from the society in Poland. The walls of the city of Cracow were soon covered with sheets of revengeful insults; and in the year 1616, this outcast of the society published his fabricated “*Monita Secreta*,” with a view to cover his own disgrace, or to gratify his revenge.’ The author says, in a note, Jerom Zarowich was the name of the discharged Polish Jesuit who forged and published the *Monita Secreta* in 1616. An enlarged edition was published at Strasburgh, in 1713, and again in 1717.

“We have a constitution, which, with the acts of our general congregation, (public assemblies of the order, to which representatives are elected by ballot,) are printed in four octavo volumes. This work gave rise to or suggested the fabrication of the *Monita Secreta*. We have a Superior of our whole society or order or company, and his title is General. This officer is elected for life or good conduct by ballot. The representatives of the order can depose him, and have done so. Hence you see the folly of the pretended love of

Jesuits for absolutism. Their own government is not absolute, but constitutional. The religious doctrine of the Jesuits is neither more nor less than that of the Roman Catholic Church. What the Catholic doctrine, *which is our entire doctrine*, is, the speech of Mr. Chandler, which I send you, declares as to the temporal power of the Pope.

“Respectfully, etc.,

“C. H. STONESTREET, Sec. J.”

Does it not seem remarkably strange that Col. Tarpley, a man who represents himself as being a Methodist, a lover of Methodism, and as having been such for thirty years, should lift his pen, dip it in ink, and write two letters—one to “Father Leray,” a Romish priest of Jackson, Mississippi, and the other to Mr. Stonestreet, a Jesuit of the District of Columbia, for the express purpose of learning the truth respecting the charges made by the American party against the Pope and the authorities under him? He informs “Father Leray” that his “only object is to arrive at the truth.” This may be so, yet we must beg leave to assure him that his act, in this particular, finds a comment in the idea of going to the goat’s house in quest of wool.

Why refuse or decline to consult Wesley, the father of his professed religious creed? Because he is aware that an appeal to this quarter will prove fatal to his party, and expose the fallacy of his Anti-American notions. This is the *why*, and of its honesty the reader will please form his own opinion.

Wesley thus expresses himself on the points at issue between the Pope and his opposers :

“I insist upon it that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion. I prove this by a plain argument—let him answer it that can—that no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance or peaceable behavior. I prove it thus : it is a

Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by public council, that 'No faith is to be kept with heretics.' This has been openly avowed by the Council of Constance; but it was never openly disclaimed.

"But still, be their principles what they will, I would not persecute them. So persecution is utterly out of the question. I would not hurt a hair of their head. Meantime, I would not put it into their power to hurt me, or any other person whom they believe to be a heretic. I steer the middle way. I would neither kill nor be killed. I would not use the sword against them, nor put it into their hands, lest they should use it against me: I wish them well, but I dare not trust them."

Here we have words of truth, care, wisdom, and moderation. And here we may justly ask, Is there not a peculiar appropriateness in the following sentiment to Col. Tarpley: "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light?" But will not every honest man agree with us in this, that he who would write a letter to a priest, saying, "My only object is to arrive at the truth," ought to show his sincerity by his works? Certainly. Does he do so? We leave our readers to return the verdict, preferring the cultivation of the spirit of charity to that of righteous severity.

In another place in his letter to "Father Leray," he observes:

"I trust that you will accompany them [answers to be used against Protestantism and Americanism] with such proofs and suggestions as your own good sense may dictate."

He not only wants answers to be used against a creed and a country baptized with the blood of freemen, Protestants and patriots, but suggestions and proofs. Poor man! how anxious he seems to secure the aid of Romanism! The act is too humiliating for words to describe. We turn away from it as

from the memory of Arnold, hoping that perpetual censure, in word, look, and act, will rest on its name and history.

Our philosophy teaches us that the creed of all men ought to be: "Duty to Heaven first; then to their families; and lastly to their country, truth, honor, and patriotism; not party, deception, and intrigue." Had Col. Tarpley walked in the light of this, would he have ever thought of writing as he did to a Jesuit and a priest? Never.

In due time, answers from these gentlemen arrive. He opens, reads, and then puts the precious treasure in his pocket. He goes, according to invitation, to the various political meetings around, where he makes speeches, crying at the top of his voice: "Fellow-citizens, just hear what Mr. Stonestreet, a man who enjoys 'an enviable reputation for learning, truth, piety, and devotion,' and Father Leray, familiarly called 'the good Leray,' say respecting the base charges made against Catholics and the Pope by the new order—the dark-lantern party. Mr. Stonestreet assures us that 'the religious doctrine of the Jesuits is neither more nor less than that of the Roman Catholic Church;' and Father Leray thus emphatically declares what this doctrine is, so far as the temporal power of the Pope is concerned: 'I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England.'"

A few long-faced Methodists, stern-faced Baptists, and grave-faced Presbyterians, receive all this as "law and gospel," exclaiming: "Another Whig trick, aided by disaffected Democrats, in the garb of Know-Nothingism; a libel on Catholics and the Pope!" What an age is ours!

Col. Tarpley, not content with this event in his eventful life, sits down in an easy-chair, lifts his pen again, baptizes it in ink, and writes, as given in the outset of this chapter, to the *distinguished* editor of the Mississippian, knowing that seven thousand and one readers, neither more nor less, would see the whole correspondence, and particularly notice his

opinion of "the good Leray," and attack on Protestant ministers. The Mississippian appears, containing all under the significant and startling heading: "Interesting Correspondence." The Anti-Americans are delighted with the publication, and praise, without measure, one who has rendered so much valuable service to their cause, considering that his claim to the chair of state, in a future day, shall not be forgotten. O, the future!

We are now ready to deal with all *kindly* and *gently*, by showing that Mr. Stonestreet and Father Leray, either ignorantly or intentionally, deceived Col. Tarpley, who, acting under this deception, committed a silly blunder in publishing their untruthful and jesuitical letters.

Just hear how Col. Tarpley talks:

"When fear lent wings to other Christian ministers, (Protestant ministers,) and they fled in all directions for safety, 'the good Leray,' as he is familiarly called, remained at his post, to nurse the sick, bury the dead, and perform his ministerial functions, not only toward his, but toward the flocks who had been deserted by their pastors."

This is an unqualified outrage on Protestant ministers. Would he have ventured to publish this, had he believed that all the ministers and members of the various Protestant Churches loved their principles more than the triumphs of Anti-Americanism? Never. Some members, of the Anti-American stripe, convinced him by words and acts—such as proscribing Church papers, on the supposition of their editors being favorable to the American cause, refusing to hear certain ministers preach, and threatening to withdraw their cash patronage—that they would rather see desolation in their respective Churches than see the defeat of their party: hence, supported by his own feeling in this matter, he felt at liberty to write as cited—at liberty to offer indignity to men who but acted in unison with their professions and history. All this we know

to be so, and consequently defy contradiction. Our defence of Protestant ministers is, that some of them, exposed to the pestilence mentioned by Col. Tarpley, died at their posts, fully satisfied of the truth of inspiration, and of the correctness of the American doctrine. We embalm their memories, while we commend to all the patriotism of their political creed.

We now invite particular attention to the statements of "the good Leray." This individual declares :

"As to the temporal power attributed to the Pope, I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England."

Col. Tarpley must step aside to fling contempt at Protestant ministers on account of their Americanism; and Father Leray must go out of the way to spit his spite at old England because history distinguishes her as the great theatre of the Reformation. How long will it be till free America, the chosen home of the "Pilgrims and the Huguenots," heart-sick with the degeneracy of her sons, shall spew out of her mouth those who, bearing the Protestant name, not only tamely submit to all this, and the like, but show, by word and vote, that Anti-Americanism is much more glorious and captivating than baptized professions of faith and principle?

Bishop Kenrick, you are regarded as being well versed in the doctrines and history of your own Church: what is your opinion respecting the exercise of temporal power by the Pope? He answers:

"The civil sovereignty of the Pope formerly gave occasion to alliances with other powers, whom he aided with men and money in just wars."—*Primacy*, p. 467. Yet Father Leray, the guide of Col. Tarpley, declares: "I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England." Well may we ask, judging from this, ought not the guider and the guided to be designated "Know-Nothings" of the wilful class? They do not even so much as know what a distinguished bishop of

the Romish Church has written on the question in controversy between *Sam* and the Pope.

St. Bernard, a strict Roman Catholic writer, speaking of the temporal power of the Pope, says :

“Two swords were given to Peter, the one temporal, and the other spiritual.”—*Bernard. de Consid.*, lib. iv. c. 3.

Yet Father Leray, the guide of Col. Tarpley, declares : “I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England.” Pray, at what school was the man educated? Has he as much as “Jack the Giant-killer” in his library?

Ferraris, in his Ecclesiastical Dictionary, a standard work of Roman Catholic divinity, observes :

“The Pope is divine monarch, supreme emperor, and king of kings. Hence the Pope is crowned with a triple crown, as king of heaven, of earth, and of hell. He is also above angels; so that if it were possible that angels could err from the faith, they could be judged and excommunicated by the Pope. Hence the *common* doctrine teacheth that the Pope hath the power of the two swords—the spiritual and TEMPORAL.”—*Ferraris in Papa*, art. ii., No. 1.

Yet Father Leray, the guide of Col. Tarpley, declares : “I have heard of it only as the war-cry of persecuting England.” How stand the guider and the guided here? Even ignorant of the existence of such a work in the Romish Church. Still they oppose “Know-Nothings!” What a thought! Gentlemen, you ought instantly to be sent to a field-school.

Brownson, an endorsed expounder of Romanism in the United States, exclaims : “O sovereign Pontiff, alike in spirituals and in temporals!”—*Review*, January No., 1853. Yet Father Leray, the guide of Col. Tarpley, declares : “I have heard of it (temporal power) only as the war-cry of persecuting England.” And these are the men who undertake to enlighten the people on matters of the greatest interest

to civil and religious liberty. They do not know what a Review published in Boston sets forth. Clear the track for the car of Anti-American ignorance!

Again, Father Leray declares :

“There is not in the Catholic Church such a doctrine as the temporal power of the Pope over all nations : it has been denied by the bishops and divines of all countries.”

Has it? Please look at the testimony of Ferraris, as given above. In addition, we observe that Augustine Triumphus, in the preface to a work dedicated to Pope John XXII., speaks thus: “Universal supremacy over temporal and spiritual matters.”—*Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccles. in præfat., ad P. Joh. XXII.*

Well, Father Leray, notwithstanding you are the guide of Col. Tarpley, one of the great lights of Anti-Americans, and the president of the contemptible “Central Association,” we beg leave to say that you are a miserable representative of infallibility.

Father Leray, speaking of oaths, says :

“In regard to the oaths taken by priests or Jesuits, oaths published with so much satisfaction by certain editors, let me tell you, sir, that there is not one word of truth about them.”

The reader, without being influenced by the errors exposed already, will please judge of this by such evidence as we have at hand. Bishop Kenrick, speaking of the oath taken at consecration, observes: “The oath taken at our consecration obliges us to pursue and impugn heretics, (Protestants;) but our arms are such as become the successors of the apostles.”—*Primacy*, p. 473.

St. Liguori thus explains the meaning of this oath :

“The bishop is bound, in places where the holy inquisition flourishes, to purge the diocese committed to him of heretics.”—*Liguori*, vol. ix., p. 345.

One clause of the bishop’s oath runs thus :

“Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles, eidem Dōmīno Nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro POSSE persequar et impugnabo.

“All heretics, schismatics, and rebels against the same our Lord, or foresaid successors, I will persecute and attack to the utmost of my power.”—*Pontificale Romanum*, dated Rome, 1738, p. 236.

Rev. Mr. Burgess, Rector of Chelsea, England, says that the clause of the bishop’s oath given ought to be translated, in order to enable an Englishman—and we add an American—to understand it, “I will persecute and pitch into.”

Peter Dens, a distinguished writer of the Romish Church, endorsed by the University of Louvain, one of the universities quoted by the Anti-Americans to prove that the Pope does not claim temporal power, says :

“All the faithful, also bishops and patriarchs, are bound to obey the Roman Pontiff. The Pope hath also not only a directive, but also a coëctive power over all the faithful.”—*Dens de Eccles.*, No. 94, p. 439.

That which follows is a portion of the oath taken by the priests at Maynooth, the principal nursery of priests for the United States :

“I, A. B., do declare not to act or control any matter to thing prejudicial to her (the Romish Church) in her sacred orders, doctrines, tenets, or commands, without leave of its supreme power, or its authority under her appointed; and being so permitted, then to act and further her interest more than my own earthly good and earthly pleasures, as she and her head, his Holiness and his successors, have, or ought to have, the supremacy over all kings, princes, estates, or powers whatsoever, either to deprive them of their crowns, sceptres, powers, privileges, realms, countries, or governments, or to set up others in lieu thereof, they dissenting from the mother Church and her commands.”—Cited in *Brooks’ Controversy* with Bishop Hughes, p. 16.

The Jesuit's oath :

“I, A. B., now in the presence of the Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael, the Archangel, the blessed St. John the Baptist, the holy apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the saints and hosts of heaven, and to you, my ghostly father, do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that his Holiness Pope — is Christ's Vicar-General, and is the true and only Head of the Catholic or universal Church throughout the earth; and by the virtue of the keys of binding and loosing, given to his Holiness by my Saviour Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths, and governments, all being illegal without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed : Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I shall and will defend this doctrine, and his Holiness's rights and customs, against all usurpers of the heretical (or Protestant) authority whatsoever, especially against the now pretended authority, and Church of England, and all adherents, in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the sacred Mother Church of Rome. I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare the doctrine of the Church of England, the Calvinists, the Huguenots, and of others of the name of Protestants, to be damnable, and that they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare, that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness's agents, in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, (notwithstanding I am dispensed with to assume any religion heretical, for the propagating of the

Mother Church's interest,) to keep secret and private all her agents' counsels, from time to time, as they intrust me, and not to divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance whatever, but to execute all that shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me by you, my ghostly father, or any of his sacred convent. All which, I, A. B., do swear by the blessed sacrament I am now to receive, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolable; and do call on the heavenly and glorious host of heaven to witness these my real intentions to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist, and witness the same further with my hand and seal, in the face of this holy convent this day—Anno Domini," etc.—*McGavan's Protestant*, vol. ii., p. 256.

Newton's Express meets this matter thus :

"Now we ask all candid men whose eyes have not been blinded by the dust of Popery, can a bishop or priest, with these oaths upon his soul, be a true American citizen? Not without the guilt of perjury.

"And strange to say, the Chief Justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney, is a Roman Catholic—was one when he was appointed to the Supreme Bench, and is even supposed to belong to the order of Jesuits! Our Postmaster-General, James Campbell, is not only a Roman Catholic, but is notoriously a member of the Jesuits, having taken this very oath. Can the world produce a stronger proof of their Anti-Americanism? Should we not remove them from every public position?"

The oath of the *Sanfedisti*—a society established by the Papal government, 1821, to detect those who professed liberal or heretical opinions :

"I, son of the holy faith, No. —, promise and swear*

* If swearing to exterminate us will prove a *blessing*, we shall be

to sustain the altar and the papal throne, to exterminate heretics, liberals, and all the enemies of the Church, without pity for the cries of children, or of men and women. So help me God."—Quoted in *Brooks' Controversy* with Bishop Hughes.

The *Catholic Vindicator*, an English paper, sheds all necessary light on these oaths and the obligations of Romanists to the Pope. It talks thus :

"We would not hesitate to tell the Queen to her face that she must either be content with this divided allegiance, or none at all; for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign Pontiff, whoever may presume to forbid."

This is only an expression of their relation to the Holy Father by oath. Had the American party thus represented them, would not the whole have been pronounced "a Know-Nothing lie, gotten up to ruin the Democratic party?"

Here the Anti-Americans can find a large field open for war on "oath-bound conclaves." Will Col. Tarpley put himself to the trouble to write for authentic documents on all these oaths? No; the parties favor the Anti-American cause. What an age of principle!

In a word, oaths appear all the way; yet "the good Leray,"

abundantly blessed. That which follows is the oath of the Irish Catholics, called Ribbon-men :

"I, Patrick McKenna, swear by Saints Peter and Paul, and by the blessed Virgin Mary, to be always faithful to the society of Ribbon-men; to keep and conceal all its secrets, and its words of order; to be always ready to execute the commands of my superior officers, and, as far as it shall lie in my power, to extirpate all heretics, and all the Protestants, and to walk in their blood to the knee! May the Virgin Mary and all the saints help me! To-day, the 2d of July, 1852. PAT. MCKENNA, from *Tydavenet*."—Cited in *Brooks' Controversy* with Bishop Hughes, p. 15.

the guide of Col. Tarpley, would have us believe "that there is not a word of truth about them." Well, well!

"The good Leray," speaking of his manner of teaching, says: "The doctrine which I teach both privately and publicly is, that the Pope has no temporal power of Divine right." *Mr. Brownson*, speaking by authority, directly contradicts this, saying:

"The power she (Romish Church) exercised over sovereigns in the middle ages was not a usurpation, was not derived from the concessions of princes or the consent of the people, but was and is hers by *Divine right*."—*Review*, Jan. No., 1853. This is how *Mr. Brownson*, speaking by authority, thus disposes of Col. Tarpley's right-hand man—"the good Leray."

Rev. Pierce Connelly, in his *Reasons for Abjuring Allegiance* to the see of Rome, page 25, talks thus, quoting Roman Catholic authority:

"What is the origin of the Papal temporal supremacy? It is *jure divino*." Yet "the good Leray," the right-hand man of Col. Tarpley, a *noted Anti-American speaker*, observes: "The doctrine which I teach is, that the Pope has no temporal power of Divine right."

Bellarmino, a profound expounder of Romish doctrines, remarks, speaking of opinions respecting the Pope's supremacy:

"The first opinion is, that the Pope, by Divine right, hath supreme power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs."—*Bell de Pontiff*, v. 1. Yet "the good Leray," Col. Tarpley's right-hand man, says:

"There is not in the Catholic Church such a doctrine as the temporal power of the Pope over all nations: it has been denied by the bishops and divines of all countries. The doctrine which I have been taught, the same which I teach both privately and publicly, is, that the Church or the Pope has no

temporal power of Divine right." If we had a museum for errors, would not this be entitled to a prominent place?

St. Thomas Aquinas, a leading Roman Catholic theologian, as quoted by Bellarmine, talks thus :

"The Pope, by Divine right, hath spiritual and temporal power, as supreme king of the world; so that he can impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity."—*De Regim. Princip.*, lib. iii., c. 10, 19.

Respected reader, what think you of "the good Leray," now? Have we not established, by the approved authorities of the Romish Church, that his letter is not entitled to any respect, to say nothing of confidence; that it is but an array of untruths all the way, as boldly expressed as they are badly disguised?

But, in disposing of this branch of our review, we beg leave to state, that if Col. Tarpley believed the letter of "the good Leray" when he read from it in public, and when he published it, we must be permitted to say that he was badly deceived. In addition we observe, if the author knew better, he acted cruelly and wickedly; since he had been informed that the only object in view was to "arrive at truth;" and if he did not know better, he ought not to have written at all. Such is our conclusion, and such we think will be the conclusion of our readers.

We shall only notice one statement in the jesuitical letter of Mr. Stonestreet, namely: "The religious doctrine of the Jesuits is neither more nor less than that of the Roman Catholic Church. What the Catholic doctrine, which is our entire doctrine, is, the speech of Mr. Chandler, which I send you, declares as to the temporal power of the Pope."

The editor of the *Boston Pilot*, a Roman Catholic, speaks thus of Mr. Chandler: "Some time since, Dr. McClintock published an elaborate review of the speech which the Hon.

Joseph R. Chandler made in the House last January, (1855,) in reply to Mr. Banks. Dr. McClintock is a Protestant minister, an able man, and a close, earnest reasoner. With his argument and that of Mr. Chandler before us, we cannot but admit that Dr. McClintock has the best of the argument. If the conversion of this country is ever to be accomplished, that event will be due, in a great measure, and under God, to a full, fair, clear, and bold persistence in the enunciation of the doctrine that the *temporal* is subordinate to the spiritual."

The doctrine of Mr. Chandler is not the doctrine of the Romish Church; for she sternly contends for that which he denies.

By way of confirming this, we shall allow Pope Gregory VII. to speak, who, in his *Maxims*, emphatically tells us: "It is lawful for the Pope to depose emperors. The Pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance, which they had taken to a bad prince." See his *Fiftieth Letter, second Book*.

The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is the doctrine of the Jesuits. True; for the evil one could not make any thing worse. Thus you see, Mr. Tarpley, that we prove all the American party has placed on the list of charges against the Romish Church by the testimony of her own approved writers.

How alarming the system of Romanism! Its principal advocates are under oath to exterminate us, whether we sleep, walk, sing, or pray. We repeat, in view of this, how alarming the system of Romanism! The fire, the inquisition and the rack, and the cruel torture of heretics, are still in its principles and teachings.

