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PAST AND FUTURE:

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OR

ROMANISM OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE SAME WITH

THE ROMANISM OF TO-DAY.

"Give me liberty or give me death."—PATRICK HENRY.

BY JEHU.

SECOND EDITION, WITH AN APPENDIX.

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PREFACE.

RECENT events have imparted a new interest to the long debated question concerning the political tendencies of Romanism. The conflicts between the spirit of liberty and the spirit of oppression in Europe, have waxed warmer, and seem evidently approaching the final struggle. The apparent triumphs of the former, in 1848, gave to the Roman clergy an occasion for professing a most ardent attachment for its principles, and the late reaction has emboldened them to throw off the mask, and appear more fully in their true character, than for many years. In our own country they have probably felt constrained to speak out, lest their followers should be carried away with the prevailing sentiments in favor of liberty of the press and freedom of conscience. Certainly it is high time that Americans understand this subject. Romanism is radically despotic, and can never be otherwise. Its fundamental articles of faith compel those who embrace it to be the enemies of liberty; and, therefore, all hope of reform in this respect is perfectly vain.

The writer of the following pages wields a vigorous pen, and has brought out some very important truths, which may be safely commended to the very serious consideration of all true Americans, and of all friends of free institutions. Having himself been a member of that communion, he may be supposed to know something of its spirit and principles.

N. L. R.

1880

1880

The first part of the year was spent in the
 study of the history of the country and
 the progress of the various branches of
 science and literature. The second part
 was devoted to the study of the
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PAST AND FUTURE.

THAT point in progress is forever passed, when time honored usages can receive the indiscriminate homage of mankind, and be admitted as universal standards.

In by-gone ages of despotism and barbarism, the will of the Monarch was regarded as the supreme Law of the land, and to the iron sceptre of the tyrant, right or wrong, the down-trodden subject was obliged to submit.

The age in which we have the happiness to live, presents a very different aspect. The inquiry now is, not what our ancestors believed or did, but what we, under existing circumstances, should believe and do.

That our fathers groped their way in the dark, and permitted others to think and act for them, is no good reason why we should not think and act for ourselves. Because they tamely submitted, in former ages, to despotic kings and rulers, shall we invite foreign monarchs to extend their dominion over us? It was "while men slept" that the enemy sowed

his tares; and it is while the citizens of a country are neglectful of their rights, and too implicitly confide in the vigilance and integrity of their public servants, that principles fatal to civil liberty have been introduced.

The divine right of kings, the political creed of olden times, was a doctrine which regarded the great mass of mankind as created merely to subserve the interests of their rulers; as abject beasts of burden, doomed to fight their battles and toil in their service, without having a voice in making the laws by which they were governed, and for the slightest infringement of which they were liable to be severely punished. Bare existence was then regarded as a blessing, and the Lord's anointed, the vicegerent of the Most High, affected to possess the power of life and death over his subjects!

After the lapse of ages, a better order of things was introduced, and men began to think that they were formed for a nobler purpose than to be slaves to kings and despots. *Self-government* was found to be practicable, which recognizes men in office not as rulers, but simply as servants of the people, and as such, necessarily responsible to the people for the manner

in which they discharge the duties confided to their care.

Such a government can be maintained only by free discussion; by securing to every one the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, the two main props of civil and religious liberty. Relying, therefore, on the fact that in this country, these great fundamental rights of man are clearly defined and duly appreciated, no further apology will be offered for the freedom of expression which may characterize the following remarks, in which all reflections of a personal character will be carefully avoided, as every way objectionable, being wrong in itself and irrelevant to the subject before us.

We shall promise, then, that all civil governments should be organized with reference to the interests of the governed; to bless and benefit the people, and to elevate man physically, morally, and socially, to the highest point of perfection of which he is susceptible in the present life.

That such should be the primary object in organizing a government, and the method adopted in subsequent legislation, cannot be called in question in a country where the prosperity of the people is the governing motive; and just so far as civil government tends to promote

this result, does it subserve the purpose for which it was instituted.

How far civil government has hitherto promoted this object, must be left to philosophers and political economists to determine.

If we throw a retrospective glance on the past, and review the history of nations, some of which have long ceased to exist, we shall find, that just so far as the voice of the people prevailed, in that exact ratio did the rights of man prevail and flourish.

Athens, once the pride of ancient Greece, was a democracy; a government in which every adult citizen participated in the work of legislation and the administration of the laws. Under this most liberal form of government, the city flourished and became the seat of civilization and refinement. But this famous city, the home of so many orators and statesmen, where Demosthenes poured forth torrents of impassioned eloquence in defence of civil liberty, and where the Apostle Paul proclaimed the unknown God, has long since been robbed of her liberty, and exists now only in the glory of the past.