In closing, we would remark that Col. Tarpley assures all the world and "the rest of mankind," speaking of Mr. Stone-street and "the good Leray," that "such men are incapable of speaking falsely." Well, they may not be capable of speaking falsely, but one thing is certain, that they are capable of

speaking ignorantly. All of which, and more, we have abundantly established—not, in any sense, to the credit of the learning and research of Col. Tarpley—one of the leading wire-workers of the Anti-Americans of Mississippi—even the president of the Central Association, one of the most corrupt organizations that has ever come under our notice. In a word, we would rather be a dog to keep our master's house, than have the honor of such Romans. Surely the instructors of Col. Tarpley must be thoroughly acquainted with what is called “the decisions of the Church,” of which the following is a part :

“To swear with equivocation, when there is good reason, and the equivocation itself is lawful, is not wrong; for where you have a right to hide the truth, and you do it without a lie, no irreverence is done to the oath. The reason is, that we are not deceiving our neighbors, but, for some good reason, letting them deceive themselves.”

REFLECTIONS.—From all that precedes, the reader must at once perceive that our distinguished letter-writers afford a practical comment on a truthful declaration, “that men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.”

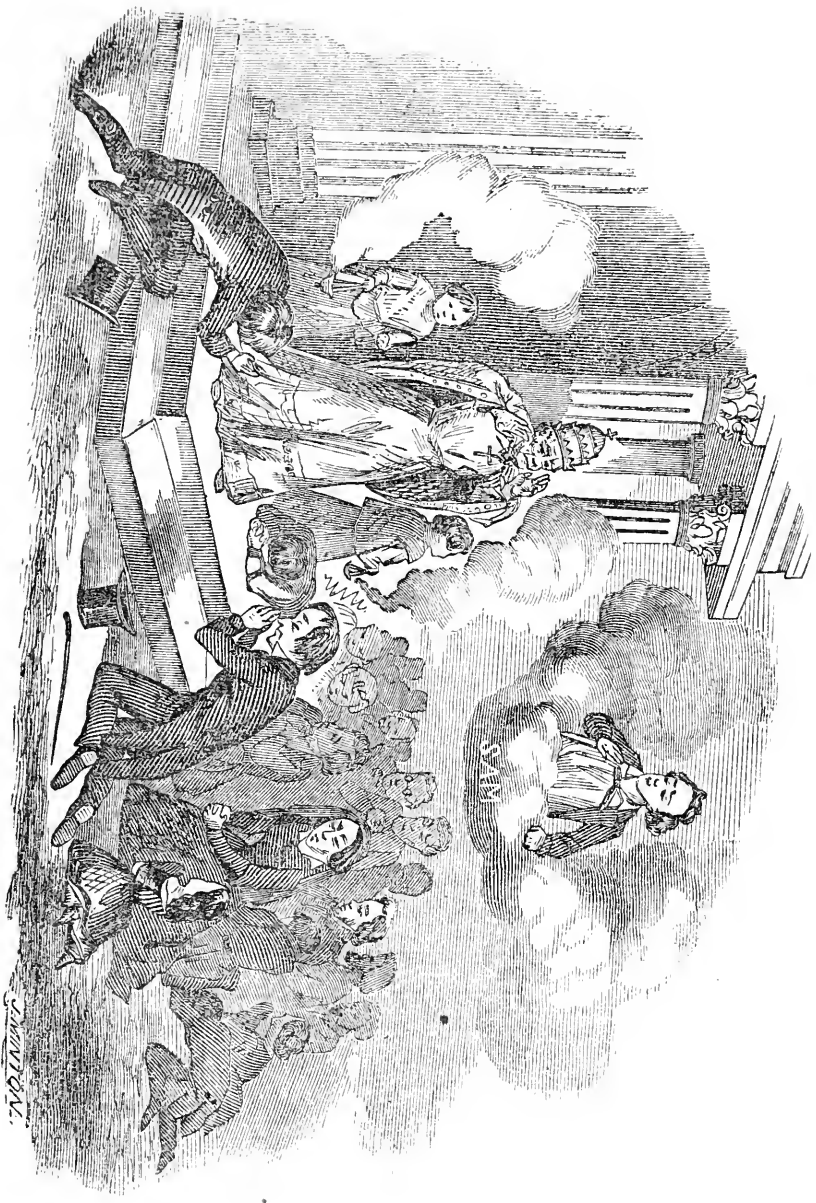
The editor of the Mississippian not only published the letters with great joy, but lustily called on men to publish to the world their own disgrace—that they had violated the most solemn obligations respecting the pride and glory of their country and Protestantism. His words will thus go down to the next generation: “Let them (Whigs and Democrats) publish in the newspapers and proclaim on the highways their experience of Know-Nothingism—this monstrosity, which originated in the corrupt hot-bed of New England bigotry, treason, and fanaticism, to pollute the Churches and to overthrow the Constitution of the country. Mississippi owes it to herself to exterminate the abomination within her borders.”

We presume, cultivating a spirit of charity, that the editor's

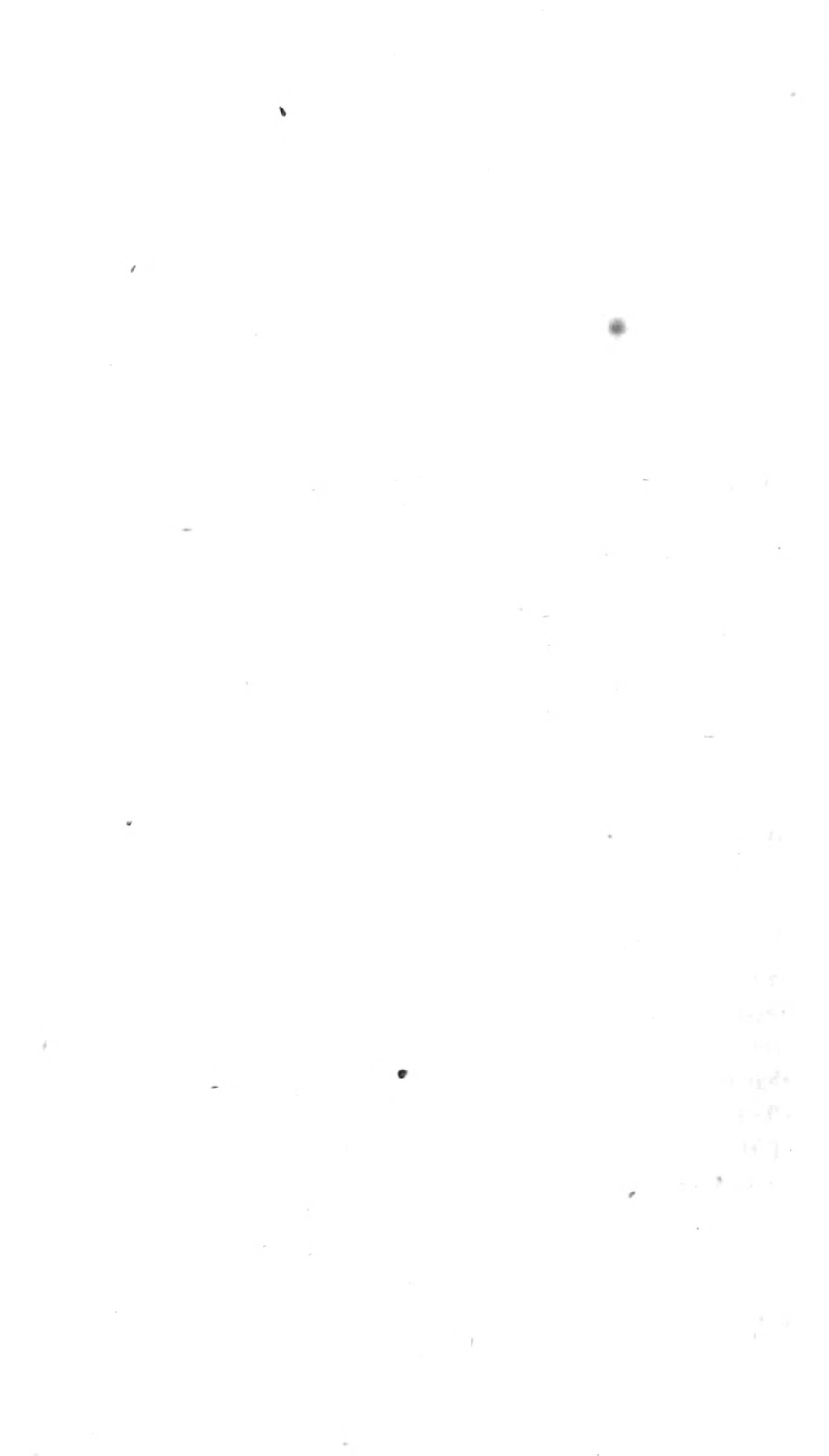
standard of morality, when he wrote this quotation, must have been regulated by the teaching of Rome's most industrious sons—that is, that “the end justifies the means.”

The engraving represents the Pope granting that much needed—a special pardon to the Anti-American sinners of Mississippi. Those who are thoroughly acquainted with their history, their political chronic iniquity, will heartily admit the necessity of the act of the Holy Father. See how penitent they look! A few narrow-minded ministers, who do not know the philosophy of the word Genesis, and a considerable sprinkling of unlettered members of the various Churches, sensible that humiliation relieves a burdened heart, are among those immediately before the sovereign Pontiff on their sinful knees. Major F., General G., and Col. H. are also side by side with the most humble, satisfied that the guilt of treachery to Protestantism greatly disturbs their daily and nightly hours. The rest may be described by two words—*all sorts*. Some of these, however, though instructors of the Anti-American Christians of Mississippi—if it be proper to apply the holy name to such mortals—do not believe that Moses, the prophets, and apostles wrote a book called the Bible; nor—— But we forbear.

The Holy Father, being aware of all this, and of other things which expediency would keep out of the hands of the printer's devil, feels the necessity of granting a large dispensation. See how he forgives the sinful assembly, richly amused at the idea of his relation to the ministerial portion—men who had often poured out their sweat preaching against his power and doctrine. Further comment is needless. The future historian will find in what is stated a few materials for a work on the *corruption and inconsistency of men*. "



M. W. P.



CHAPTER XXV.

Would you wish to know the opinions of foreign papers, and the views and feelings of patriotic foreigners by birth, respecting *Sam*? Give this chapter a careful reading.

THE *Dublin Evening Mail* descants as follows on the movements of *Sam* :

“KNOW-NOTHINGS.—The people of America, alarmed by the overweening assumptions of the Church of Rome, and no doubt warned by the power she has acquired over popular education in Europe, are taking energetic proceedings to exclude the influence of the priests from their national schools throughout the Union. By the last mail we learn that the ‘school trustees of Louisville, Ky., have decided on dismissing several teachers in the public schools, on account of their foreign birth, and their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith.’ The wisdom of this decision is apparent from the reasons assigned for it. The foreign birth and Romish predilections of the teachers thus dismissed, are sufficient evidence that they have been imported into the United States by the Church of Rome, with a view to pervert the secular education of the country to purposes of proselytism. They are, in fact, emissaries of the *College de Propaganda Fide*; have been trained and qualified, no doubt, by its education, to carry out abroad the principles which it has been so successful in disseminating here in Ireland. The Pope has not a more efficient or free-handed institution at his beck than the Imperial Par-

liament of this United Kingdom, which spares no expense to furnish his Holiness with zealous and well-informed agents for spreading his dominion over the face of the globe. Does he require priests to establish and extend it wherever the English language is spoken, the halls and dormitories of Maynooth are enlarged, and the larder abundantly replenished, to keep up a constant supply of young ecclesiastics for his service. Do these, in turn, send home a requisition for your teachers to assist them in their work, the Chancellor of the Exchequer adds some tens of thousands to his yearly estimate for national education in Ireland; and continual reinforcements of propagandists are thus maintained in readiness to move in obedience to the call, wherever Rome may need their services. It is high time for the American nation and people, if they do not desire to see the institutions of learning transferred and subjected wholly to the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, to reject such an alien importation, and keep their schools under their own control and management." Exactly so.

The London *Times* says :

"America is a great Alsatia, in which political refugees, and criminals guilty of less honorable offences, find shelter and welcome. By the singularity of her law of naturalization, the man who enters her territory as a refugee may in two years aspire to the dignity of a citizen or a legislator.

"Were the English law similar to that of the United States, M. Victor Hugo might now be contesting with Sir Charles Napier the representation of Southwark, and Citizen Pyat aspiring to become the colleague of Mr. Hayter for the borough of Wells. Thus it comes to pass that adventurers of every description — French Socialists and Jacobins, Italian Red Republicans, Hungarians and Poles, driven into frantic hatred of *all government* by Austrian or Russian tyranny; refugees from every country in Europe, and adventurers, pirates, and filibusters from every country in the world; and last, though

not least, our own United Irishmen—all find themselves received into the governing class, and treated as if they possessed sympathy for the interests and an honest wish for the dignity and prosperity of the great Republic. But in the votes that they give, the speeches they deliver, and the parties they form, these men are really thinking, not of the country they have adopted, but of the land they have left—not how to benefit their friends in America, but how to avenge themselves on their enemies in Europe.” All true!

The *Dundalk Democrat*, speaking of the American party, says :

“Let us be impartial and just. Has this persecution been unprovoked? Have all the Irish conducted themselves, as citizens of the great Republic, in that sober, orderly, and prudent manner becoming a persecuted people who fled from the lash of tyrants, and found a home and a refuge in America?

“We fear that some of them have been a noisy, turbulent class, who did no credit to the character of their native country, and were of little benefit to the land of their adoption. We fear, too, that some of the ultra-Catholic journals went far beyond the ground of prudence in writing on religious subjects.

“We do not make these remarks to palliate the conduct of native despots. We merely allude to the matter for the purpose of stating that the conduct of some of the Irish emigrants is not what it ought to be, and to counsel them to give up their intemperate habits, their rows, their factious fights, and act in such a manner as to earn the respect of their bitterest enemies. . . . But if by their follies they disgrace themselves, can it be wondered at if the Americans declare that such a people are unworthy to share with them the freedom and blessings guaranteed by the Constitution of their country?

“What, we ask, would the Irish people say, if two millions of Russians, Prussians, or Greeks should come among them, and by their conduct set us all by the ears, commence rows in our streets, faction-fights on our railways, and in their journals assail our creed, and evince little willingness to respect our institutions? Would not the native population begin to think it right to exclude them from public offices, and declare them dangerous foes to the country?”

Anti-Americans might profit themselves much by reading this once a day for a week.

An elderly lady of intelligence, a native of Erin's green isle, who was present when General Houston told the anecdote concerning an Irishman “not wanting any bog-trotter to make laws for his *American* children,” exclaimed, with enthusiasm, “Those are my sentiments!”

Also, when another speaker asked the question: “Don't you see how foreigners are getting the control of the government?” she replied: “Yes, I see it very plainly!”

An Irishman, residing in Bullitt county, Ky., thus addressed the public in *Frank. Com.*, July 14, 1855: “I am an Irishman by birth, but an American in principle. I would go twenty miles to vote for Charles S. Morehead, R. C. Wintersmith, and Thomas S. Page. I shall vote the whole American ticket, and I am well pleased with the nominations made for all the offices. Therefore, I hope that all the American candidates will be elected. I am in this country twenty-five years. This is my country. My wife is an American, my children are Americans, and I am an American myself. Give my best respects to the candidates, and tell them that old Bullitt will do her duty by them in August.”

A foreigner by birth, amid the excitement of 1855, said: “I would give up the right to vote for ever, if that would save the country from the curse of demagogues in pandering to the power of foreignism, from literally bartering away the

best interests of the nation, to hold offices by the strength of the foreign vote."

Dr. Achilli being complained of for addressing a Know-Nothing meeting, having been unexpectedly called out from a corner of the hall where he was merely a curious spectator, defends his consistency in a letter addressed to the *Rochester Democrat*. He says, among other things: "If you had suffered what I have from the Papal power, you would feel, as I do, that whosoever is the strongest enemy to Popery is my best friend. Wherever Popery is denounced, there are my sympathies, there is my home; and if you, of the *Democrat*, were opposing Popery and resisting the encroachments of the Jesuits as warmly and as powerfully as the Know-Nothings; if you were restraining the Roman Catholic bishops in their thirst for property and riches, by which they gain influence and dominion on American soil, I would sympathize with you." This is a prevalent feeling among foreign Protestants resident among us. Their hatred of Jesuitism is so intense—made so by their knowledge, if not personal experience, in the old countries where Popery has more thoroughly developed itself than in the United States—that they prefer to see absolute Americanism prevail, rather than that the Jesuits should triumph in their deep-laid plans of conquest in the country.

Professor Crawford thus replied to an Anti-American editor:

"You charge against us, that we conduct a Know-Nothing journal. Did it ever strike you, sir, as possible, that the principles we advocate in this paper, and which you fear will arouse the indignation of your readers, are the principles we held many years before Know-Nothings had an existence? That we have not gone to them, but that they have come to us? That, from the circumstance of our foreign birth, we knew the force and necessity of one great vital doctrine of the American party, long before circumstances forced it upon

their attention, so strongly that they cannot avoid it—they must meet it, and crush it, or be crushed by it.

“It would be of considerable advantage to you, sir, if, relinquishing your present-Quixotic battle against the American party, you would go and see for yourself what Popery is, where she has the power. You are now ‘running a muck,’ with all the fury of an exasperated Thug, against Know-Nothing newspapers: suppose you wipe your dripping brow, and let your panting system cool, and get a little information on the subject of *Popery with power in her hands*. It will teach you charity for the opinion of those who oppose it. It will give you time to practice your native politeness; and you may cease to call us serf, slave, sycophant, because we choose to set our face ‘like a flint’ against a system which enslaves, not the bodies, but worse, infinitely worse, the souls and minds, the hopes, the fears of its votaries. You see, sir, I am a cool man, a very cool man: (I shall for the future use the singular number; it is more convenient and natural to me.)

“But let us look at the charge. What is my crime? I, a foreigner, holding opinions which do not coincide with the views of M. C. Gallaway, *am therefore a serf*. I, an Irish Protestant, and found acting with a party whose leading object is to abolish the temporal power of Popery, am therefore crusading against my own countrymen! Shade of common sense, what ails the man? Did you expect me, sir, to aid, either with my pen or voice, a system which has hunted my fathers to the dungeon and the gibbet? which gave them the *rack* for argument; which placed on their legs the *iron boot*, and drove in wedge after wedge till the marrow over-ran this Popish argument (!); which, huddling women and children into a house, applied the torch, and caught them, as they ran madly out, on the heads of their iron pikes? With what party, pray, should I be? Just where I am, sir—with the

American party, because it has raised its mighty arm, and sworn, by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that such scenes shall never be enacted on American soil.

“What is my crime? That, at a time when half a million of Roman Catholics, the blind tools of designing foreign priests, are pouring in annually upon our shores, I, an Irish Protestant, when the press is placed at my disposal, should cry, ‘There is danger: for God’s sake, protect yourselves while you can. I knew them, where they had the power of numbers, and there they burned Bibles, they murdered heretics, they set the law of the land at defiance, and would obey no law but the law of the Church.’ This is my crime! this my only crime! And for this I am called slave, sycophant, and abject. And by whom? An American Protestant; a man whose ancestors perilled all for ‘freedom to worship God!’ How long will that freedom last, when Popery becomes, numerically, supreme? Not an hour. How often would you, Mr. Galloway, in beautiful Florence, visit the Methodist chapel, if the Pope could prevent? (and he is only waiting numerical strength.) Ah, sir, there would be no chapel there. The thunders of the Vatican would raze it ‘from turret to foundation stone,’ just as soon as it had subjects enough to carry out its behests.

“And here, sir, I would dismiss you with kindness, and sincere sympathy, did not the cause of the great American party forbid me.

“You condescend to lecture your slave, and very eloquently tell me what I ought to do. Please accept a return of the kindness, and let me suggest to you a wiser and more becoming course than you have been following.

“Instead of employing your time in maligning a party which at least believes it sees danger to the cause of freedom lowering, and would strive to prevent it; instead of branding any Protestant foreigner who chooses to assist in their holy

work, as slave, serf, sycophant; first, pray for forgiveness for the past, and then, armed in the might of a good cause, and with Heaven's smile resting upon you, go forth, and tell your countrymen that a battle is approaching such as the world has never seen; that America is to be the theatre; that Popery has planted her foot on your father's soil, and says it is all her own; that she is filling it with cowed friar, and shaven monk, and slippery Jesuits; that frail women are imprisoned for ever, in this free land, *for the glory of God!* Tell them that already freemen are commanded to disperse from the polls, for the ballot-box is abolished for ever; that the ships are coming over the ocean, loaded, not with cannon, but with Papists, who will soon make the hour propitious; that Pius Ninth already reaches out his hand to clutch the bell-rope whose peal shall ring *the knell of American freedom*. Tell them to rise and rush to the ballot-box, now, while the evil can be met there, or that hereafter they must meet it with cannon and bayonet, and blood and death. Tell them that freedom, hunted from Europe by Popish tyranny, is pursued even here, and threatened in this her last abode."

At a meeting held a short time ago at Frankfort, Kentucky, C. C. O'Sullivan, Esq., a native of Ireland, made a short speech, in which he contended for the justness of the American cause. He said:

"In Ireland he had struggled for the right of Irishmen to govern their own country. It was for this that O'Brien and Mitchell and all the other Irish patriots had contended; and he should feel himself an ingrate and a hypocrite, if he should deny to America what he had struggled for in Ireland—the right of the native sons in every country to rule their own land. Ireland for the Irish, has been the motto of all the Irish patriots at home: America for Americans, ought to be their motto here."

These extracts show how patriotic foreigners ought to talk and act.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Do you wish to see a true account of certain supporters of Anti-Americanism, known as *The Free Germans, The Turners, The Liberals* of America and Europe—with a letter from the Duke of Richmond, said to be a Roman Catholic? Read this chapter.

THE *Louisville Journal* gives to the world the following account and facts respecting *The Free Germans* :

“The Free Germans are an organized body of men, that have their associations in all the principal cities of the Union. This organization dates from a period anterior to that of the Know-Nothings. In this city, in Cincinnati, in St. Louis, in New York, in Philadelphia, and in Richmond, the society has put forth its manifestoes or platforms of principles. There is also an association that styles itself the ‘American Revolutionary League for Europe,’ which is either a branch of this ‘Free German’ society, or a society that acts with it. It has proclaimed principles similar to those of the ‘Free Germans,’ and has published and endorsed the platform of the ‘Louisville Free Germans,’ which we publish below.

“The Louisville branch of this ‘Free German’ Association, in March, 1854, published a platform of principles and a programme of measures for the reform of our government, adapted to the enlightened views of these foreign revolutionists. It is nothing less than an attempt to introduce German Illuminism into democratic America. The reader of this platform cannot fail to mark the comprehensive scope of these foreign reformers: they embrace every topic of national or State interest in their scheme of reformation. Every right

and every wrong, real or supposed, from those which pertain to the nation at large down to those which affect women individually, are graciously taken in hand by these immigrants of yesterday, and are regulated with an exactness and dogmatical precision that one would expect only from a life-long experience.

“Not having room for the whole of the address of the ‘Free Germans’ of Louisville, we omit such portions as are not material to our purpose :

‘TO ALL TRUE REPUBLICANS IN THE UNION.

‘The Free Germans of the Union have found it necessary to organize themselves, for the purpose of being able to exercise a political activity proportionable to their number and adapted to their principles. There is a fair prospect for success for such an organization, and in this hope the Free Germans of Louisville, Kentucky, have proceeded to lay down the following platform, which they unanimously agreed upon in a mass meeting, and make it known to the public at large as the standard of their political course.

‘At the same time they have intrusted the undersigned committee with the charge of recommending said platform, together with its introduction, to their sympathizing countrymen, for them to join upon, and of communicating to the members of Congress and those of the political press for an honest examination and fair criticism.

‘The undersigned committee hereby discharge their commission, and trust that it will also be thought worth while to inform our fellow-citizens, of a different language, of the principles and endeavors of the *numerous Free Germans*, and to ask them to allow such principles and endeavors that attention which we are convinced they deserve. The Free Germans furthermore indulge in the hope that it will be possible to form a powerful reform party, embracing all who want that

liberty now so much endangered, and the progress and happiness of this our common republic, to be secured on principles lasting, truly republican and democratic. They wish, after having completed their organization, to establish—with the aid of their liberal-minded fellow-citizens—such a power of votes as to be able, in 1856, to decide the victory in favor of a party of true reformers.

‘The editors of public papers who will enter into a discussion of the platform—which we invite them to do, *sine ira et studio*, that is, before all, without narrow-minded nativism and blind party spirit—are politely requested to favor us with a copy of the number or numbers containing their arguments. Address Charles Heinsen, editor of the Pioneer, Louisville, Kentucky, letter-box 1157.

BURGELER, STEIN, L. WITTIG,
B. DOMSCHKE, CH. HEINSEN, *Committee.*

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, March, 1854.

‘UNION OF THE FREE GERMANS.

‘Instead of securing liberty to all, more than three millions of human beings have been condemned to slavery, and efforts are daily made to increase their number.

‘Instead of making liberty, prosperity, and education accessible to every one, they are rather made a privilege for those classes and races who control the legislation and administration of the country.

‘We behold speculation instead of fulfilment of duty, corruption instead of virtue, and reaction in possession of power.

‘We see the people overruled by parties, the parties governed by cliques, persons taking the place of principles, and names substituted for rights.

‘We see the republic degraded abroad by unpunished outrages committed upon American citizens—we see the republic

denounced at home by the treacherous coalitions and understanding with the chiefs and agents of European despotism.

‘We see in Congress every measure in favor of the privileged few advanced, and every measure in favor of the people frustrated.

‘We see the means of the nation made booty by avaricious defrauders, instead of being applied for the public benefit.

‘We see lawlessness and crime on the increase, because the legislative and executive authorities are busier with their own selfish projects than with the true interests of the people, and satisfied to cover with a religious varnish the destitute moral education.

‘We express our principal aim and its motives in the following platform, intended to serve as a standard in the performance of our republican rights. In the elections, be they national, city, county, or State elections, we shall, without regard to names, authorities, and conventions, support only such men and parties as will pledge themselves to the support of our principles, or give us the best guaranty of carrying them out.

‘PLATFORM OF THE FREE GERMANS.

‘1. *Slavery Question.*—Notwithstanding that we consider slavery to be a political and moral cancer, that will by and by undermine all republicanism, we deem its sudden abolition neither possible nor advisable. But we, as republicans and men, demand that the further extension of slavery be not constantly urged, whilst not a single step is taken for its extermination. We demand that at length real proofs be given of the good-will so often boasted of to remove the evil; that in particular slavery be excluded from all new territories, indiscriminately and forever, which measure Congress is completely entitled to pass according to the Constitution; we demand this the more, as a republican constitution is guaran

teed to every new State, and slavery, in truth, cannot be considered a republican element or requisite. We further demand that all and every one of the laws indirectly transporting the principle and the influence of slavery in and upon free States, namely, the fugitive slave law, shall be repealed, as demoralizing and degrading, and as contrary to rights, and to the Constitution; we finally demand that, in all national affairs, the principle of liberty shall be strictly maintained, and even in the several States it be more and more realized by the gradual extermination of slavery.

‘2. *Religious Questions.*—We consider the right of free expression of religious conscience untouchable, as we do the right of free expression of opinion in general; we therefore accord to the believer the same liberty to make known his convictions as we do the non-believer, as long as the rights of others are not violated thereby. But from this very principle of liberty of conscience, we are decidedly opposed to all compulsion inflicted on dissenting persuasions by laws unconstitutionally restricting the liberty of expression. Religion is a private matter; it has nothing to do with policy: hence it is despotism to compel citizens, by political means, to religious manifestations or omissions contrary to their private persuasions. We therefore hold the Sabbath laws,* thanksgiving

* That the reader may see how extensive this spirit is in the land, we quote a German report, dated Boston, May 31, 1854:

“1. Abrogation of the Sunday laws.

“2. Abrogation of Thanksgiving days.

“3. Abrogation of public prayers in Congress and the Legislatures.

“4. Exclusion of the Bible and other religious sectarian books from the free schools.

“5. Repeal of every law which disqualifies individual citizens, on account of their religious or irreligious opinions, from giving testimony in the courts, or holding public offices.

days, prayers in Congress and Legislatures, the oaths upon the Bible, the introduction of the Bible into the free schools, the exclusion of Atheists from legal acts, etc., etc., as an open violation of human rights, as well as of the Constitution, and demand their removal.

‘3. *Measures for the Welfare of the People.*—As the foremost of such measures, we consider the free cession of public lands to all settlers. To occupy nature, the soil, as exclusive property, this no individual has a right to do; it is, for the time, the common principal fund of that population which inhabits it, and anybody willing to cultivate it has an equal right to appropriate a share of the soil, as far as it is not disposed of, for purposes of common interest. It is high time that the ruinous traffic with the public lands should be abolished, that the wasting of them by speculation should cease, and that the indigent people enter upon their rightful possession.

‘But if this end shall be fully attained, it will be required to aid poor colonists, at their first settlement, with national means, lest said measure prove useless for those very persons who most need it.

‘In the closest connection with the land reform question stands that of emigration, which, by its general importance, should be raised to the rank of a national affair, and for which a special office of colonization and emigration should be created as a particular department of the United States government. Such a board would have to provide for the

“6. We demand that in all schools which are visited by a number of German children the German language be also taught, besides the English.”

We presume if Anti-Americanism should ultimately prevail, that these Germans will demand the best portion of America for themselves and children. It is high time that *Sam* should humble this spirit, as well as that of the Pope.

various interests of emigrants, who are now helplessly exposed to so many sufferings, wrongs, and abuses, from the place of embarkation in Europe to the place of their settlement in America. North America is neglecting herself when neglecting the emigrant, for emigration is the mother of this republic.

‘The admission to citizenship must be rendered as easy as possible to the emigrant.

‘The welfare of a nation cannot be generally and permanently secured unless its laboring classes be made independent of the oppression of the capitalist. Labor has an incontestable claim to the value of its products. Where it is prevented by the want of the necessary capital to secure this claim, it is of course referred to an alliance with capital of others. But if no just agreement can be obtained by this association with the capitalist, then the State, as the arbitrator of all contending interests, has to interfere. This must either aid the associations of working-men by credit banks, or mediate between the claims of the laborer and the capitalist by fixing a minimum of wages equalling the value of the labor, and a maximum of labor answering the demands of humanity. The time of labor shall not exceed ten hours per day.

‘In letting out State contracts, the preference should be given, if it can be done without running a risk, to associations of workmen, rather than to single contractors. But when given to single contractors, the latter ought to give security for proper wages to the workmen employed by them.

‘In order to enjoy “life, liberty, and happiness,” all indiscriminately must have the use of free schools for all branches of education, in which, wherever a sufficient number of Germans live, a German teacher should be employed.

‘In order that the attainment of justice may no longer remain a privilege for the possession of money, justice must be dispensed without fees.

‘4. *Constitutional Questions.*—Considering, as we do, the American Constitution as the best now in existence, we yet think it neither perfect nor unimprovable. In particular, we hold the following amendments and additions, likewise acceptable for the State constitutions, as timely and proper means to check the prevailing corruption, to wit :

‘1. All elections, without any exception, should issue directly from the people.

‘2. Any eligible citizen of any State may be elected as member of Congress by the citizens of any other State; and likewise may any eligible denizen of any county be elected by the citizens of any other county for a member of the State Legislature.

‘3. Any representative and officer may at any time be recalled by the majority of his constituents, and replaced by another.

‘5. *Free Trade.*—We decidedly profess the principle of free trade, and will support it in all cases where it may be carried through without disadvantage to the people, and where reciprocity is accorded by the other side.

‘6. *Foreign Policy.*—The policy of neutrality must cease to be an article of our creed, and ought to be abandoned as soon as contrary to the interests of North America. The rights of American citizens, and emigrants having declared their intention to become citizens, must the more energetically be protected in foreign countries, since every American appears to monarchical and despotical governments as a representative of revolution against despotism, and this republic ought to honor this point of view as the only one worthy and legitimate.

‘7. *Rights of Women.*—The Declaration of Independence says that “all men are born equal, and endowed with inalienable rights, and to these belong life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” We adopt this principle, and are of the opinion that women, too, are among “all men.”

'8. *Rights of Free Persons.*—In the free States the color of the skin cannot justify a difference of legal rights. There are not born two men of equal, but still less two men of unequal rights.

'9. *Penal Laws.*—It is our opinion that all penal laws can only have the purpose of correction, but never the absurd purpose of expiation. We therefore consider the penalty of death, which excludes the possibility of correction, to be as irrational as barbarous.' "

What an *honor* to a party! They "hold the Sabbath laws, Thanksgiving days, prayers in Congress and Legislatures, the oaths upon the Bible, the introduction of the Bible into the free schools, as an open violation of human rights, as well as of the Constitution, and demand their removal." Reflecting reader, do you not clearly see from this the necessity of the first article of the American platform?

"The Turners" next claim our attention. *The Hillsborough American Citizen*, Ohio, thus speaks of *The Turners*: "As has been repeatedly stated during the past three years, the foreign population of the United States have organized many divisions, for the purpose mainly of preserving their nationality, and exercising a controlling power in the politics of the country; and to counteract these foreign parties, and preserve the liberty and nationality of America against their aggressions, the American Order was established. Its existence is of subsequent date to that of the orders above named, and would never have originated if the necessity had not been previously perceived as a daily increasing cause of alarm to every patriot. The *Turner Order* is purely German, very numerous, and of course formidable. How long since it had its origin in this country we cannot exactly say: several years, though, we know. This order is very numerous in the West, and have their head-quarters in Cincinnati, as we are informed. In that city they have a large and splendid build-

ing appropriated to their use as an order, called the *Turners' Hall*; and it was in this building that they fortified themselves last April, after they had invaded the freedom of Americans at the ballot-box; and from this fortress, in the midst of the city, they successfully aimed their firearms against the citizens. They are said to be infidels in religion, and anarchists in politics. They have newspapers printed in their own language, in which their peculiar opinions in religion and government are widely circulated. Their organ in Cincinnati is said to have the largest circulation of any German paper in the United States. At a Congress of these foreign partisans, recently held in Buffalo, the following platform was adopted:

'Opposition to slavery, particularly against its extension into free territories, as unworthy of a republic, and being the very opposite of democratic principles.

'Opposition to the Know-Nothings and Jesuits,* both being enemies to republican institutions.

'Opposition to the Maine liquor and all similar laws, being undemocratic in principle, and impracticable in execution. Liberty and equality to all, without distinction of nativity, religion, or color.

'That the next *Tagsatzung* shall be held in Washington, D. C., and the next annual festival at Pittsburg, Pa.'

"This platform is brief, but most significant, and shows clearly that it is not exclusively against the Catholic foreigner that the vigilance of the native should be exercised. Here is a formidable party, well organized, with its laws, news-

* These Germans, not being Catholics, look on the battle between *Sam* and the Pope, though they fight against *Sam*, with something of the same feeling which induced the woman to say, when contemplating the scuffle between her husband and a bear, "I do not particularly care which whips."

paper, and platform, composed exclusively of foreigners, who, from the character of their principles as disclosed, must become an important part of the northern Black Republican party. They voted for Chase at the late election. They are the deadly enemies alike to the American order, and the institutions, nationality and union of the Confederacy. Here is one of the foreign organizations which Americans fear, watch, and labor to counteract; one only of the many—of pretty much the same character, and having the same object in view, that of denationalizing the American republic, and inaugurating a new order of things—that, in connection with the abolitionists, the American order is expected to combat.”

And these are the men who swell the Anti-American army, voting the Anti-American ticket!

A Texas paper represents the Germans of Western Texas as being one in view with the Germans of New York, who speak thus:

“We declare that, as self-preservation is the first duty, we will, for the present moment, allow the slavery question to rest, but that, in the next election, we will withdraw our votes from the existing federal administration, which favors slavery, and pursues a policy degrading to the great American people.”

The Hon. John A. Wilcox, who lives in San Antonio, Texas, speaks of them as follows: “On the day of election here, (the State election, 1855,) the Germans paraded their flag, instead of the national, through the streets. They marched in procession through the city, chanting German national airs. Since my arrival here they held a large convention, in which they declared in favor of the abolition of juries, of oaths in courts of justice, of the Sabbath, and of slavery.”

How vile it is in *Sam*, while fighting the Pope, to speak of changing the naturalization law, so as to make those who may hereafter come to this country feel less than these conspirators

against law and order! Such is the language of the acts of Anti-Americanism!

We are now ready to take up the Liberals of America and Europe. *The Flag of the Union*, Jackson, Miss., speaking of the former, presents them as expressing themselves thus:

“No sane Liberal can hope to receive any sympathy from, nor can make any compact with slavery.

“So long as freedom attempts an unnatural alliance with slavery, sympathy for the persecuted Liberal refugees cannot be expected.

“The struggle between liberty and slavery in this country is now commencing. The slumbering elements of discord have been brought into active opposition to each other, through the measure known as the Nebraska Bill for the extension of slavery over those territories.

“If the free principle in America be truly roused by the Nebraska Bill, then, perhaps, we may from this quarter of the globe receive some sympathy: from the slavery principle we can expect none; nor can we as lovers of liberty make with the opposite principle here an alliance, any more than we could with the *pro-slavery* Czar.”

And these men, too, support Anti-Americanism, while their brethren beyond the water cry aloud, *Well done!*

The paper above named comments as follows: “The reader will note that these foreign Anti-slavery Liberals are thoroughly organized, hold their regular semi-monthly meetings, and have extensive ramifications—several hundred corresponding branches in various parts of the United States. All of the worst isms of the country are here combined: the Social Reform; Democratic Union, (adopted citizens;) Free Democratic League, (Americans opposed to the extension of slavery;) Freie Gemeinde, (German;) Turnerbund, (German Turners;) Cuban Democrats; Polish Democrats; Universal Democratic Republicans, (mixed and propagandists;) French Section;

Italian Section; Arbeiterbund, (German workmen;) Ouvrier Circle, (American workmen.)

“And this address was made to the great democratic leaders of Europe—Kossuth, Ledru Rollin, Mazzini, Saffi, Barbier, Switoslawski, and others—as to men whose sentiments against slavery were known to accord with those expressed by the Liberals here. It is known that these men control the popular sentiment of Europe—the sentiment of the mass of our immigration.

“We ask Southern men, of all parties, to read and consider well these disclosures of the sentiment of the most active and zealous of our foreign population; and then let each man determine for himself if, even here at the South, there be not great cause to aid the efforts of the American party.

“Do you oppose the abolition crusade against the South? You here see bands of foreign mercenaries enlisted in that crusade; you hear the boasts of the notorious Giddings, that 30,000 foreign abolitionists obey his orders in Ohio; you know how few of all the immigrants settle among you, whilst they come, annually, in myriads, to increase the strength of the North against you; and yet men are found to assure you that the South has no interest in this great struggle in which the American party is engaged!”

We shall now give a few extracts from the address of the Liberals beyond the water, to which that which we have given is a reply. They wrote thus:

“Brethren in origin, in freedom, and in principle! your liberties have grown out of an old English root. On your side of the Atlantic the interest of the multitude was not crippled by old hereditary powers. Among you, all our principles have grown strong, which here are comparatively feeble. We are proud of you as fulfilling many of our aspirations. We look up to you, as chief influences of a mighty adminis-

tration, to perform services for us and for Europe which no other power on earth can perform.

“We cannot be ignorant of the grievous fact that in all part of your Union there is a new and dangerous dread of those broad principles of freedom which your glorious grandfathers spoke out to the world when they declared their independence of England. Their words, we believe, were—‘All men are created FREE and EQUAL.’ Only by broad truths of this nature sinking deep into men’s consciences and hearts can popular liberty ever be won. It grieves us to hear the taunts of the enemies of freedom, who say that you do not love human liberty, but only your own selfish liberty; and that you broke loose from England under false pretences, which you do not yourselves believe. It mortifies us still worse to be told that those among you who no longer wish all men to be free, but only men of pure white descent, dread to support our political interests, which are identified with the liberties of Hungary and of Italy, lest they should enact a principle inconvenient to themselves.

“One duty will not supersede nor delay another. Brace up your hearts to extinguish slavery as soon as it can be done *with safety*, and you will at once have double resolution, double moral power, to reanimate the swooning liberties of Europe. Fail us not, we pray you! but urge your government to all active aid which can be prudently and wisely given, and that without delay. Strengthen your own liberties, fulfil your providential destiny, and earn the glory of rescuing fallen Europe—a glory which our government does not know how to appreciate or achieve.”

This we shall pass over by stating, straws tell how the wind blows. Anti-Americans will understand our meaning.

The Duke of Richmond, lately Governor-General of Canada, speaking of the government of the United States, said: “It

will be destroyed ; it ought not and will not be permitted to exist. The curse of the French Revolution, and subsequent wars and commotions in Europe, are to be attributed to its example ; and so long as it exists, no prince will be safe upon his throne ; and the sovereigns of Europe are aware of it, and they are determined upon its destruction ; and they have come to an understanding upon this subject, and have decided on the means to accomplish it ; and they will eventually succeed, by subversion rather than conquest. All the low and surplus population of the different nations of Europe will be carried into that country. It is and will be a receptacle for the bad and disaffected population of Europe, when they are not wanted for soldiers or to supply the navies ; and the governments of Europe will favor such a course. This will create a surplus and majority of low population, who are so very easily excited, and they will bring with them their principles, and in nine cases out of ten adhere to their ancient and former governments, laws, manners, customs, and religion, and will transmit them to their posterity ; and in many cases propagate them among the natives. These men will become citizens, and by the constitution and laws will be invested with the right of suffrage. Hence, discord, dissension, anarchy, and civil war will ensue, and some popular individual will assume the government and restore order ; and the sovereigns of Europe, the emigrants, and many of the natives, will sustain him. The Church of Rome has a design on that country, and it will in time be the established religion, and will aid in the destruction of that republic. I have conversed with many of the sovereigns and princes of Europe, and they have unanimously expressed these opinions relative to the government of the United States, and their determination to subvert it."