But this form of Government, whatever may have been its peculiar advantages, was not adapted to countries of great extent, and could

be applied with the best results only in cities and inconsiderable states and territories. Hence the origin of delegation, by means of which the great body of the people can accomplish, by their delegates, that which distance and other circumstances prevent them from accomplishing in person.

Ancient Rome was, in substance, a government of this description, a *Republic*; but generally, unduly influenced by the military, popular generals and military chieftains bore too great a sway, and liberty, after languishing for a time under various forms of government, at length yielded to the encroachments of despotism. And, in casting our eyes over Europe at the present time, how much of this despotism of barbarous ages still remains, as a memento of the past!

Russia, Austria, Italy, and most of the other kingdoms of Europe, are still governed by the force of arms. The "*Vox Populi Vox Dei*," is yet regarded as rank blasphemy and impiety, when attempted to be applied by the people to the purposes of self-government; and the ghost of the *divine right of kings*, is continually made to re-appear, by base flatterers and sycophants, who seek only their own advancement. In these unhappy countries, the press is fet-

tered, and civil and religious liberty are unknown, or only partially enjoyed, under numerous and mortifying restrictions. In limited monarchies, such for example as England and Prussia, together with some of the minor governments on the continent, a better state of things is presented to our view; but it is only in America that civil liberty is enjoyed in the fullest extent.

Of all the nations on which the sun shines, the American Republic is the only government in which liberty is well understood; the only country in which the people possess the governing power, and are able to control their public servants.

In this highly favored country, *the sacred deposit of liberty* is confided to the custody of the people; and so long as they continue to feel the weight of responsibility which rests upon them, it will (humanly speaking) be impossible for any *earthly power* to wrest it from their giant grasp.

Having glanced at some of the nations of Europe, and noticed briefly the despotism which still exists in most of them, we may, perhaps, be permitted to dwell for a little while in pleasing anticipations in reference to the rising greatness of this wonderful country, (for

such it undoubtedly is) in which our lot is cast.

But where shall we begin? The most superficial view of this great government, so vast in extent, and so replete with benefits and advantages of every kind, assumes the form of fiction, rather than that of sober reality.

As this great republic is in advance of every other government in point of civil and social privileges, so also are her material advantages of a vastly superior character. A country washed by two mighty oceans, and comprising within its spacious limits every variety of soil and climate, and capable of yielding the products of every land on the globe, whose laws are made not to suit the convenience or protect the rights and interests of the few, but to bless and benefit all the people; that all may enjoy, as far as circumstances will permit, *equal rights and privileges*, and ultimately become as happy, intelligent, and prosperous, as good government and liberal institutions can make them, is truly worthy of our admiration.

Shall America, then, on which the eyes of all nations are turned with admiration—shall this great, free, and glorious republic continue to increase in every element of national greatness, until the powers of the human intellect

shall become fully developed and applied to every liberal and praise-worthy enterprise calculated to elevate this nation above all the nations of the earth—until other nations shall emulate her glory, and imbibe her spirit, and light the sacred torch of liberty at her altars? Shall all these bright anticipations of her future greatness be fully realized, or shall some unexpected calamity occur to prevent her onward march—some dark and foreboding cloud arise in her political horizon, to exclude these fond hopes?

In a word, shall America be permitted to transmit her laws and institutions to the latest posterity; and when revision and maturity shall have given them an excellence and perfection of character, which shall recommend them to distant nations, will no bitterness be mingled with them at the fountain head—will the source still continue pure?

Americans live and legislate, it should be remembered, not merely for the present, but for the future; not for this republic, or continent, but for the whole world: for wherever this country is known, the world over, the influence of its institutions will be appreciated—will exert a mighty influence. Preserve inviolate this mighty union of sovereign independent

States, and let that wisdom characterize the *legislation of the future*, which has left its glorious and indelible impress *on the past*; and the sacred influence of her power for good, will be felt by millions in the old world, and despots will tremble on their thrones, and the galling chains of nations will be snapped asunder by her magic touch. These are considerations which interest alike the philanthropist and the statesman—a subject in which we are deeply and equally concerned.