And the opinion of many of the sovereigns and princes of

Europe is, that the Roman Catholic Church will aid in the destruction of this republic.

No reason in all that precedes to justify *Sam* in warring with the Pope, and guarding the country against foreign influence!

The native Anti-Americans, notwithstanding all this, talk and act as if their united forces were as pure as Jews after a purification. Their conduct, however, to the American party, gives ample evidence that they have read the lesson of Carrouel, the Jesuit, and know how to reduce it to practice—a lesson which runs thus:

“There can be no doubt that it is a probable opinion that we contract no mortal sin by calumniating another, in order to preserve our own reputation; for it is maintained by more than twenty grave doctors—by Gaspard Hurtado and Dicastille, Jesuits, etc.; so that were this doctrine not probable, it would be difficult to find any one such in the whole compass of theology.”—*Hist. of Con.*, p. 231.

“The Church of Rome,” says the Duke of Richmond, “has a design on that country, and will aid in the destruction of that republic.”

By way of keeping it up as long as possible, *Sam* would suggest the propriety and wisdom of guarding against the Roman Catholic Irishman’s method of naturalization. The engraving at once brings before the eye the process. If the Anti-American office-holders should see fit to avail themselves of this new method of making an American citizen, and purchase and scatter about ten thousand scissors all over the land, what a vast amount of voters could be brought into the Presidential election!



NEW MODE OF NATURALIZATION.

CHAPTER XXVII.

If you wish to learn how the combined and increasing influence of foreigners and the Pope becomes a dangerous political element in this country, and what *Sam* has to fight, read this chapter three times.

THE *Louisville Journal* thus presents the dangerous influence of foreigners in our national affairs :

“The opponents of the great national movement, of which the American party is at once the exponent and the champion, deny that there is any just cause for apprehension from the influx of foreigners into our country. They affect to think that the numbers of those foreigners are too small, and their efforts too insignificant, to afford cause for alarm. Those who hold this opinion in good faith betray ignorance alike of the facts and the philosophy of the subject, and it behooves them to correct their ideas by a careful investigation of the conditions of the case, in the calm and dispassionate spirit of searchers after truth.

The population of the United States to-day probably numbers twenty-five millions of souls ; of whom, five millions are foreigners, four millions negroes, and sixteen millions native-born. Excluding negroes, the foreign-born population of the country are to the native-born in the ratio of five to sixteen ; so that nearly one-fourth of the whole white population of the United States are foreigners. Lest it be denied that there are five millions of foreigners in the United States, we proceed to prove the fact. By the census returns of 1850, it appears

that in 1849 there were in this country an aggregate foreign population of 2,210,839

From December 31, 1849, to December 31, 1850,

there arrived by sea alone,	315,333
December 31, 1850, to 1851,	408,828
“ 1851, to 1852,	398,470
“ 1852, to 1853,	400,777
“ 1853, to 1854,	460,474
First half of 1855,	132,000

4,326,721

To this must be added all those that have arrived from Canada, Mexico, and otherwise by land, in five and a half years, 700,000

Total, 5,026,721

“In treating this subject, we must be careful to distinguish between physical and political power. This discrimination the opponents of the American party take special pains not to make. They affect to regard it as absurd and cowardly for the natives to manifest any apprehension as to foreigners, while they outnumber them in the proportion of three to one. They would be right in their rebuke of an apparently cowardly spirit, if acts of violence or an exhibition of physical force were what Americans fear from foreigners. But physical force and rebellious manifestations are not what we have now to fear. The assaults of brute violence and civil war develop themselves in the later stages of a decaying constitution. What it becomes us now to guard against is the growth of a political power in the hands of foreigners, that may be wielded, on occasion, to subvert our government, and destroy our free institutions. Conspirators never begin their work of revolution by the manifestation of violence, that would alarm the timid and disgust the virtuous portion of the people. Their

policy is to promote discord, corrupt the public virtue, destroy the sentiment of patriotism by diminishing the national reverence for the traditional glory of ancestral achievements; and, finally, when they have spread dissensions among the people, dividing and distracting their counsels, the wily traitors place themselves at the head of the party that they can command and control, overthrow the government, and revolution reigns triumphant. This is the formula of revolutions; and the immortal Washington well understood the danger, when, in language pregnant with prophetic inspiration, he in his farewell address cautioned the American people against that foreign influence which has lately grown up to be so alarming. He said: 'Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.' The insidious efforts of foreigners to wield political power in this country is what we have to fear, and what we ought jealously to watch. It is evident, from the figures we have given, that every fourth vote cast in a national election is the vote of a man of foreign birth. In any election, therefore, in which the foreign voters are mostly united, and the native voters, as usual, nearly equally divided, the result must certainly be the triumph of the party with which the foreigners coalesce. To make this more clearly appear, assume that one-seventh of the whole white population are voters, and the relative strength of the native and foreign-born population at the polls would stand thus:

The native vote would equal sixteen millions,	divided by seven, or	2,285,714 votes.
The foreign vote would be represented by five millions, divided by seven, or		714,286 votes.
Total vote in the United States,		<u>3,000,000</u>

“Now, let us work out the result of a national election in which the native-born citizens should be equally divided, and foreigners unequally divided; one-third of the latter voting on one-side, and two-thirds on the other. The statement will stand thus :

Half the native vote is	1,142,857
Two-thirds of the foreign vote is	476,191
	<hr/>
Total vote on the foreign side,	1,619,048
Half the native vote is	1,142,857
One-third of the foreign is	238,095
	<hr/>
Total vote on the native side	1,380,952
Majority against the native side,	238,096

“In these calculations we feel conscious that we have stated the case most favorably to the foreign side of the question; for, instead of the proportion being two-thirds, we are satisfied that three-quarters, or more, of the foreigners are always arrayed on one side. The consciousness of the fact that the balance of political power was held by the foreign voters of the republic, demoralized the old parties, and caused them to trim their course to catch and control their votes. It is notorious that, for years past, the great controlling question with the Democratic party, when a candidate was to be nominated for any office, was, Can he secure the foreign and Catholic voters? Availability, and not capability, was the test by which aspirants to office were tried. No matter how great their merit or how distinguished their character, if they were not acceptable to the bishops and the Pope, or if they were unpopular with the Dutch and Irish, they were rejected as worthless. And even in the Whig ranks, a distinguished citizen who aspired to the chief magistracy, felt himself constrained to stoop so low as to laud the ‘strong German accent and the rich Irish brogue.’ It is humiliating to be compelled to con-

ness that in this country political parties had sunk so low in the scale of descending degradation; but we hope and believe that the recognition and admission of past political faults and follies will lead to the purification of parties, the exaltation of patriotic feeling, and the cultivation in the hearts of the people of an active, vital sentiment of American nationality.

“Experience has shown that it is impracticable to divide the foreign vote in this country so that its preponderance shall cease to be dangerous. The persistence with which this preponderance is maintained, indicates that there are hidden and mysterious agencies at work to direct the political course of the foreign population. The indefatigable perseverance with which Rome works out her dark schemes in furtherance of Papal supremacy, indicates, with almost unquestionable certainty, that to the secret influence of that mysterious power that sits enthroned at Rome, from whence it sends its mandates to willing subjects scattered all over the world, we must refer this unity of political action by foreigners in this country.

“The German and the Irish socially hate each other; they cannot live peaceably in the same neighborhood; but if they are *Catholics*, they always *vote* alike. We ask, then, whether it is their nationality, their personal feeling, or their Catholicism that causes them to coalesce at the polls? The conclusion is irresistible, that these otherwise antagonistic interests are united in a common effort to accomplish some purpose that is regarded as essential to the cause of that form of religion which they all profess.

“It was but a short time ago that Louis Kossuth came to this country on a revolutionary mission. He traversed the country throughout its whole length and breadth; he sounded politicians and reconnoitred the political parties, and preached to our people the doctrine that their nation ought to interfere in the revolutionary movements that were then agitating Eu-

rope; and finally, when he was leaving this country, he published a manifesto, in which, after reviewing the position of the Whig and the Democratic parties, he directed the European portion of our population to vote with the Democratic party, as the one most likely to favor American intervention in European politics. The order thus given was most zealously obeyed. Franklin Pierce was elected as the intervention candidate by an overwhelming majority, and his accession to the Presidency was signalized by the appointment to diplomatic stations in Europe of some of the most violent Red Republicans that could be found in the country.

“Foreigners made the last President, and they will continue to make Presidents in all future time, unless determined and efficient resistance be made through a harmonious organization to prevent it. It is not merely the five millions of foreigners, or the three millions of Catholics, that we have to fear, but it is those who unite with them. Those who cooperate with these foreigners are virtually a part of them, so far as the result of their exertions is concerned. Whatever may be the secret purposes of the Pope in this country, the Democratic party has been all along, and is now, really and substantially aiding that purpose: innocently though it may be done, it is none the less effectual. The seven hundred thousand foreign votes would be harmless if they were not united with the eleven hundred thousand votes of native-born citizens. Let no man then say that there is no danger to be apprehended from the constantly increasing political power of foreigners and Catholics. There ever has been, and there ever will be, danger to our free institutions until the American people clearly comprehend the critical position they occupy. Not content to be free in *theory*, they must also resolve to be free in *practice*. They must learn to resist combinations at home, with the same unanimity and zeal with which they would repel aggression from abroad. They must

not only declare the principle, but also enforce it, that foreigners must come to this country to *live*, and not to *rule*."

How true the lamentable and startling charge, that the Anti-American party is carrying out the design of the Pope respecting this country! We frankly admit that all are at liberty to say, what some of them have said: "We would rather be foreign Catholics, than Protestant Know-Nothings;" but at the same time we feel that the Devil might justly indulge a rebuking smile over their full-grown duplicity.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Let all Southern Democrats—beg pardon, Anti-Americans—read this chapter aloud to their families.

WHETHER what follows will please or not, or convince foolish people that the Anti-American speakers either talk ignorantly or deceptively on the “general soundness of the great Democratic party,” one thing is certain, that there is a word in the heading which will secure for this chapter an attentive reading, at least by *Dimmocrats*.

The *Wisconsin Free Democrat*, Nov. 15, 1855, while some Southern Anti-American speakers were laboring to show the “dear people that Know-Nothingism was abolitionism in a new dress,” addressed its readers thus:

“Look at the folly of the Know-Nothing movement in this State. One-third of the voters of Wisconsin are of foreign birth. These are arrayed, as one man, against the Know-Nothing party. Now, it requires but *one-sixth* of the native-born, in addition to the adopted citizens, to make *one-half* of the voters of this State. But the Know-Nothings cannot, by any possibility, induce one-third of the native-born citizens of the State to join them. We do not believe they can one-tenth. And if they could, it would be a sad commentary on the Republicanism and Christianity of our people. And the fact that so many professing Christians lend their countenance

to the movement is a reproach to religion, and shows how feeble is the influence of Christianity in the Church. [This shows how stupidly ignorant you are.—Reviewer.]

“Of course, such a party has not the ghost of a chance to obtain the reins of government in Wisconsin. It can never do any good here. It has power only for mischief. It will engender animosities, religious and political, which may not be allayed for years. It may divide the forces of intelligent men, and leave the State a prey to demagogues. Politically, its only effect is to *give power to the slave Democracy* of the country, and to PERPETUATE THE REIGN OF SLAVERY.

“The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill shocked the moral sentiment of the North, and prepared the way for a great Freedom party, in which should be gathered all the sincere opponents of slavery aggression. But the Know-Nothing party steps in, and just as the contending forces are organizing and drawing up in order of battle, it interferes, and says the battle shall not be fought on Freedom’s side till the question is settled in regard to each soldier, where he was born and what is his religion. And if he is not a native and a Protestant, he must be dismissed from service, and drummed out of camp in disgrace, and compelled to join the enemy. But for the Know-Nothing party, the Republican party would now be victorious in every Northern State save California, and there would be no hope of another slavery President. The Know-Nothing movement is a perfect godsend to the slave power—the only device that promises to save the slave party from an utter overthrow at the next Presidential election. The sham Democracy of this State have used it to defeat the Republican party of Wisconsin, and will use it to defeat the Republican party of the Union. Shall the plot succeed?”

What think you of this, men of the South?

The *Turners*, who, in their Buffalo platform, declare “op-

position to the Know-Nothings," are thus presented by the Turner society at Wheeling, Virginia :

"The resolution that the Turners are opposed to slavery, and slavery extension, seems to us entirely proper. We understand the resolution to mean, very plainly, that a Turner who becomes a slaveholder, or desires to become one, shall no longer be considered as a Turner." This is taken from a reply of the Turner society at Wheeling, dated Nov. 4, 1855, to the Turner society at Charleston, South Carolina.

The *National Era*, descanting on this, observes :

"In Texas and Missouri they have Anti-slavery papers ; and it is now generally understood that the Germans in Western Texas are likely to make a free State of that portion of this acquisition from Mexico, whenever Texas is divided."

This is sufficient to induce the Anties of the South to peril their lives for the Turners—a large portion of their party.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Would you wish to see the published opinion of no less than the editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, July, 1850, concerning European reformers in this country, and how the Anti-Americans "nibble at them?" Run your eye over this chapter.

THE editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* speaks of the reformers from Europe, and those who court their favor, thus :

"These European reformers are flocking hither by thousands, bringing with them the pestilent products of the wornout soil of the old world — which, it would seem, whenever it falls into labor, produces nothing but monsters. They bring with them a host of extravagant notions of freedom, in plenty of crude, undigested theories, which are utterly irreconcilable with that discreet and sober liberty which springs from obedience to laws of our own making, and from a constitution of our own adoption. They come with their heads full of a division of property, to a country where it is already divided in a manner most salutary to the general welfare, by existing laws and institutions, allowing every man an equal chance, and placing no artificial obstacles in the way of any. It is not here that idleness, profligacy, and extravagance are shielded from their otherwise inevitable consequences—poverty and contempt—by laws and institutions expressly devised for that purpose. It is not here that property is perpetuated for ages in one family, and that the laboring classes are for ever ex-

cluded from their share. But it is here that industry, economy, prudence, and enterprise, receive their due rewards; and, by being left to themselves, produce that general diffusion of comfort, as well as that salutary distribution of property, which can never be brought about, or at least perpetuated, by any other means.

“The socialists, however, who are come and coming among us, either from not comprehending that they have got into a new world altogether different from the old, or from a wild and reckless spirit of innovation, are silently making an impression on the people of our great cities, where all the sweepings of the country are gathered into one great mass of ignorance and corruption. They are instilling into them principles at war with society, and fatal to the repose of our country. They are gradually forming a party, and have attracted the attention of the federal leaders, who begin to nibble at them, and discover evident symptoms of a design to enlist them in their great army of rag-tag and bob-tail, clothed in the many-colored patches of anti-masonry, anti-mailism, abolitionism, socialism, Fourierism, St. Simonianism, and heaven only knows what besides.

“In conjunction with these, the abolitionists will be able to poll votes at a great rate. They will be worth purchasing, at the sacrifice of the Church, the State, the laws and Constitution. There is no country under heaven where fanaticism can find such fuel for its fires as in the United States, or become so dangerous. We say it with the deepest regret, but it is our firm belief, that if a sect of avowed worshippers of the evil spirit were to spring out—as is not unlikely—from the red-hot lava of abolition, in sufficient numbers to decide the election of a President, there are politicians and political leaders who would court their support by worshipping at their shrine.”

1870

1871

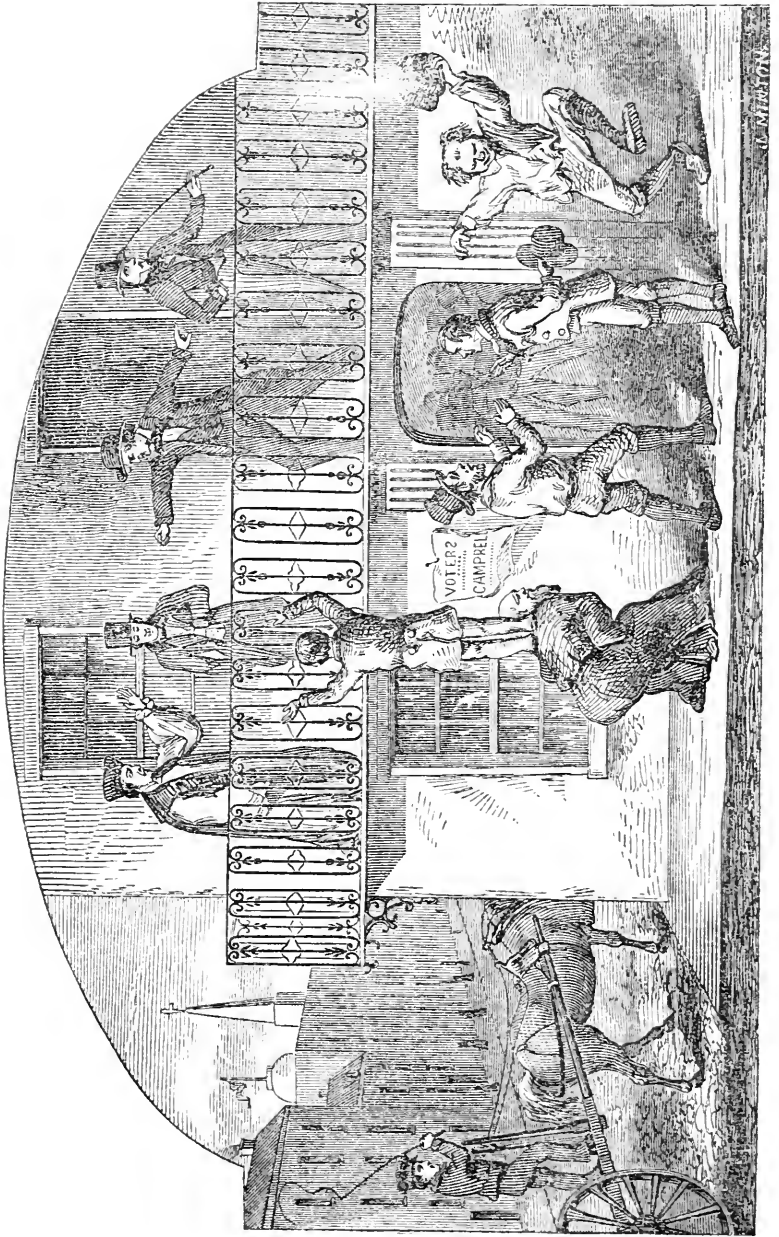
1872

1873

1874

1875

1876



Would the Anti-Americans wish to see their acts justly stated? Let them read and re-read the words cited.

Gentlemen, what do you think of this *imposing* clause of the quotation: "They will be worth purchasing, at the sacrifice of the Church, the State, the laws and Constitution!" And, what is still more remarkable—not foreseen by the keen-eyed editor—some who wear long faces on the Sabbath, and offer up long prayers for the prosperity of the whole country, and the increase of vital religion, are among the first in the political market, making liberal bids for the foreign vote, and despising in their souls the doctrine that Americans shall govern America.

An old member of a certain church told us that Protestant ministers voted against him when a candidate for a small office in his county, because it was known that he wished to see foreign influence checked. Great Jove!

All things considered, does it not seem as if many are ready to allow the holy father to give a bill of sale of the country to foreigners, somewhat after the fashion of Pope Adrian's disposal of Ireland to England?

Mr. Campbell, the son of a Celtic Irishman, kicks men out of office for saying, by acts, that Americans should govern America; and the foreign influence so infatuates the members of the Anti-American party, that they cry aloud: "Well done, Campbell!" The Hon. R. C. Puryear informs the public that the First Assistant Postmaster-General assured him that he was under instructions to turn Americans out of office; more, declares that he was plainly told that a Romanist, even of foreign birth, is preferred to a native Protestant; still the Anti-Americans stand untouched in heart or feeling, saying: "Well done, Campbell!"

The engraving brings at once before the eye how Mr. Campbell disposes of a man for opposing allegiance to the Pope,

and for thinking that Americans should rule in their own country. See how the poor fellow steps along, feeling that it is a great misfortune, at present, to be a true Protestant, and an American by birth. *Sam*, however, wishes all to see that he is determined to number these days of outrage and treachery with things of the past. How significantly he turns the attention of the President to the degradation of the American name and character under his administration by a vassal of the Pope! Still, the Anti-Americans *nibble at* every thing pertaining to foreign influence, saying: "We see no particular objection to Mr. Campbell preferring a foreign Romanist to a native Protestant."

Reader, if you wish to see some of the dark deeds of Mr. Campbell, please consult the close of Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER XXX.

Would you wish to read a true description of the Anti-American party, sometimes called the Popish party? Read this chapter.

THE language of our heading needs, at the outset of our remarks, a few words of comment. A few years ago the Democrats opened a war on General Scott, when he became a candidate for the presidency of the United States, of a most furious character, stating that he had caused American soldiers to bow to priests in Mexico; had unduly favored Romanism there; to say nothing of his connection with Roman Catholic institutions of learning at home; consequently, ought not to be elected to preside over a Protestant people. How the notes of this music are changed at present! Roman Catholics are as pure as gold—"much better than many native-born Protestants." Well may we here ask, "Who can tell what a day will bring forth?"

The Democrats of the South, a few years ago, sent up the wail of woe thus concerning California: "We should not regret as we do over the loss of California, only for the fact that the foreign vote literally snatched it out of our hands, placing it in favor of the North, and opposed to our institutions." Do we hear any thing now against the vote of foreigners from the tongues of the Anti-American speakers? Not a word. "Foreigners are a great blessing to the country." In short, we heard a distinguished Anti-American speaker declare, "I would rather have one drunken Irishman than twenty of such men

as come from Massachusetts." But as yesterday Democrats said: "The low Irish are no more fit to vote than the niggers of Virginia." What *beautiful* consistency! We leave the Pope, however, and his active friends, and the low Irish, to dispose of these facts according to their own way of doing things, satisfied of the correctness of the heading, and of the propriety of its application to what precedes as well as what follows. The Louisville Journal thus presented the Anti-American party:

"Hostility to the corrupt means by which the leaders of parties have hitherto forced upon us our rulers and political creeds.

"Implacable enmity against the prevalent demoralizing system of rewards for political subserviency, and of punishment for political independence."

"The engrafting of these principles upon the creed of the American party was sufficient alone to secure the bitter hostility of the leaders of the old Democratic party. They have so long used all the patronage of government, State and Federal, for their own selfish purposes, that they cannot but feel the rebuke in all its severity, and cannot but resent with bitter malignity the effort to wrest from their hands their ill-gotten and grossly-abused power. By laxity of political principle, by the arts of demagoguery, by party discipline, and by the *prestige* of a once deservedly popular party name, they have ruled the nation almost uninterruptedly for thirty years, and distributed the spoils among their subservient followers.

"Their political principles are so lax that they have embraced within their fold men of every hue and complexion. Their only test is to *support the party*. Do that, and you are a good Democrat, no matter what may have been your past career or present political creed. To such men as Roger B. Taney, Louis McLane, James Buchanan, etc., etc.—old-time Federalists, black-cockade Federalists, alien and sedition law Federalists, anti-State rights Federalists, opposers and de-

nouncers of the war of 1812, vindicators and apologists of British outrages upon our commerce and seamen, sympathizers and apologists for the Hartford Convention—to all such men, big and little, they said, Support our party, and you shall have political absolution: baptize yourselves with subserviency to us, and you shall stand forth to the nation as regenerated, immaculate Democrats. You, Mr. Taney, we pay with the Attorney-Generalship, the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and the Chief-Justiceship. You, Mr. Buchanan, we pay with a seat in the Senate, a mission to Russia, the Secretaryship of State, a mission to England, and a hope for the Presidency. You, Mr. McLane, we pay with your choice of Departments and of foreign missions repeatedly conferred. To such abolitionists as Hale, Sumner, and Chase, they say, Support our party, and we will affiliate with you as good Democrats, and we will pay you with seats in the Senate. Discriminating with unerring tact as to the relative strength of the two divisions of the party in New York, they adopt and fraternize with the Van Buren deserters, the Free-soilers, and aid them in proscribing and putting down the old staunch adherents of the party, who had proved themselves loyal and true under every vicissitude. South of Mason and Dixon's line, Free-soilers are the abomination of abominations. North of that line they are true and trusty brothers of the Democracy. At the North a Democrat may be a latitudinarian as to the powers of the federal government; at the South he must be a strict constructionist. At the North he may be for a national bank or a strong tariff; at the South he must be against both. At the North he may be in favor of internal improvements; at the South he must be against them. Democratic members of Congress may vote for and pass bills for the improvement of rivers and harbors, and Democratic Presidents may veto such bills, and all alike remain good Democrats. They may vote for or against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and their

democracy is in no way impaired. When the administration was trembling last year under the prospect of the appalling ruin which that ill-starred measure was about to inflict on the party, it sought to save the party by the old and long-practiced dodge: it issued a proclamation through its organ at Washington, saying the Nebraska bill should not be deemed a party measure; in other words, that the Democracy would still hug to its bosom anybody who should vote with the party, let him think as he might as to that bill.

“In former times, when really important principles divided Democrats and Federalists, one of the principal touchstones wherewith to test the purity of a Democrat was the doctrine of the right of instruction. All Democrats then held that it was the duty of a Senator or Representative either to obey instructions or resign; yet Senator Douglas, not long ago, refused to do either, under the miserable pretext that the instructions were not given by a majority of the party which elected him: thus shamelessly renouncing his allegiance to a majority of the people of his State, and with matchless impudence avowing himself the Senator of a mere party in his State, and not of the whole people of Illinois. General Cass has recently avowed his determination to pursue a similar course, or at least very distinctly intimated that he may do so. Still, these two gentlemen are accredited as two of the purest high-priests of the party.

“So it is as to every thing pertaining to fundamental principles of government or measures of national policy. Single men, or large bodies of men, or whole States, may think and act as they please as to any or all of them, and still remain true Democrats if they only vote the party ticket. There is no single plank in any platform upon which the whole party is agreed; probably not one which a majority would not reject if it stood alone; certainly not one which the nation would not reject if untrammelled by party ties.

“It would be profitable, but tedious, to refer to the multitudinous instances in which the Democracy has shown a blind submission to its leaders. But it will not do to overlook the Greytown affair. If ever this nation has felt unanimously an indignant flush of shame for degraded national honor, it was called forth by that disgraceful affair. Yet such is the party subserviency, that not a single representative or editor of the party had independence enough to denounce this measure of a Democratic administration.

“The American party has done well to declare a crusade against such corruption and subserviency.

“The editor of the *Louisville Democrat* attempts to throw doubt over the notorious fact that the European immigrants to this country are, as a general rule, abolitionists. And yet he knows this fact just as well as he knows any other. We take the liberty of commending to his attention the manifesto of the Free Germans of this city, which we published on Saturday, and which he has thought proper to pass by without notice, although he probably has some knowledge of the sensation which it has created in the community.

“The Free Germans are an organized body of men, comprising the mass of the German population, and having their associations in all the principal cities of the United States. The manifestoes or platforms of all these associations are similar in character : that of the association here may be considered a specimen of the whole. And if any of our readers have not seen it, let them procure the *Journal* of Saturday and read it with care, and reflect upon it. They will find it an audacious avowal of abolitionism, jacobinism, and radicalism ; a bold declaration of war against religion, and the rights of property ; a most atrocious utterance of a determined and organized effort to subvert our government and its institutions, and to introduce the infidelity and lawlessness of German Illuminism in their place. These Free Germans, holding and

avowing such revolting doctrines and such horrible designs, now constitute a very large proportion of the Sag-Nicht party here. They are the life and soul, and a great portion of the body of that party. They are encouraged to believe that, by the triumph of the Anti-American party, their purposes can be accomplished. They are taught to think that a victory of the Anti-American party would be *their* victory; and they are prepared to shout over it as such."

What next? This:

"The State Convention of the Soft Democrats of New York, having in view the admission of their delegates to the National Convention at Cincinnati, recently adopted resolutions approving the Nebraska Bill, and condemning the slavery party. The members of the same party in the lower Legislature have just coalesced with the Black Republicans—the Democrats electing the speaker by the aid of the Republicans, while the latter are to take the clerk as their share of the spoils."—*Confederate*, Galveston, Texas.

All will find in this a true description of the Anti-American or Popish party. It is composed of the "middles, odds and ends" of all classes of men, fighting against *Sam* under the wing of the Pope. Truth, however, demands that we should here state, that some of them are only governed by circumstances in the mighty conflict. What do the *Free Germans* care for the Pope? Exactly nothing. Selfishness, in reference to one of *Sam's* measures, a change in the naturalization law, drives them into the ranks of the Pope's friends in this country.

CHAPTER XXXI

All sorts—or Anti-Americanism with many faces—or, in plain English, the rascalities of party movements, proved by the friends of the Pope.

THE *American Organ*, under the heading, "The Charge Admitted," presents the following from the *Washington Union* :

"The Know-Nothing papers are excessively indignant because a collection was raised in one of the departments of this city for the purpose of assisting the Democratic cause in the city of Baltimore at the approaching election, and grave charges are hurled against one of the chiefs of the Department alluded to for his exertions in recommending these contributions. We confess that we see no grievous harm in all this matter.

"The administration of General Pierce is committed in the most decided and open manner to the principles which the fanatics in the Know-Nothing lodges are assailing. The success of these principles is important to the perpetuity of our institutions."

It seems that the *Organ* had made the charge of levying "*black mail*," and "dared either of the organs of the administration, or any of their tools and camp-followers, to deny it."

The admissions of the *Union* sustain the charge.

The following also appears in the *Organ* :

“PETER G. WASHINGTON.—This official strictly enjoined secrecy in relation to the ‘black mail levy,’ and threatened any one with dismissal who might betray him.”

Will not this do for a darling keepsake ?

The *Ohio State Democrat*, commenting on the elections of 1855, said :

“The first great cause—the great folly which produced this state of things, was the casting aside of first-rate men, and electing third and fourth-rate men to the Presidency. Had General Cass, Mr. Buchanan, or any of the other first minds of the nation, guided the destinies of the Republic since the 4th of March, 1853, these things would not have been.”

An honest confession relieves a sinful heart ; and here we have the thing well done.

The Charleston Mercury, Anti-American, says :

“The breaking up of national parties, as the tendency of things indicates, is a matter not to be regretted, but to be rejoiced at.” True, O king ! Again :

“It (Democratic, rather Anti-American party) has not a single measure of policy on which its various sections are united. The old name, and the inveteracy of party spirit and habit, are the main principles, besides the power of the public patronage, which now hold it together.

“Let this be tested by the votes in the last Congress. A part of the Democrats were for internal improvements, a part against. Some were for reducing the tariff, others against. On the Kansas bill, a test of the party on Southern rights, there was still less unity of sentiment, a large majority of the Northern wing voting against the South, and only forty-four for her. Is such a party worthy of any confidence and support—a party without a single point of union of principles, without a single conservative measure of policy ?”

These are plain facts boldly told.

As if not fully satisfied with this, *The Mercury*, in castigating Mr. Orr for trying to inspire the people of South Carolina with confidence in reference to a platform of the future, exclaims :

“What! the Democratic party bound by the resolutions of its national conventions? Has Mr. Orr forgotten, or does he imagine that we have forgotten, the faithless course of this party, upon a question second only in importance to slavery itself—the tariff? Has he not perused the pledges given at Baltimore in 1836, repeated in 1840, again made in 1844, 1848, and 1852, of economy and free trade? And does he not know that, in the teeth of all these, the South is still robbed by a tariff, more odious and oppressive, in view of all the circumstances which surround it—a bloated treasury, and a flourishing commerce—than that of 1828? Did he not see Congress, at the very last session, with the Democratic party completely in the ascendant, pass the Collins bill, the Harbor Improvement bill, Miss Dix’s Lunatic bill, the French Spoliation bill—measures whose principles were denounced by each successive Democratic convention? Nay, more, did he not witness the strange and startling anomaly of a Democratic President compelled, by a sense of duty, to oppose with his veto these wild and positive violations, by the Democratic party, of its own recorded faith! And yet Mr. Orr quietly assures us that the object of the Cincinnati Convention will be ‘to lay down a platform of principles, for the maintenance of which the Democratic party will be pledged.’ History, past and recent, has already exposed the worthlessness of all such pledges.”

An Anti-American sheet, however, called *The Daily Times*, stoutly declares :

“There is no faith like the Democracy, and no prophets

like those who have been educated in its school, and graduated therefrom. And the people know it."

Every word of this is true : it is found on all seas, navigates all waters, fights under all colors, is all things to all men, receives one thing to-day, and spits on it to-morrow, kisses the Pope's toe, and shouts aloud : "Down with Americanism !" Beg pardon ; Anti-Americanism in the garb of Democracy, we should have said.

The Montgomery Advertiser, Anti-American paper, published in Montgomery, Alabama, proclaimed after the election of Chase, of Ohio, 1855 : "And so brudder Chase is elected. Sound the hugag, Know-Nothings. A long crow, a strong crow, and a crow altogether." Did not this flagrant falsehood make the Anti-Americans feel remarkably well pleased with the smartness of the author, and indescribably indignant at the very thought of Know-Nothingism? A lie makes a man, when he knows no better, feel as happy as unadulterated truth.

A gentleman, writing from Ohio, November 24th, 1855, spoke thus of the matter : "To a man, these men, twenty-four thousand ultra pro-slavery proscriptive Know-Nothings, voted against Mr. Chase."—See *National Era*, December 6th, 1855. Is it not a happy circumstance that the Anti-Americans can obtain absolution from the object of their love, the Pope? We honestly think, however, that he should, unless he considers "the end justifies the means," place them, for such a flagrant offence against truth, under a long and severe penance before granting to such wretches absolution.

Chase elected by the Know-Nothings! Here we have a *princely* falsehood, awkwardly told, but exactly in keeping with the cause it was designed to uphold—exactly in keeping with the refinement of the greater portion of the Anti-American leaders.

The abolitionist steals a servant, the "Free German"

writes against the Sabbath, and the "Southern Fire-Eater" scratches up an idea respecting a fine scheme to dissolve the Union, and get rid of Northern annoyance; but Anti-Americanism smiles at the scene, saying: "*Sam* will turn all this to his advantage; nevertheless, I need the votes of all, whatever they may do or say, whether of native or of foreign birth, and therefore wish my strong advocates to reduce to practice the great principle of my best friend, the Pope, that 'the end justifies the means.'"

Well may the spirit of Americanism, in view of things so repulsive and scandalous, proudly and pleasingly proclaim:

"One self-approving hour whole years outweighs
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas;
That more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels!"

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Democratic Platform and Slavery, with a portion of the first resolution of the Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing party of Alabama reviewed, and proved disgraceful to its originators.

IT is a well-known fact, that the national platforms of the Democratic party, 1848 and 1852, are precisely the same on the question of slavery, with the exception that the latter connects itself with the compromise measure of 1850.

During the presidential contest of 1848, Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, published an address to the people, in which we find a startling disclosure. Let it be remembered that he was a member of the National Democratic Convention of 1848, and a member of the committee on the platform. He states in the address that it was proposed in this committee to amend the resolution which denies to Congress any "power over slavery in the States," by inserting after the word *States* the words, "or territories," so as to make the resolution deny, unequivocally deny, the power of Congress over slavery either in the States or territories; but the amendment was rejected in committee, by a vote of seventeen to ten.

We have, therefore, the authority of Mr. Yancey for asserting that the platform committee of the National Democratic Convention of 1848, actually voted against a resolution denying the power of Congress over slavery in the territories.

But this is not all: Mr. Yancey states that, failing to pro-

cure so important an amendment in the committee, he offered, in open convention, the following resolution, which was deliberately rejected, by a vote of two hundred and sixteen to thirty-six, to-wit :

“*Resolved, further,* That the doctrine of non-interference with the rights of property of any portion of the people of this confederacy, be it in the States or territories, by any other than the parties interested in them, is the true republican doctrine recognized by this body.”—*Flag of the Union.*

If we could believe the assertions and interpretations of the Anti-American party respecting the American platform on slavery, we would be compelled to conclude that the Democrats knowingly stood on notoriously unsound platforms in the days of their glory.

Come gentlemen, be honest, though you may be able to secure pardon for your manifold sins at the feet of the Pope, in whose service you now make war against the best interests of the religion of your fathers and the land of your birth.

The platform of the Anti-American members of the Thirty-fourth Congress, mis-called Democratic, leaves an opening for the Northern man to advocate a certain opinion, and the Southern man the opposite. Does it say, we deny to Congress any power over slavery in the States or territories? Not a word of the kind. Their resolution runs thus :

“*Resolved,* That the Democratic members of the House of Representatives, though in a temporary minority in this body, deem this a fit occasion to tender their fellow-citizens of the whole Union their heartfelt congratulations on the triumph, in the recent elections in several of the Northern, Eastern, and Western, as well as Southern States, of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the doctrines of civil and religious liberty.”

Will not this make the people appear as *natural* sons of Solomon? How instructive! Pray, what are the principles

of the Kansas-Nebraska bill? The resolution does not so much as name one. What is called *squatter sovereignty* is advocated in the North, and that which is the opposite in the South; and both may lustily talk on, for the resolution is as silent as death on the character of the principles of the bill. In short, the whole is designed to deceive: to let the Northern man believe this, and the Southern man that. Such is the corruption of the Anti-American members of Congress. If individuals, however, derive pleasure from being the dupes of political knaves, we have no inclination to rob them of their happiness. If Southern men believe that the Congress platform is sufficiently explicit, their faith will afford them as much satisfaction as if it were founded on sober reality.

Having shown how the leaders of the Democratic party disposed of the relation of Congress to the territories on the slavery question in 1848, and noticed the silence of the Anti-American Congress Platform of 1855 on the same subject, we are now ready to review a portion of the first resolution "of the Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing party of Alabama," persuaded that it is an outrage on truth, a disgrace to the originators, and a clap-trap for foreign influence. We are informed that "the proceedings of the Alabama Convention were remarkably harmonious; that the Georgia platform was adopted; and that the delegates were instructed, in case the National Convention fails to adopt an equivalent platform, to retire from that body." Mr. W. L. Yancey has the honor of offering the resolutions. The first reads thus:

"The perfect equality of privileges—civil, religious, and political—of every citizen of our country, without reference to the place of his birth. . . ."

What an untruth! "The perfect equality of civil privileges" is at war with the Constitution of the country. Can a foreigner by birth sit in the Presidential chair? No. The fifth section of the Constitution, article ii., reads thus: "No

person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President."

Can a foreigner by birth become Vice-President of the United States? No. The third article, "Amendments to the Constitution, article xii., Laws of the United States," speaks as follows: "No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

In the 1st article, 2d section, No. 2, we are thus informed: "No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and have been seven years a citizen of the United States."

Well may we here ask, Is "the perfect equality of civil privileges" entitled to the merit of an ingenious conceit? But we are not surprised! Men who can afford to play the part of traitors to their country and Protestantism, for the sake, the *glorious* sake of maintaining a corrupt organization by the aid of the lowest class of the foreign population, can very easily afford to humbug, or at least try to do so, the uninformed citizen by birth.

What next? This: "The Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing" Sanhedrim declares itself "in favor of the perfect equality of religious privileges." The Mormon will not record any particular objection to this; and as to the Romanist, he will look on the declaration as a clear endorsement of his right to embrace in his creed the canon law, the decisions of councils, and the claim of the Pope to depose rulers, and break up the oath of allegiance. See Chapter III.

The canon law speaks thus of the Holy Father: "He has plenitude of power, and is above law."—*Gibert*, 2, 103. And this is sanctioned by "the Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing party of Alabama."

The third General Council of Lateran, in its sixteenth

canon, unequivocally styles "an oath contrary to ecclesiastical utility, not an oath, but perjury."—*Labbeus*, 13, 426. And this is sanctioned too by "the Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing party of Alabama!"

Pope Gregory says: "Ever bearing in mind, the universal Church suffers from every novelty, as well as the admonition of Pope St. Agatho, that from what has been regularly defined nothing can be taken away—no innovation introduced there, no addition made—but that it must be preserved untouched as to words and meaning."—*P. Greg. XVI., Epistola Encyclica, ad omnes, Patriarchas, Primate, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos, anno 1832.*

A bishop of the Romish Church in the United States, in virtue of the decision of the Council of Trent, excommunicated the trustees of the St. Louis Church, State of New York, because they would not violate the laws of their State, and tamely submit to the teaching of the Council of Trent. See Chapter VI.

The Archbishop of Mexico, in the year 1855, refused to submit to the civil law until he should hear from the Pope—thereby giving the clearest evidence possible that allegiance to a foreign power was above that which he owed to Mexico.

Roman Catholics, however, by the decision of the "Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing" Sanhedrim at Montgomery, Alabama, are at liberty to believe all this, and to show their faith by their works. Nor is this all: the delegates are instructed to retire from the National Convention, should it fail to sanction such privileges to Roman Catholics. A little more of this, and we would not give a jews-harp for the glory of Protestantism in the United States.