Let us once more inquire, from what quarter are we to look for that principle of opposition calculated to endanger the fair fabric of civil and religious liberty, erected on this continent?—a monument, reared by the hands, and cemented by the blood of patriots and warriors, who now slumber in the dust! Are we to look for cause of alarm, to that difference of opinion, growing out of the long fomented bickerings between the two extremities of the union? We unhesitatingly answer, no; for the citizens of this great and free republic appreciate too fully the inseparable connection between *liberty and union*, to admit of alarm arising from this quarter. The great body of the people possess too much virtue, intelligence, and love of country, to permit the overthrow

of liberty from causes like these. They know that the eyes of foreign despots are fixed upon them, who would exult at witnessing their family quarrels, their internal strifes and animosities. Moreover, they have wise and distinguished statesmen in their Senate, who, by their patriotism and wisdom, have allayed, from time to time, those storms of passion arising from prejudice and sectional interests, which seemed to threaten the safety of the union; on the preservation of which, under God, the increasing prosperity of this great country and nation mainly depends.

Still there exists but too much cause for alarm, but in another direction. It cannot and should not be dissembled, that in the nature and organization of the Romish Church, with all the modified influences under which it exists in this country, there is cause for alarm to our free institutions. If infant liberty was crushed in Italy by French bayonets, at the solicitation of the Pope; why may not a similar course be attempted, at some future period, in America? Romanism differs, most widely and essentially differs, from every other religious system in this, that it owes *undying and eternal allegiance* TO A FOREIGN SOVEREIGN!

The English, or other European Protestant,

on reaching these shores, can renounce *ex animo*, in sincerity and with the entire approbation of his conscience, all allegiance to his former sovereign; and this in spiritual as well as in civil matters; but not so the Romish immigrant from Italy or Austria, from Spain or Ireland, or any other part of the world. *The papal yoke is on his neck, and bear it he must all the days of his life.* The christian is declared by St. Paul to be the *free man of Christ*, but the Roman Catholic is emphatically the *Pope's bond-man*. As the spiritual vassal of this great sovereign prince, every Romanist is bound, at all hazards, and in every portion of the world, to do his bidding. His tribunal is regarded by all his devout followers *as an unerring tribunal*, where all doubtful points are rendered clear, and the path of duty and the dogmas of religion are made equally plain to all his spiritual subjects. He speaks, and it is done; he commands, and it stands fast; unless, perchance, it should be revoked by some succeeding pontiff, who, in the plenitude of his *newly acquired infallibility*, may feel disposed to brush off the act of his *infallible predecessor*, thus demonstrating that the *living infallibility* is to be preferred to the dead. In the opinion of his devoted subjects,

his commands have the force of decrees; *and his decree* is supposed to be ratified in heaven, believed in and submitted to on earth, and dreaded in hell! So great and terrible is the power of the Pope!

We do not, at the present time, notice these extravagant pretensions of the papacy in their reference to religious faith, but only as they may affect civil liberty in this country. The question is not what extravagant notions men, professing a belief in the supremacy of the Pope, may see fit to attribute to this august personage, but how far such a belief may affect Roman Catholics, in their civil relations to the government of this republic. It is not in telling his beads, or saying his prayers in an unknown tongue, that we would object to the Romanist; this is an inalienable right, which he enjoys in common with every other American citizen; but the great question which forces itself upon our mind is, can he bear unshackled allegiance to the constitution and government of this republic, while he owes allegiance to a *foreign sovereign*? This is a point on which much indeed has been written and said, but we confess that, to our mind, it has never been made clear; and we have secret misgivings that it is impossible to remove

that objection which attaches to this double or twofold citizenship, of which we are now treating.

The papacy has always checked the progress of civilization in every country where its blighting and withering influence has been felt. Like a stream of lava, rushing down the side of Vesuvius or Mount *Ætna*, it has rolled over the fair land of Italy, sweeping away every thing valuable in its desolating course. The people of beautiful Italy, who inhabit a country blessed with a soil so fertile and kindly in quality as to be capable of yielding annually two harvests, are, by the oppressions and exactions of their despotic rulers, reduced to the most abject condition of distress. If the papacy could be shown to be favorable to liberty and progress in the useful arts, in no other country should we expect to find them in a state of greater perfection than in Italy, the garden of Europe, and once mistress of the world; but, alas! how has the mighty fallen! Italy may still boast of her clear, blue skies, her sunny fields, her delicious fruits, and the remains of her gorgeous palaces and temples, now crumbling into dust, but in vain shall we look within her borders for a free, educated, and prosperous people, to improve the natural ad-

vantages of their country. The numerous advantages of soil, and clime, and sunny skies, avail them not; a dark cloud hangs over this fair land, and obscures their brightest hopes. A non-producing class of men have monopolized all her sources of wealth, and, like swarms of locusts, have devoured every green thing in the land.*

Poor Italy is a down-trodden and a priest-ridden country, where commerce and agriculture, and the useful arts, exist in their most feeble condition; and painting and sculpture, their only remaining boast, had shared a similar fate, had they not been required to beautify and embellish the gorgeous churches, the erection of which, together with the maintenance of the priesthood, absorbed the wealth of the land, steeped the people in ignorance and poverty, and shrouded the minds of men in darkness

*In the city of Rome, which contains 170,384 inhabitants, there are 34 bishops, 1,240 secular priests, 1,892 regular priests, and 1,467 monks.