Suppose the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists should unite, and declare oaths of allegiance perjury, if in conflict with the ecclesiastical policy of the North on the subject of slavery—should declare all slaveholders heretics, and record

their determination to hang, imprison, or exterminate them at a suitable time: would Southern "Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing" meetings instruct their delegates to leave a National Convention, provided it should fail to acknowledge such religious privileges? O no; their Anti-Know-Nothing skill would at once enable them to see that such an organization, with such an object and faith, ought not to be tolerated.

When honest men, with clear spectacles, read that which precedes and that which follows, we think that they will heartily endorse every word of our representation. The language of the *Rambler* is: "You ask, if he (the Pope) were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, what would he do to you? That, we say, would entirely depend on circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you, possibly he might even hang you; but be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the glorious principles of civil and religious liberty."

We propose that all the members of the various Protestant Churches who are acting with the Anti-American party, send delegates to the National Convention, under positive instruction to leave if it should fail to put in the first article of its platform all manner of privileges for Roman Catholics—such as that of talking as they please, writing as they please, and acting as they please. Verily, the old man at Rome has wonderful influence in this country!

In a word, the resolution "of the Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing party of Alabama" declares that the privileges allowed to one Church must be allowed to all—a perfect equality must be encouraged. The Romish Church claims the right to interfere in civil matters; and when we read of a Northern Protestant Church doing so, we hope, for the sake of common consistency, that the Anti-Americans of Alabama will allow the Americans to talk, and hold their tongues as if

in a house of death. The Northern Methodists claimed the right a few years ago to put their fingers on civil affairs; and because of this, the Methodists of Alabama unanimously protested; and now more than a few of the same generation of Methodists vote against men who are contending for the principle on which they stood when the Church was divided. If true to the meaning of the resolution before us, and determined to vote the Anti-American ticket, they ought to ask pardon at the hands of the North, and gracefully return.

In closing this chapter, we must be allowed to say, if we should live to see some of the children of the Anti-Americans punished according to the plan of St. Dominic, we are certain we would not shed a tear on account of the *glorious* deeds of their fathers. To say more, would be to indulge in cruelty; and so we close our review of a portion of the first resolution of a "Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing meeting, held in Montgomery, Alabama," and with it the chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Strictures on the letter of Hon. Samuel Caruthers, of Missouri, to his constituents, respecting matters in general, and his own vote for Richardson in particular.

THE editor of the *Memphis Appeal* is so enraptured with the letter of Mr. Caruthers, that he looks on it as a Gibraltar of strength for the approaching canvass. His language is :

“The letter of Mr. Caruthers, which appears in our columns this morning, ought to be republished by every newspaper and read by every voter in the South. The points which he makes, and the arguments he advances, are unanswerable, and will carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. It is the duty of every man to familiarize himself with them, as they will serve as a Gibraltar of strength in the approaching canvass.”

We not only look at this and smile, but boldly and unceremoniously affirm that the letter, whether the reference be to style, matter, or design, is a very disreputable production. Is a cobweb a Gibraltar of strength? If so, call the letter of Mr. Caruthers such.

But, in advance of taking up particulars, we beg leave to give the reader a general view of the *remarkable* production. The author commences with words of kindness to his constituents; then most graciously informs them that he voted for Mr. Richardson, and, without the slightest attention to ceremony, dashes contempt at certain Know-Nothings; then speaks

of the assassination of the Whig party, and takes hold of the Kansas-Nebraska question as an altar of hope; then talks of the high ground taken by the administration on it; cites with evident pleasure what he calls the Democratic platform, which offers undisguised insult to the American party, and most lustily declares, by implication, that Americans shall not govern America; then labors to make Mr. Fuller look ridiculous, by torturing his language and movements; then pleads mightily to make Mr. Richardson a Solomon in wisdom, and a pure patriot in word and act; then gives Mr. Fuller another rough notice, followed by an humble confession of his own sin for ever knowing by experience a secret political society; then plunges into the muddy waters of Romanism, and comes up dripping error; then gives Protestants a rap in kindness, and suggests what they ought to do; then takes hold of the Philadelphia platform on slavery, and favors it with a forced compliment; then jumps like a tiger at a victim on all manner of Know-Nothings, and holds them up as a horrible conclave; then asserts that three-fourths of the men who elected Mr. Banks were Know-Nothings; then speaks of the poor old Pope of Rome not being able to defend himself, and puts in a plea for foreigners; then emphatically declares that the Democratic party is the only ally of the South in the North; then gives the Black Republicans a castigation, and winds up with an expressed anxiety that his constituents should, on his return, say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Respected reader, here you have the outlines of what the editor of the *Memphis Appeal* declares will serve as a Gibraltar of strength in the approaching canvass. You shall see, however, after a few broadside shots, whether or not the fond expectation of the man of the *Appeal* will be realized.

Mr. Caruthers boldly declares: "Were a Catholic organization formed, to brand me as unworthy of public trust because of my religious opinions, I would call upon every honest

Catholic in the land to aid me in striking it down. As I would have them do unto me, I will do unto them."

We shall now show, bidding defiance to contradiction, that Romanists are so organized, and brand Mr. Caruthers as one unworthy of public trust. This being done, Mr. Caruthers must go to work, if he respect his voluntary promise, calling on every honest Catholic to aid him in striking that down which has repulsed the frowns of kings and emperors, as a rock repulses the waves of the sea.

Is not the Romish Church, Mr. Caruthers, an organization? and is not the Pope the supreme head of this Church? The question then is, What is the opinion of the Holy Father respecting you, sir, as a Protestant? This: "Engagements made with heretics or schismatics are illegal, and in law itself are of no importance, even if confirmed by an oath."—*Rymer*, 7, 352.

The Holy Father decides that Mr. Caruthers is so unfit for public trust, that Romanists ought not to respect even an oath made to him.

The present Pope presents to the world this infallible decision: "Any union whatever of man and woman among Christians, made in virtue of what civil law soever, is nothing else but a shameful and miserable concubinage." The Holy Father not only looks on Mr. Caruthers as unfit to legislate on the subject of marriage, but declares that the law he respects, and under which he has lived, places a woman, if married in accordance with its provision, in a miserable state of concubinage. What an *exalted* opinion the Pope entertains of Mr. Caruthers as a Protestant!

Bishop Kenrick, the most distinguished Romish writer in America, declares: "All doctrinal definitions already made by former pontiffs, are landmarks which no man can remove."—*Primacy*, p. 356.

Dens, an approved Romish writer, says: "All the faithful,

(Catholics,) also bishops, are bound to obey the Roman pontiff."—*Dens de Eccles.*, No. 94, p. 439.

The following extract is taken from comments on the Romish Testament: "Heretics ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed."

This is the view Romanists entertain respecting Mr. Caruthers' right to breathe a free air and live, to say nothing of his right to aid in making laws for the people. One word more here: the decisions of the Pope are of more value or importance in the mind of every Romanist, than all the laws and constitutions of America and Europe united.

Mr. Caruthers introduces a supposition concerning a Catholic organization; and we prove that the thing supposed is a stubborn reality. Will Mr. Caruthers, after reading this, duly respecting his promise, loudly and earnestly call on "every honest Catholic to aid him in striking it down?"

The author of the letter—the Gibraltar of strength—very politely asks: "Why should not we leave controverted points of theology to the ministry of the Churches?" The question would be about as much in place were we to ask: Is not the miracle of Jonah swallowing the whale the most remarkable on record?

It is not theology, Mr. Caruthers, that is at issue, but the temporal power of the Pope, or what is called the "supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal," which looks to the dethroning of kings and rulers, and the absolving of subjects from their allegiance. In proof of Rome claiming the right to do what we have just stated, we shall here give the decision of Pope Gregory IX.

"And if the secular power refuse to comply, let it be told to the sovereign pontiff, and let him denounce the subjects as released from their fealty, and give the country to Catholics."—*Decretal headed Innocent III., in Concilio Generali*, vol. ii., edit. 1839, p. 758.

In addition, we beg leave to insert here an extract from Rev. Pierce Connelly's *Reasons for Abjuring Allegiance to the See of Rome*—a work which gives the highest Romish authority for its statements :

“How far does this supremacy (temporal) extend *de jure divino*? It extends to the disposing of the temporal *possessions of all Christians*, of the crown and sceptre of the sovereign, and the last penny of the beggar; to the disposing of their lives in this world, and of their sorrows in the dim, countless, but still temporal, ages of purgatory.”

Again :

“And it is from this supremacy in temporals that there devolves upon the Pope and his plenipotentiary delegates THE DUTY, whenever it is possible or expedient, of COMPELLING all Christians, *kings* as well as their *subjects*, to do what he commands, and not to do what he forbids.

“Witness the example of Gregory VII., who deposed the Emperor Henry IV., and commanded another to be chosen in his stead; of Innocent III., who in like manner deposed Otho IV.; of Innocent IV., who deposed Frederic II., and gave the Lusitanian king a coadjutor to administer his realm; of Clement VI., who deposed Louis IV.; and of eight other pontiffs, with the instances of sending poor kings adrift. And now, as then, the duty and the will are both the same; and a new sovereign would replace VICTORIA if Rome had but the power.

“Our venerated hierarchy and clergy, in the fulfilment of their duties, will inculcate the strict and religious duty of selecting as representatives of the people those men who are best fitted to support in the Imperial Parliament OUR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS.—(Address to the Catholics of the United Kingdom, signed PAUL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.)”

Here the question is asked : “What is understood by our

RIGHTS?" The answer is: "Let Pius IX. explain." Then follows: "He hath taken this principle for basis, that the Catholic religion, with its rights, ought to be exclusively dominant in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted."

Prudence would suggest to men who do not understand the Romish question, the ground of *Sam's* opposition to Romanists, to place a strong guard on their pens and tongues, and leave the whole with those who do, confining themselves to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, or to some hobby by which they may be returned to Congress.

Again Mr. Caruthers asks:

"May not the Catholic turn upon you with the fact, that of three thousand preachers who denounced the judgments of God upon our devoted heads who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, there was not upon the paper the name of a single Catholic minister? May he not show that none of his clergymen are in the halls of Congress, while we have twenty odd preachers?"

Wishing to do good, and to instruct those who need a little information in the way of our profession, we shall let Mr. Caruthers know why priests are not in Congress, by assuring him that they would not sit in a law-making body with heretics. Nor is this all: they would not allow their bodies to be buried in the same graveyards with heretics; and as to the name of a priest not being on the paper, in the case of the petition against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, we observe, that as priests would not sit in a law-making capacity with heretics, nor allow their bodies to be buried in the same graveyards with heretics, neither would they sign a petition with heretics.

Verily, there ought to be a Sabbath-school somewhere near Congress, in which Butler's catechism should be strictly explained. The unmeaning cant we have glanced at is on the

tongue of every prating Anti-American boy throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The notions of Mr. Caruthers respecting a Know-Nothing President, the Constitution, and Romanists, are fully answered by himself in these words: "I would not vote for any man, of any religion, for any office, who is bound by such an allegiance;" that is, civil allegiance to a foreign power, or, what amounts to the same, implicit obedience to the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, under the idea that the temporal is subordinate to the spiritual, he alone being the judge, and having Divine right to present the verdict. Here we respectfully and confidently assure Mr. Caruthers, if he strictly abide by the declaration just given and noticed, he will never vote for a Romanist while he lives.

In proof of the allegiance just stated, we shall here give the testimony of an English editor, Roman Catholic, satisfied that Mr. Caruthers must admit that he is an unobjectionable witness. His testimony is: "When the Pope and the Queen (that is, in application to us, when the Pope and the President) are placed in antagonism to each other, we are compelled to say plainly which allegiance we consider the most important; and we would not hesitate to tell the Queen to her face that she must either be content with this divided allegiance, or none at all; for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign Pontiff." This, Mr. Caruthers, is not "a Know-Nothing lie, gotten up to ruin the old Democratic party," but the positive testimony of one having authority to speak.

We presume that every honest man will now frankly admit that the Romish portion of the Gibraltar of strength is in a state of ruin, hopeless, total, irredeemable ruin; and so saying, we shall proceed to notice that platform so highly lauded by Mr. Caruthers. It runs thus:

"Resolved, That the Democratic members of the House of

Representatives, though in a temporary minority in this body, deem this a fit occasion to tender to their fellow-citizens of the whole Union their heartfelt congratulations on the triumph, in the recent elections in several of the Northern, Eastern, and Western, as well as Southern States, of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the doctrines of civil and religious liberty, which have been so violently assailed by a secret political order known as the Know-Nothing party. And, although in a minority, we hold it to be our highest duty to preserve our organization, and continue our efforts in the maintenance and defence of those principles, and the constitutional rights of every section and every class of citizens, against their opponents of every description, whether the so-called Republicans, Know-Nothings, or Fusionists; and to this end we look with confidence to the support and approbation of all good and true men—friends of the Constitution and Union throughout the country.”

Respecting this, Mr. Caruthers observes: “It will be seen that there are only two planks in this platform; the one in favor of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the other against the proscriptiveness of the Know-Nothings.” How coolly he records the insult offered to the American party, and with it his own condemnation, having been “twice” in the temple of *Sam*—a worshipper at an altar bearing the inscription, “Americans shall govern America!” Were another Diogenes on earth, he might justly carry a lamp in the clear of day, assuring each curious inquirer, “I am looking for a man.”

After all this, would not a man of self-respect naturally suppose that Mr. Caruthers could not, with any show of consistency, blame the Americans for not voting with the “so called anti-proscriptionists” for Richardson? Certainly. To our astonishment, however, he talks thus: “Fuller dodged: his precious little band of six threw away their votes.”

Does Mr. Caruthers suppose that men will submit to be kicked like dogs on a quarter-deck, and then tacitly submit to the wish of the actors? If so, "the precious little band of six," as monuments of self-respect, will long linger in his memory as being made of better stuff, of judging and acting otherwise.

We would not vote for the nominee of any men on the face of Heaven's footstool, for any berth, favor, or office, who would so insult the party of our choice, and continue impenitent.

The Hon. Percy Walker, of Alabama, thus expresses himself on this matter: "The illiberality manifested by the Democratic party towards the American during the whole contest for speaker, the slur cast upon them by the resolution of the Democratic caucus, (above given,) and the rejection of every overture made by the Americans for conciliation and harmony, and the agency of the Democrats in passing the plurality rule, were the causes that induced the six Americans not to cast their votes for Mr. Aiken."

Again, speaking of the insulting resolutions of the Anti-Americans just referred to, he says: "An analysis of this resolution (we request the reader to pause here and reëxamine it) will show that the American members could not support Mr. Richardson without a loss of self-respect, a total abandonment of one of the fundamental ideas of the American organization."

And this is the way Mr. Walker disposes of one of the massive rocks in the Gibraltar of strength for the coming canvass!

Mr. Caruthers would have his readers believe that Mr. Fuller is a very unreliable man—a bundle of contradictions; but Mr. Walker, who is as true to the South as any man living, speaks otherwise. He founds his faith on the following resolution: "*Resolved*, (says Mr. Fuller,) That any agita-

tion of the question of slavery, in or out of Congress, is unwise, unjust to a portion of the American people, and injurious to every section of our country, and, therefore, should not be countenanced." Here you have the true position of Mr. Fuller—the choice of the American members of Congress for the speaker's chair.

Mr. Walker thus triumphantly exclaims: "You have here the evidence of his soundness upon the great question in which you are so nearly concerned. Southern members of all parties in the House admitted that his position was such as to win their full and entire approval."

What object had Mr. Caruthers in view in keeping this item of information from his constituents? Any one that ever saw the door of a guessing school could name the motive. If he had, instead of presenting an extract from a letter written by Mr. Fuller in 1849, totally without point or application to things in Congress, presented the above resolution, he would have served the cause of truth, and done common justice to a man of noble bearing, and of patriotic feelings and sentiments.

Mr. Caruthers, after speaking of "Kennett, Lindley, and Porter," voting for Mr. Fuller, plainly says to his constituents: "I act upon my own judgment, under my responsibility." Well, if the things noticed be fair specimens of his own judgment, we would advise him to appropriate four dollars a day to a thinking man at Washington to aid him in judging on all matters, but particularly in reference to Romanism, the duty of Protestantism, and the grounds of *Sam's* opposition to the Pope.

Mr. Caruthers, speaking of the platform of the Anti-American members of Congress, says: "There are only two planks in this platform—the one in favor of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the other against the proscriptiveness of Know-Nothingism."

The principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill! We deeply regret that he does not let his constituents and the world know what these principles are. "Squatter sovereignty," says one: "I deny it," says another. And is this the way Mr. Caruthers *honeyfugles* the good people of Missouri?

Respecting the second great point in the platform, opposition to "Know-Nothingism," we observe, that it simply means, "Americans shall not govern America." O, the degeneracy of men!

In conclusion we would remark, if the letter of Mr. Caruthers should prove a Gibraltar of strength in the coming canvass, fools, when hungry, may live on fancy, and fatten on duplicity.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Facts, Facts, Facts, for the People.

1. It is a fact, that the Democratic papers, when Scott was nominated for the Presidency, abounded with the highest compliments and praises respecting the man of a century—"the patriotic Fillmore, a national man in all things."

2. It is a fact, that the Anti-American papers now basely refer to the "Erie Letter," written 1838, eighteen years ago, in hope of humbugging a portion of the Southern people with their hypocritical cant concerning abolitionism.

3. It is a fact, that the leaders of the Anti-American party speak of "a great national Democratic organization, true to the South," when they know that only seventeen members of Congress made the sum of their Northern strength in the mighty contest for the speaker's chair of the Thirty-fourth Congress.

4. It is a fact, "that Sumner, Chase, Blair, Weller, Niles, King, Mann, Wilmot, Brinkerhoff," and so on, men so much despised at present by the Anti-Americans of the South, were but as yesterday genuine Democrats, worthy of all confidence. The soil must be somewhat peculiar where such weeds grow.

5. It is a fact, "that Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, in his address of 1848, states that the National Platform Committee of the Democratic party voted thus: seventeen negatively to ten

affirmatively, on the question of amending a resolution which denied to Congress any 'power over slavery in the States,' so as to make it read, 'or territories.'"

6. It is a fact, that the National Democratic Committee then ploughed the political field, and retired to see how their brethren would receive their labor, and act on the interests involved.

7. It is a fact, that Mr. Yancey offered in open convention the following resolution, which was rejected by a vote of two hundred and sixteen to thirty-six :

"*Resolved, further, That the doctrine of non-interference with the rights of property of any portion of the people of this confederacy, be it in the States or territories, by any other than the parties interested in them, is the true republican doctrine recognized by this body.*"

8. It is a fact, that the Democratic Convention then sowed the seed, and that the crop was reaped in 1855. "O, dear me!" as the ladies say! They prate about slavery and territory now, and turn up their hypocritical faces at the American platform on these questions! Rather let them seek thick veils to hide them!!

9. It is a fact, that the *Charleston Mercury*, Anti-American paper, declares: "It (Anti-American party) has not a single measure of policy on which the various sections are united."

10. It is a fact, that the Mercury tells the truth, apart from this exception, that they are agreed on one point: "Americans shall not govern America."

11. It is a fact, that the Mercury speaks thus concerning the pledges of Democratic Conventions: "History, past and recent, has already exposed the worthlessness of all such pledges." True, distressingly true.

12. It is a fact, that the Hon. Percy Walker, of Alabama, demonstrates that the Anti-American members of Congress, by

their refusal to coöperate with the Americans, were the cause of the election of Mr. Banks.

13. It is a fact, that the Anti-American wire-workers, though fully aware that their members in Congress passed a resolution of insult to the American members, and repeated it in another after Richardson had withdrawn, thereby placing them in a position that self-respect would not permit them to coöperate with their insulters, now turn up their noses and say, as if believing themselves: "If the American members had united with ours, the speaker's chair would not be filled by a Black Republican." Surely, they must have graduated near a brass foundry!

14. It is a fact, "that a few of the Anti-American members of Congress, when Aiken was the candidate for the speaker's chair, dodged, yes, dodged the question, and allowed Banks to be elected."

15. It is a fact, that the Democratic Review, speaking of the danger of certain foreigners, in 1850, said: "They are gradually forming a party, and have attracted the attention of the federal leaders, who begin to nibble at them, and discover evident symptoms of a design to enlist them in their great army of rag-tag and bob-tail." What a faithful picture of Anti-Americans; and this, too, by an editor of a Democratic Review, in 1850!

16. It is a fact, that the same editor observes that corrupt politicians will show by word and act that "they will be worth purchasing at the sacrifice of the Church, the State, the laws and Constitution." What a rebuke from such a quarter! But how true!! The whole is now as literally fulfilled as a prophecy of the Bible.

17. It is a fact, that a member of the Cabinet, Mr. Davis, at Aberdeen, Mississippi, speaking of the California foreign influence, and the policy of abolitionists, declared "that the Union was not worth preserving." How men and times

change! Mickey O'Flaharty is now "worth twenty New Englanders."

18. It is a fact, that Democrats, a few years ago, boldly observed: "The low Irish are no more fit to vote than the negroes of Virginia." Now they are patriotic, enlightened citizens. One thing, however, strikes our mind, viz.: if the Democrats told the truth then, the Anti-Americans are now deceived; and if the Anti-Americans are not now deceived, the sons of those Democrats, who so slandered the low Irish then, ought to make a liberal and just restitution for the sins of their fathers.

19. It is a fact, that Democrats of the South were horrified at the nomination of Gen. Scott for the Presidency, and declared that they could not see how Protestants could "vote for a man who made American soldiers bow to priests in Mexico, to say nothing of his connection with Romish institutions of learning, where he graduated his daughters." This is how Democrats then talked; but those who now call themselves Democrats, take pleasure in defending the Holy Father; and a few of the leaders would have no objection to kiss his big toe the hottest day in August.

20. It is a fact, that the Ohio State Democrat, commenting on the havoc made of the party in 1855, says: "The first great cause, the great folly, which produced this state of things, was the casting aside first-rate men, and electing third and fourth-rate men to the Presidency." According to this Democratic testimony, Pierce is only a third or fourth-rate man. True, O king!

21. It is a fact, notwithstanding all the attempts made to identify the American party with the opposers of slavery, that Mr. Pierce was so tarnished and varnished with Black Republicanism, in its worst degree, that a great number of men had to be secured to swear him as white as snow; yet more than a few believe, in 1856, that he was guilty. A Democratic editor in the West, (the Cleveland Plain-dealer,) was so certain

respecting the matter, that he kept his reported opposition sentiments to slavery under the editorial head, in order to captivate the low Irish and Dutch, and bring them up, as one man, to the ballot-box, for "the opposer of the slave power!"

22. It is a fact, that the Hon. James Buchanan, on the fourth of July, 1815, in the city of Lancaster, said: "Above all, we ought to drive from our shores foreign influence, and cherish American feeling. Foreign influence has been in every age the curse of republics—its jaundiced eye sees every thing in false colors. The thick atmosphere of prejudice by which it is ever surrounded, excludes from its sight the light of reason."—Taken from Mr. Baker's remarks at the American ratification meeting in Philadelphia.

23. It is a fact, that the *Chicago Democrat*, speaking of its relation to the foreign question, declares that it "advocates a healthy immigration, as the best means of getting rid of slavery." We judge from this, that its readers must be very sound on the slavery question—unobjectionable to Southern men—perfect patriots in the estimation of the Anti-American party.

24. It is a fact, that the *Wisconsin Free Democrat*, speaking of the numerical strength of foreigners in that State, says: "It requires but one-sixth of the natives, in addition to the adopted citizens, to make one-half of the voters of this State." No wonder that corrupt politicians "nibble at them!"

25. It is a fact, that the same paper, speaking of the influence of the American party in Wisconsin, says: "Politically, its only effect is to give power to the slave Democracy of the country, and to perpetuate the reign of slavery." In the face of this, the editor of the *Union and American*, Nashville, Tenn., coolly, as if he believes what he writes, tells

his readers that the American party is aiding the Freesoilers. The Wisconsin man talks otherwise.

26. It is a fact, that the *Wisconsin Democrat* exclaims: "But for the Know-Nothing party, the Republican party would now be victorious in every Northern State save California, and there would be no hope of another slavery President. The Know-Nothing movement is a perfect godsend to the slave power." Will the editor of the *Union and American*, and all birds of the same plume, be so kind as to publish this for the benefit of their readers? Let truth have fair play.

27. It is a fact, that the "Turner Society," Wheeling, Virginia, speaking of a certain resolution in the Buffalo platform, which declares "opposition to the Know-Nothings," says: "We understand the resolution to mean, very plainly, that a Turner who becomes a slaveholder, or desires to become one, shall no longer be considered as a Turner." And this is one of the parties the Anti-Americans nibble at in the South.

28. It is a fact, that the "Free Germans," in their platform, declare: "We consider slavery to be a political and moral cancer, that will by and by undermine all republicanism." Yet the Anti-Americans nibble at them.

29. It will follow as a fact, that the "Turners and Free Germans," voting the Anti-American ticket, make the party with which they act a compound of slavery and Anti-slavery men.

30. It is a fact, that Kossuth, when leaving this country, wrote an address to the foreign population, in which he recommended the Democratic party as the one most likely to serve the purpose of European reformers.

31. It is a fact, that the preceding fact will account for the election of Pierce, and suggest why many exclaim: "Every

President, for the last twenty years, has been elected by the foreign vote."

32. It is a fact, "that thirty thousand foreigners are said to be in Ohio, true in their opposition to the slave power.' We presume this will cause the Anti-Americans of the South to shout the more in favor of foreign influence—even of the rag-tag and bob-tail class, to use the language of the editor of the *Democratic Review*.

33. It is a fact, that the Democrats of the South, when California was a subject of controversy, and gave evidence that it would come into the Union as a free State, said: "We should not regret, as we do, over the loss of California, only for the fact that the foreign vote literally snatched it out of our hands, placing it in favor of the North, and opposed to our institutions." In the face of this, however, the Anti-Americans have the impudence to say that they are Democrats—what they have ever been.

34. It is a fact, that the Anti-Americans are men of one principle—that Protestantism, patriotism, and all other isms, and all other considerations, are lost in this one great principle, that Americans shall not govern America.

35. It is a fact, that, in view of all these facts, the thought of the overthrow of the Anti-American party is much more glorious than that which was embraced in the watchword of the Crusaders, when combating the infidel hosts of a Saladin.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The oath of allegiance, as taken by Romanists, considered, and proved defective, and, under certain circumstances, worthless, by the testimony of their own writers.

UNDER *Acts of Congress* on naturalization we find the following:

“He (the applicant for citizenship) shall, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare, on oath or affirmation, before some one of the courts aforesaid, (supreme, superior, district, or circuit court,) that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whereof he was before a citizen or subject.”

“This is fully sufficient,” say a thousand tongues. What an error! Every Romanist can take this oath, having in his mind a distinct understanding that he is but renouncing all temporal allegiance to a foreign power, and at the same time believe, without incurring guilt, according to the doctrines of his Church, that he owes, through bishops and priests, a spiritual allegiance to the Pope,* which recognizes in him the

* The Pope's Nuncio thus addressed the Germans: “If ye seek to shake off your allegiance to Rome, ye Germans, we will bring things to such a pass that *ye shall unsheathe the sword of extermination against each other, and perish in your own blood.*”

Pope Paschal II., at a council held at Rome, caused the clergy to

right to absolve from all obligation when he judges that civil claims are incompatible with the duties of Romanists.

The Gallican Catholics, of course, are not embraced in this.

The critical reader will at once perceive in our statements that the oath of allegiance, so far as Romanists are concerned, is defective—does not exactly reach their high notions of spiritual supremacy. In a word, the oath, in order to make any showing, ought to run thus: “That he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity, both spiritual and temporal, to every foreign prince, potentate, etc.”

Were this in the form of the oath, priests and bishops, with

take an oath “of implicit obedience to the Pope and his successors; to affirm what the Holy Church affirms, and condemn what she condemns.”

The present Pope says, in a letter to the author of the *Life of Pius V.*: “The work in which you have traced the life of the Holy Pontiff Pius V. has been received, and has been very agreeable to us, called as we are by the name of so great a predecessor, though wanting in many of his virtues. As we have chosen him as our PATRON, on the first day of our sovereign pontificate, so we continue to address our instant supplications to him, that under his patronage we may not lack courage, and that we may be able, like him, to defend the flock of Christ by word and by example. Given at Rome on St. Mary Major, 5th July, 1847, the second year of our Pontificate. Pius IX.”

Pius IX. makes Pius V. his *patron*, and addresses instant supplications to him, that he may be able, like him, to defend the flock of Christ. In order to know what Pius IX. thinks of matters and things in general, we must resort to the *patron*, Pius V. This *patron* thus spoke in relation to Elizabeth: “We do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom, and of all dominion whatsoever; and also the subjects sworn to her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath.”—*Pius V. in Bull contra R. Eliz.*

Here you have what we mean by the oath being worthless under certain circumstances. And this is how we are to understand the present Pope through his *patron*.

their people, could not truthfully become naturalized citizens of the United States—could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance. The priests and bishops are sworn subjects of the Holy Father, and they, with their flocks, look on him as having spiritual jurisdiction over them, which requires implicit obedience to certain rules and principles; hence, we repeat that they could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance, if in the form above presented. We shall now proceed to show that the foregoing statements are founded on facts. The oath of the patriotic clergy, according to Labbeus, a Romish writer, is as follows: "I receive and profess all that the sacred canons and general councils have delivered, defined, and declared; and I shall endeavor, to the utmost of my power, to cause the same to be held, taught, and preached. This I promise, vow, and swear: so help me God, and these holy Gospels."—*Labbeus*, 22, 222.

Let us here give a specimen of what they are under oath to the Holy Father to maintain. The Council of Trent "enjoined the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it could be done with safety."—*Paolo*, iv. p. 604.

Is not this a startling obligation? And let it be remembered that Paolo is a Romish writer. The idea of a man taking the oath of allegiance in good faith, while such an oath as we have recorded binds his soul to Rome, and teaches his hands to murder the administrator; provided he be a Protestant, and the act could be done with safety, is beyond description preposterous.

The reader may here justly inquire, Can any thing be done to bring such a man under the obligations of the oath of allegiance, as commonly understood? We answer, that the form we have presented would reach his case—would compel him to renounce the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, or perjure himself. But here another question arises: How can

he renounce that which he is under oath to respect and defend? A Jesuit might be able to give a satisfactory answer, but we confess our inability. We could justly say—— But we forbear. In a word, he who comes to this country with such an oath on his soul, ought not to think of becoming a naturalized citizen. The difficulty is insurmountable.

That which follows is a portion of the oath taken by the priests at Maynooth—the great foreign manufactory from which the faithful sons of the Pope are imported to the United States :

“I, A. B., do declare not to act or conduct any matter or thing prejudicial to her, (the Romish Church,) in her sacred orders, doctrines, tenets, or commands, without leave of its supreme power, or its authority under her appointed; and being so permitted, then to act, and further her interest, more than my own earthly good and earthly pleasures, as she and her head, his Holiness and his successors, have, or ought to have, the supremacy over all kings, princes, estates, or powers whatsoever, either to deprive them of their crowns, or governments, or to set up others in lieu thereof, they dissenting from the mother Church and her commands.”—Cited in *Brooks' Controversy* with Bishop Hughes, p. 16.

Does not the oath of allegiance, as now administered, fall far short of reaching the case of such priests? Reader, think and judge.

But what of those born in this country? Simply this: they are not required to take an oath of allegiance, like those of foreign birth; and consequently can feel easy respecting their vows to the Holy Father—their obligations to obey the canon law and the councils. In view of this, they may well exclaim: “What an advantage to a man who intends to become a priest, and, if fortune favor, a bishop, to be born in America!” Well may they talk so; for the poor fellow who was made a priest in a foreign land, is a sworn vassal of the

Pope ; and hence, in the process of naturalization, must either throw himself on mental reservation, or violate existing obligations to the see of Rome.

We shall not, however, leave the native priest an heir to undisturbed pleasure. How can he consider himself a faithful citizen, a strict respecter of the Constitution, while under a vow to obey the Council of Trent, which "enjoins the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it can be done with safety?"

A portion of the Jesuit's oath is: "I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers."—See *Brooks' Controversy* with Bishop Hughes; also *McGavan's Protestant*, vol. ii., p. 256.

Need any one be surprised at the character of this oath? Not at all. Why? For an answer, we say read and re-read Chapter III. of this work. Can the oath of allegiance, as now administered, touch the case of the Jesuit? It only appears in the neighborhood of his faith and principle. In a word, the Pope's spiritual supremacy, against which no provision was made when the law of naturalization was originated, is the plain, direct, and undeniable cause of all the difficulty with Romanism in the United States.

We now invite particular attention to an extract from the bishop's oath, which runs thus:

"All heretics, schismatics, and rebels against the same, our Lord, or aforesaid successor, I will persecute and attack to the utmost of my power."—*Pontificale Romanum*, Rome, 1738 p. 178.

Oaths, oaths, oaths, all the way, and all in conflict with the Constitution and the rights of the people.

Now, when we consider that the bishop is not only under this oath, but also under the oath of the priest, already given, we may well ask, How can he take the oath of allegiance,

even as the words stand, to this country? How can he swear to support a Constitution that grants religious freedom to all? The idea is supremely absurd. His oath is at war with the very rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Dr. Cumming so pressed the Romanists of England with the part cited, that the secretary of Cardinal Wiseman thus responded:

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—SIR: Dr. Cumming, in his letter of your paper of to-day, gives an extract from the oath taken by bishops and archbishops, copied from the Pontifical printed at Antwerp, in 1627, and states, ‘I presume that Cardinal Wiseman, on receiving the pallium, took that oath.’ To prevent further misunderstanding, I have the Cardinal’s permission to state to you, that, by a rescript of Pope Pius VII., dated April 12, 1818, the clause quoted by the Rev. Dr., and so subject to misunderstanding, is omitted by the bishops and archbishops who are subject to the British crown.”—*Cumming’s Lectures on Romanism*, p. 48.

What a disclosure we have here! The bishops of England are not required to take an oath to the see of Rome, having the clause above given in it. We repeat, what a disclosure we have here! But why does the Holy Father exempt the bishops of England? Perhaps he foresaw that the Protestant ministers of that country would not be abused and persecuted by the members for exposing the dangerous character of Romanism, and suited his policy to the occasion. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, that Cardinal Wiseman announces through an agent that the bishops of England are not required to swear as other bishops.

We should like to know how the American bishops stand in reference to the horrible portion of the oath above given. We may safely say, however, if the sovereign Pontiff foresaw how the English ministers could act, and how we should be circumstanced by a portion of our members, that he only

made provision for those under the crown of Great Britain. Land of our adoption, how much thou hast of late been disgraced by the conduct of many of thine own people!

The Pope requires, according to the admission of Cardinal Wiseman, bishops outside the British nation to take an oath which binds them to exterminate heretics—an oath which directly conflicts with the Constitution and the law of the land of Washington. What a theme for reflection! But, in order to show all that we represent the matter justly, we shall here cite the testimony of St. Liguceri, which reads thus:

“The bishop is bound, in places where the holy inquisition flourishes, to purge the diocese committed to him of heretics.”—Vol. ix., p. 345.

In the name of all the gods at once, how can a man so bound become a naturalized citizen of the United States? Will the Anti-American leaders be so kind as to inform us on this point?

We are now ready to direct attention to the condition of the members of the Romish Church. They are taught, in the canon law, that “an oath contrary to the utility of the Church is not to be observed.”—*Decret. Greg. IX.*, lib. 2, tit. 24, cap. 27, vol. ii., p. 358.

Again:

“You (Romanists) are not bound by an oath of this kind, but, on the contrary, you are freely bid God-speed in standing up against kings (and presidents too) for the rights and honors of that very Church, and even in legislatively defending your own peculiar privileges.”—Vol. ii., p. 360.

And again:

“The fealty which subjects have sworn to a Christian king who opposes God and his saints, they are not bound by any authority to perform.”—Vol. i., p. 648.

The celebrated Romish writer, Dens, gives us in that which

follows a clear comment on the relation of all Romanists to the Holy Father :

“All the faithful, also bishops and patriarchs, are bound to obey the Roman Pontiff. The Pope hath also not only a directive, also a coactive power over the faithful.”—*Dens de Eccles.*, No. 94, p. 439.

We regret that we cannot here give the oath of the patriarch. We presume, however, that it is identical with the oath of the bishop, which is already given.

Respected reader, that you may be fully convinced we represent the Romanist fairly in the beginning of this chapter, when in a trying situation, such as swearing to obey one master while under oath to another, we shall here allow St. Liguori to speak on the question. His words are :

“Notwithstanding, indeed, although it is not lawful to lie, or to feign what is not, however, it is lawful to dissemble what is, or to cover the truth with words, or other ambiguous and doubtful signs, for a just cause, and when there is not a necessity of confessing.” That is, you need not say, when taking the oath of allegiance, that you are under the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and recognize in him the right to break up all your vows and obligations. Can any thing transcend this?”—*See Moral Theology*, vol. ii., B. 3, ch. 3, p. 116.

By way of shedding additional light on all that precedes, we beg leave to introduce the testimony of a Romish editor—a man who enjoys all the advantages of English liberty and learning. It runs thus :

“When the Pope and the Queen are placed in antagonism to each other, as has been done lately, and it has been intimated that her Majesty will not accept a *divided allegiance*, we are compelled to say plainly which allegiance we consider the most important; and we would not hesitate to tell the Queen to her face, that she must either be content with this

divided allegiance, or none at all, (so far as Catholics are concerned;) for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign pontiff, whoever may presume to forbid it."—Quoted in *Dowling's History of Romanism*, p. 782.

Here, then, let us ask with emphasis, How can members of the Romish Church conscientiously and truthfully take the oath of allegiance prescribed for citizenship in this country? The difficulty with them is, that they look on the holy Father, from the lowest to the highest, if of the Anti-Gallican school, as having jurisdiction over them in spiritual affairs, and as having the right, in virtue of this jurisdiction, to absolve them from their obligations to any government. This spiritual allegiance, thus understood, totally disqualifies them to act the part of Protestant citizens, should a difficulty arise in which the Pope might become an open opposer.

Talk not to us respecting what Romanists have done—their loyalty, and so on! We are not examining any such question. The point we are laboring to establish is, that the oath of allegiance, as taken by Romanists, is defective, unreliable, and worthless. The whys and the wherefores are given.

Their own authors plainly tell us that this is the true state of the case. Now, if the Roman Catholics of the United States think that they are injured by such a representation, why do they not hold a convention, and publicly protest against the teachings of all authors who advocate the right of the Pope, on account of his spiritual supremacy, to interfere in civil matters; and, moreover, condemn the decision of the Council of Trent, and of every other council, which declares Protestants may be justly exterminated? Let them do this, and the public mind will at once feel greatly relieved. Will they do so? They could not be forced into such a measure.

Surely when we open law-books, and comments on law, and read certain things, we unhesitatingly say, such is the law of

the land, and such the opinion of the profound jurist A. respecting its application! In like manner we view the Romish question. We open the canon law, or a work containing the decisions of councils, and, after examining the contents, then read the opinions of approved Romish writers, and naturally observe, perfectly justified by facts, such are the doctrines of the Romish Church, and such the decisions of B., C., and St. D. respecting their applications!

Will any one, after all that has been said and proved, venture to assert that the phrase, *all allegiance to every foreign power*, covers the whole ground? If so, let him reconcile this fact with his faith, that every bishop in the United States is a sworn vassal of the Pope; and as to the situation of priests and members, let him consult this chapter, and then judge whether the phrase is or is not sufficient, covers the whole ground or not.

In plain English, does a Romanist believe that all should have religious liberty? He does not, and therefore cannot, in good faith, take an oath to support a Constitution which grants the very thing which his faith rejects.

Does a Romanist believe that a man and woman can be properly and scripturally united by a civil officer or a Protestant minister? He does not; and therefore cannot, in good faith, take an oath to support a Constitution which is at open war with his creed, which embraces marriage as one of the seven sacraments of his Church.

Without pushing our inquiries, facts, and reasonings farther, we may well conclude with the heading:

The oath of allegiance, as taken by Romanists, considered and proved defective, and, under certain circumstances, worthless, by the testimony of their own writers.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson—the former for President, and the latter for Vice-President of the United States.

THE name *Fillmore* is a tower of strength. The great pulse of the nation's gratitude now gives unmistakable evidence of a feverish feeling to do him honor. His acts, while in the presidential chair, are to memory like apples of gold in pictures of silver. In the affections of the wise, good, and great, they are truly hallowed; and generations unborn will receive them as holy things, and speak of them as gems in the crown of the nation's pride. He is justly called a pure statesman, the man for the times, the one needed, and the Washington of the age.

Mr. Fillmore's influence on the minds of those who love order, principle, and the glory of their country, and not a name, party, and spoils, is truthfully and beautifully expressed by one of our editors, who, amid the senseless war of words over the American platform, exclaimed:

“Give us Fillmore, and his deeds will make a platform such as the people need.”

Platforms are occasionally misunderstood, and their framers are not ever true to the works of their own hands; but who can misunderstand the acts of the American candidate for the Presidency? Who can charge him with unfaithfulness? Politically speaking, he is an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.

The *Memphis Bulletin*, Anti-American, thus speaks of Mr. Fillmore :

“By an act of God, he was placed in a position which, to a man not of inflexible integrity and honesty of purpose, would have been sorely trying. On the one hand, all his feelings, all his prejudices, even many of his opinions, had been cast in the mould of *section* ; on the other, the Constitution and his oath of office. Unflinching, firmly, promptly, under the influence only of an honest conscience and an enlightened mind, the man of a section was transformed into the man of the nation. Not since the days of Washington has there been a Chief Magistrate who, in all the acts of his administration, exhibited more of the spirit of equal and exact justice to all portions of the Union—more of implicit obedience to and firm maintenance of the requirements of the Constitution.

“Since his retirement from office, there has been no act to tarnish this lofty renown ; and when the party press goes behind this bright and clean record to find the means of engendering distrust and suspicion, it does itself an injury, by exhibiting the willingness without the power of inflicting a wrong.”

The *Washington Organ* descants on the nomination as follows :

“We hail this nomination with unmingled joy. Millard Fillmore is the man for the times. He is a man of stern integrity, of unyielding patriotism, and of unflinching devotion to the ‘Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable.’ Andrew J. Donelson is a chip of the old block, and as near a Jackson as a man could be—possessing the indomitable will of the ‘Old Hero,’ and the native modesty and honesty of Andrew Jackson. These are the standard-bearers of the great American party. Let us do our duty, and there will be no doubt of our success.”

The *National Intelligencer* says :

“We should be unfaithful to our known sentiments and uniform avowals, if we were to suppress now the expression of our opinion of the merits of Mr. Fillmore, and the confidence with which, on trial, he inspired the country in his qualifications for a wise, and safe, and conservative President. Major Donelson’s career has been marked by great political independence, evincing integrity and patriotism.”

The *Baltimore Clipper* observes :

“We can only now say that this is a selection that none can cavil at; and with two such talented and patriotic standard-bearers, the American party must achieve a glorious victory in November next.”

The *Baltimore American* exclaims :

“The selection of Mr. Fillmore places the American party upon a platform of conservatism, conciliation, and compromise, which we firmly believe it could not have so certainly reached by the nomination of any other candidate, and will draw to its support the national, Union-loving masses in all sections of the country. Such a man may be trusted without a blind confidence in the platform on which he is placed.”

The *St. Louis Intelligencer* remarks :

“The nomination of Mr. Fillmore will be a sore disappointment to the Old Foggy enemies of the American party, who have so frequently predicted and so earnestly hoped that the party would break down.”

The *New Bedford Express* says :

“The nominations made by the American party at Philadelphia would seem to require from us a brief notice. The candidates are most unexceptionable. Millard Fillmore is too well known to need any eulogy from us. Andrew J. Donelson is also a man of decided merit. He is an adopted son of Andrew Jackson.”

The *Kingston Gazetteer*, Anti-American paper, thus boldly talks :

“With reference to Fillmore as a man, it is undoubtedly the best nomination the party could have made. He is an independent, candid politician. While he occupied the Presidential chair, he threw off all sectionalism, and administered the government in accordance with the provisions and spirit of the Constitution, dealing out equal-handed justice to the North and to the South. He exhibited his nationality by a warm and manly support of the compromise measures. This was his duty ; and for doing it, he deserves an approving conscience and the reward of duty well done.”

The following resolutions were approved by a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, composed of men who join no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union :

“1. *Resolved*, that the citizens of Philadelphia, now convened in general meeting, without regard to party names—acting in no other character than that of American freeman, and with no object but the welfare of our country—do hereby adopt as our candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee ; and we earnestly recommend them to the support of the friends of domestic tranquility, and of all who believe that the interests of the country demand a conservative President, whose patriotism, like that of the fathers of the Republic, embraces every section of the Union, and who will follow their footsteps in his administration of the government.

“2. *Resolved*, that the public career of Mr. Fillmore, as a Representative in Congress and as Chief of the nation, recommends him to the favor and confidence of the American people, as one who will meet the requirements of the times, and of whom each voter may declare, in the words of Henry

Clay: 'The foundation of my preference is, that Mr. Fillmore has administered the executive government with signal success and ability. He has been tried and found true, faithful, honest, and conscientious.' A thorough American, who will resist by all just and lawful means the encroachment of foreign influence, and the shipment of foreign paupers and criminals to our shores; the tried, friend of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and of such constitutional measures as are needful to encourage and promote their growth; a citizen of unsullied character, and a statesman without reproach, every American may hail his elevation to the Presidency as a triumph of virtue and a just reward of patriotism.

"3. *Resolved*, that Andrew J. Donelson, in his repudiation of the party now in power, has proved himself to be a worthy pupil of Gen. Jackson, who preferred the interests and welfare of the Union above all party ties; and has entitled himself to our warm and undivided support by his patriotic adherence to the high example of that illustrious man."

A distinguished gentleman of Virginia, in a letter to a friend in Tennessee, says:

"Everybody knows that Fillmore is more like Gen. Washington than any President we ever had. And I know Donelson to be a well-educated, well-informed, and a most agreeable gentleman; and he is well versed and well drilled in the machinery of our government."

The *Philadelphia News* justly states:

"No man now living has a stronger hold on the affections and confidence of the American people than Millard Fillmore, and eminently does his past career show that he is deserving of it. 'The foundation of my preference,' said the lamented Clay, in a letter to Daniel Ullman, in 1852, 'is that Mr. Fillmore has administered the executive government with signal success and ability. He has been tried, and found true, faithful, honest, and conscientious.' These were Mr. Clay's rea-

sons for his preference in 1852, and these are our reasons now. As is well remarked by a much-esteemed cotemporary: 'Who he is, and what he is, we all know, and how he has been tried, and never been found wanting. He comes before us with the heritage of a Clay and a Webster; and is the very man, in these trying and critical times, to preside over all parts of the republic, with justice and equity for all, and with a firm hand to reform and redress any wrong that may be attempted in one section of the country against another. With him as the candidate of the National American party, no platform is at all necessary. His administration of the government for nearly three years, is *platform* enough for any reasonable man. The man is the main thing now. To have a safe, sound man, secures sound and safe principles. Millard Fillmore's platform is his life, his services, his patriotism, the friendship of Clay and Webster, and even of the best men of the Democratic party, in his day and generation.'

General Jackson speaks of Mr. Donelson thus:

"I bequeathe to my well-beloved nephew, Andrew J. Donelson, the son of Samuel Donelson, deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee, with this injunction, that he fail not to use it when necessary in support and protection of our glorious Union, and for the protection of the constitutional rights of our beloved country, should they be assailed by foreign enemies or domestic traitors. This, from the great change in my worldly affairs of late, is, with my blessing, all I can bequeathe him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible. This bequest is made as a memento of the high regard, affection, and esteem I bear for him as a high-minded, honest, and honorable man."

President Polk, through his Secretary of State, addressed Mr. Donelson as follows:

"WASHINGTON, August 7, 1845.

"MY DEAR SIR:—The President has received information

on which he relies, which has induced him to direct me to send the accompanying dispatch to you. A copy is sent to Gen. Taylor, and one to Col. E. A. Rhodes, the Vice Consul at Galveston, with directions, if you have left the country, on your return home, to regard the dispatch as addressed to him, and to proceed without delay to execute its instructions.

“If this shall find you in New Orleans, the President wishes you to exercise your own discretion, in pursuing your journey home or in returning to Texas. Your health ought to exercise a controlling influence in forming your conclusion.

“The services which you have rendered your country in the delicate negotiations intrusted to you, are justly appreciated. Your prudence, discretion, and ability have inspired the President with a confidence which would make him feel much more at ease if that delicate task could be in your hands.

“But your sacrifices and risks have been already so great, that he leaves your decision entirely in your hands, and you need apprehend no disapprobation on his part if you determine not to return.

“It gives me great pleasure to assure you, that the publication of your official correspondence will give you a most enviable reputation for the highest qualities of a statesman and diplomatist.

“The President unites in the kindest regards, with your friend,

“J. Y. MASON.

“MAJ. A. J. DONELSON.”

Respected voter, from what precedes, you can form a just opinion of the men now before the people to carry out the doctrine that Americans must govern, by influence, votes and acts, America.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The most remarkable argument of the nineteenth century considered ; one that ought to be sent down in letters of gold to future generations, accompanied with notes headed, "And this is the fruit the tree of Protestantism, planted by Calvin, Luther and Wesley, bears!!"

WE are in a fast age—have fast things, fast measures, fast ways, fast men, fast boys, fast women, fast servants, fast laws, fast religion, fast hypocrites, fast politicians, fast ministers, fast logicians, fast sophists, fast readers, fast thinkers, fast writers, fast talkers, and fast traitors ; and if we could be moved by the spirit of the times, our conclusion would be that Solomon, the preacher, the son of David, king of Jerusalem, was a fast man ; for he hesitated not to say :

"I sought in mine heart to give myself unto wine, yet acquainting mine heart with wisdom ; and to lay hold on folly, till I might see what was that good for the sons of men, which they should do under heaven all the days of their life."

If there be a close observer in the watchtower of infidelity at present, we fear that there are more than a few, bearing the Protestant name, who, by their works and words, will fully convince him that Solomon was not inspired when he wrote, "And there is nothing new under the sun."

For many years the members of the Protestant Churches of the United States prayed the King of Zion, by his good providence, to save them and the rising generation from the iron

grasp and blood-stained hands of Popery. The editors of their journals dutifully gathered from the records of the past horrible deeds, and presented them in horrible colors to their astonished readers. Their ministers baptized the stands and the pulpits with sweat, preaching against the dangerous increase of Popery in this country. In a word, the great Protestant heart of America seemed to throb with anxiety for an opening to check the political assumptions of Romanism.

Who could then have thought that such efforts would terminate in the present state of American Protestantism? Had a prophet proclaimed what we now see with our eyes and hear with our ears; we should have supposed the man mistaken in his calling, and a fit subject for the strait-jacket and the asylum.

In 1856 we are thus met by a portion of those noticed :

“If Protestant ministers are not at liberty to preach against Romanism as in days past, and if editors of religious journals cannot write as formerly, they may blame the Know-Nothings for the whole.” Surely, political *prestigiators* must have been in the land!

This is what we call the most remarkable argument of the nineteenth century—one that ought to be sent down in letters of gold to future generations, accompanied with notes headed, “And this is the fruit the tree of Protestantism, planted by Calvin, Luther and Wesley, bears !”

If we were a heathen, we should talk thus : in the name of Jupiter and Mars, and all the confederate gods of Carthage, is our lot cast among madmen? The members of the American organization undertake to do the very thing over which *grunts, prayers and sermons* had been freely spent ; and, to our great surprise, more than a few of the *grunters and prayers* turn up their faces, and, without the slightest sign of shame or remorse, observe :

“If Protestant ministers are not at liberty to preach against

Romanism as in days past, they may blame the Know-Nothings for the whole."

Blame the Know-Nothings! For what? This: we, the members of the American organization, are fully satisfied that Romanists are in allegiance to the see of Rome, and deem such men unfit for certain offices; and consequently declare that we shall not vote for them to fill said offices; but at the same time we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not opposing their religion, but their allegiance to a foreign power. Here we have the unpardonable sin of the American party.

Shades of Socrates, Plato, and Seneca, what next? Protestant ministers must be silenced who favor this view of the case: they must not talk, pray, and preach as in past days; and if they should feel hurt or crushed by the position we, members of the Anti-American party, and of their respective congregations, occupy, we shall plainly and boldly tell them what our political leaders have put on our tongues:

"If Protestant ministers are not at liberty to preach against Romanism, as in days past, they may blame the Know-Nothings for the whole."

Their past *grunts and prayers* over the dangerous progress of Romanism are all forgotten. The judgment of enlightened ministers is disrespected. The opinion of the rake of the grogshop is received as law from Sinai, though he is about as ignorant of the true character of the issue as Balaam's four-legged inquirer was of the latitude of the memorable transaction.

The truth is, and it is useless to disguise it, that they fear the defeat of their party more than they fear hell; love the ways of their party more than they love the truths of Protestantism; and would rather see their leaders succeed, than see the religion for which the Son of God bled, apostles toiled, and martyrs suffered, raised above the grasp of a murderous foe—a foe sworn to exterminate its advocates, "by the sword,

the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it can be done with safety." Such is the decision of the Council of Trent. See *Paolo*, iv. p. 604.

Are not men of this class cancers on the body of Protestantism? Their spiritual physicians, however, cultivating a praiseworthy hope, think some of them may be cured by tender nursing and a little mild medicine. We wish them success. Paul fought with beasts at Ephesus, and succeeded in establishing truth. We love to see men with stout hearts and noble expectations. To us, however, it seems as if the evil one has been permitted to use Anti-Americanism to show the absolute necessity of better training in the schools of Protestantism.

When we hear a man say, who ought to know that corruption so abounds, that the grand question is, Can we secure the Catholic vote, if P. should be nominated? and not, Can we succeed in maintaining Americanism and the religion of our fathers? "If Protestant ministers are not at liberty to preach against Romanism, as in days past, they may blame the Know-Nothings for the whole,"—we feel a world of rebellion within, and a feverish breaking-out of righteous indignation in our looks.

Here we beg leave to ask a few plain questions. Have Protestant ministers ever been opposed by the members of their Churches in Great Britain for preaching against Romanism, amid any political excitement? Never. Have they ever had occasion to mourn over traitors in their own ranks, when in conflict with Popery? Never. This honor was reserved for the land of Washington. Let not Austria hear the news, lest Russia may learn how things work among republicans, and blush at the despotism.

Wonder how the Czar would feel could he hear Brother Jonathan say to his minister: "Well, brother, I have my

quarterage, and want to pay up while I have it; but, before I do so, I wish to know—for I have said that I shall never support a man that favors the American party so-called—what is your relation to the political issues of the day? To be plain with you, do you belong to the dark—a-a-lantern party?" And this is the freedom men grant who prate against proscription! A minister must be cheated out of his quarterage for thinking Americans ought to rule America. Can the records of the past show any thing like this?

Well, we shall change the character of our questions a little, by asking, Can members or ministers of the various Protestant Churches oppose Americanism, so far as the Popish question is concerned, and at the same time consistently retain their membership? We unhesitatingly answer, they cannot. We have not space to cite the evidence on this point; but by way of confirming what we assert, the reader is referred to the close of Chapter III. of this work. What he will there find may be justly received as a fair sample of Protestantism on the question of membership by faith.

Men may torture it, and refuse to believe; but it is true Protestantism in opinion and faith world-wide.

Are Protestant ministers, in view of this, to permit themselves to nurse men on the bosom of the Church, who, like so many vipers, will sting them amid their kindness? They may, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, but we, for reasons satisfactory to ourself, beg leave to keep a thousand miles from the procedure.

Americans contend that Americans ought to govern their own country, and keep, by votes, men out of office who are in allegiance to a foreign power. Can any man, blessed with common sense, oppose this? Our patience is literally sick, and suggests the propriety of declining to answer.

But it is said, "Suppose Romanists are as represented: let

us pray for their conversion and enlightenment, and the result will be much more glorious than that of the opposition proposed."

Now, if Southern men will quietly get down on their knees, and pray for the conversion of abolitionists, instead of what they are now doing, we may consider the suggestion entitled to a little respect, not on account of its merit, but on account of the example.

Abolitionism is a political question in a religious garb, and that which we oppose in Popery is a political question in a religious garb. This is the true state of the case.

How liberal certain Protestants are! Do they not know that their profession would expose them, in Romish countries, to imprisonment and punishment? Do they not know that the right to worship God as free men, in Romish nations, has been denied by fire, torture, and the inquisition? Verily, we have more *Christian charity* in the United States than even the apostles of the Redeemer and the cross contemplated! How rich the Anti-Americans are in this noble and godlike quality! They do good for evil. We should certainly consider their organization the master one of the age, only for the startling fact that men are proscribed for saying that Americans ought to govern America—abruptly turned out of office.

We would not hurt one hair in the head of a Romanist; yet we must be allowed to declare, that he must protest against the barbarous acts of his Church, and the teachings of her writers, before we can trust in his hand the sword of power. He tells us that his Church is now what she has ever been. The declaration falls on our ears as if it were that robbers and murderers are at the door.

The past rushes before us with its book of woe, which no man can translate. Men stand out before us suspended in the air by ropes and machines of torture. Others appear at posts,

tied with cords; while the ascending smoke, the consuming fire, and the suffering of the victims, shock our sensibility, and impress us with the thought, that Popery has turned men into incarnate devils. We see towns on fire, the wretched inhabitants trying to escape, and Rome's crusaders ruthlessly butchering men, women, and children. We see the holy ruffians, in the name of the religion of the Bible, abusing the bodies of daughters in the presence of horrified mothers, and then doing what decency forbids to name. The Church fails to be a place of refuge. Virtue is outraged at the altar, and licentiousness stands sickened with its own brutality. We hear the groans of unoffending children in a cave, and see them die without a tear for their sad fate from the eye of any of the murderers of their fathers and mothers. We see mothers ascending the snow-covered mountains with cradles on their shoulders, in which repose helpless infants, thinking to escape the hellish persecution and wholesale murder of Rome. How dreadful the sight! Their tender lips quiver with the cold. Some are already dead, and others are dying. Their parents are frantic. Who can listen to the wail of woe? Kind Heaven, is this the evidence Rome gives of her tender mercy, and of what we may expect in the day of her power? Would that we could pause here! We cannot. Truth demands that we should proceed. We see young women dashed out of windows on the points of bayonets, and their shattered bodies and bloody garments scattered along the streets and sidewalks, as if monsters unfit to live; and all this to gratify the thirst of Rome for exterminating heretics. We see children cast out of the windows of the burning house, and hear the mothers exclaim: "For God's sake, save our children!" But the representatives of Rome heed not, care not, stand unaffected. Without a sigh, these unfortunate children are taken on the points of pikes, and madly dashed into the destroying flames. Hearts are cut out of animals, and hung on

Protestant doors, with a notice written above, "This will be your fate unless you leave the country." Protestants are dug out of their graves in the nineteenth century, and hung to the branches of trees; still we are told that Popery may now be contemplated with safety—that it is not what it was. A Romish writer may tell us that "more than 100,000 perished in consequence of the heresy of Wycliffe," and that "it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther," and that "it is not yet over;" but the moment Protestant ministers lend their sanction to those who are laboring to save the country from the curse of the political workings of Popery, they are thus met by men who are libels on their past faith—men whose forefathers had to fly before the murdering hosts of the Pope:

"If Protestant ministers are not at liberty to preach against Romanism as in days past, they may blame the Know-Nothings for the whole."

Respected reader, in bringing this chapter, and with it the work, to a close, we would observe, were we to undertake to form our opinion of the Bible from the evidence of Romanism, and the Protestantism of the Anti-American party, we should have great trouble in shaking off a doubt; and if we were compelled to decide on the advantages with which the world has been favored by religion, by the *blessings* received from the hand of Popery, we should be half inclined to prefer the days of Plato.

If David, with his sling and pebble, defended the cause of Jehovah, and maintained the insulted honor of Israel in the plain of Elah, who can tell but that this unassuming book, with its sling of reason, and pebble of fact, may, to some extent, vindicate the honor of insulted Americanism and Protestantism on the soil of our revolutionary sires, who for freedom toiled, lived, and died?

And if, in the course of events, we should live to see the

missionary of our heart causing a little confusion among the Anti-American leaders, somewhat like that which occurred amid the lords of the Philistines, in advance of the thrilling joy of the Bethshemite reapers on seeing the ark, the glory of Levi, moving onward, and those who had been victors following as vassals, we should not feel much flattered, nor greatly surprised.

OATH OF A ROMISH BISHOP.—Since this work was stereotyped, Bishop Miles, of Nashville, had the oath of the American bishops thus published in the *Union and American*, April 6th :

“ I, N., elect of the Church of N., shall be from this hour henceforward obedient to blessed Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman Church, and to the most blessed Father Pope N., and to his successors canonically chosen. I shall assist them to retain and defend, against any man whatever, the Roman Popedom, without prejudice to my rank. I shall take care to preserve, defend, and promote the rights, honors, privileges and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of the Pope, and of his successors, as aforesaid. With my whole strength I shall observe, and cause to be observed by others, the rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, or dispositions, and mandates of the Apostolic See. When called to a synod I shall come, unless prevented by a canonical impediment. I shall personally visit the Apostolic See once every ten years, and render an account to our blessed Father N. and his successors as aforesaid, of my whole pastoral office, and of every thing in any way appertaining to the state of my Church, to the discipline of the clergy and people, and to the salvation of the souls entrusted to my care, and I shall humbly receive in return the Apostolic mandates, and most diligently execute them. But if I be prevented by a lawful impediment, I shall perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger specially authorized for this purpose, a priest of the diocese, or by some other secular, or regular priest of tried virtue and piety, well instructed on all the above subjects.

“ I shall not sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, enfeoff anew, nor in any way alienate the possessions belonging to my table, without the leave of the Roman Pontiff. And should I proceed to any alienation of them, I am willing to contract by the very fact the penalties specified in the Constitution published on this subject.”

The item respecting heretics, which Dr. Cumming so successfully pressed on the attention of the people of England, is omitted in this oath, and for what reason we know not; but it is bad enough as it stands—totally at war with American citizenship.

THE END.





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