The above note is inserted as it recently appeared in one of the most respectable public journals of this city, making the grand total of priests and monks, regular and secular, 4,633! and should we add to this large supply of *male clergy*, 3,000 *female assistants*, and probably the figure is not too high, we have the astounding sum of 7,633 of this *non-producing class*, men and women, in the eternal city alone.

more dense than that which once rested on the land of Egypt.

Although traces of the fine arts still remain in the land, monuments to the memories of her former painters and sculptors, her living artists cease to produce specimens which even approximate to the excellence which characterized the productions of their predecessors. Having long since completed the portraits of the virgin and the saints, and exhausted all the subjects in the calendar, the brush has passed from their hands into that of our brilliant *West*; and Canova having closed the catalogue of her sculptors, has yielded the palm of glory to our own immortal POWERS!

Italy, a land so highly favored by the great creator in physical advantages, should exhibit the largest amount of happiness of any country in Europe, or perhaps in the world.

Private judgment has been carefully guarded against, and "all false doctrine, heresy, and schism," hitherto excluded from Italy. The head of the church has also been head of the government. Where, then, according to Roman Catholic calculation, could we expect to find so large an amount of prosperity, national and individual, as in that country? The genuine fruits of the Romish religion, if anywhere

on earth, might be expected to exist, *in their greatest perfection*, in this land, unmarked by the footsteps of heretics or schismatics, *and encircling the throne of Infallibility!* What, then, are its fruits? Poverty, oppression, and ignorance! But the bitterest fruit which it produces is, *depression of the immortal mind of man!* HERE THE IRON ENTERS INTO THE SOUL!

The proud despot of Russia can send a man to the frozen wilds of Siberia; but once there, the exile may muse at pleasure on the cruel and arbitrary policy which sent him hither; but *the slave of Romanism* enjoys no such privilege. The Russian exile can at least enjoy *freedom of thought*. The emperor cannot enter within his breast and detect what is passing there, or denounce it as treason "against his crown and dignity;" but what the emperor cannot do the priest can. He can enter into the soul of his subject, and scrutinize his thoughts and emotions, and scan his purposes and designs; arraiging him from time to time before his tribunal, and directing the channel through which his very thoughts must flow! Is this a system friendly to liberty? If this be liberty, what, I ask, is despotism?

The serf of Romanism does not even enjoy the liberty of thought!

The pure religion of Christ is calculated to make the wilderness bud and blossom like the rose, while Romanism transforms the fertile field into a desert.

This grasping power has always shown itself to be the enemy of education, so far as the masses are concerned.

Romanism has uniformly placed the candle "under a bushel," and confined learning and science, as much as possible, within the walls of the monastery and the convent.

Under the control of this despotic power, *the Bible is not the only sealed book* which has no meaning of its own, but by its notes and glosses must speak the language of its keepers. We say the Bible is not the only book, nor theology the only science, doomed to such illiberal restrictions by these spiritual guides. History, philosophy, and political economy, are all, in Roman Catholic countries, subject to the control of the ruling Church—are all liable to fall under the ban of *this spiritual embargo!*

Rome attempted to control the motion of the heavenly bodies by the action of canon law, and sent the astronomer Galilio to prison,

merely for asserting that the earth moved around the sun.

Even language was regarded as identified with heresy, particularly *the Greek*, which Bishops, sometimes, were pleased to call "*a heretical language.*"

These were the palmy days of popery, the golden age of the Church, when priestcraft bore sway and triumphed over the intellect of man!

The learning of those times flourished, as before remarked, within the walls of the convent and the precincts of the cloister, locked up in unknown language, translations of which were prohibited to be made and read, under pain of excommunication; a word which, in those times of darkness, carried with it far greater terror than at the present day, when the thunder of the Vatican creates little or no alarm.

Even during the late reign of Gregory XVI, progress was vigorously opposed. Railroads and factories, and any additional activity or advancement, were regarded with suspicion.

These remarks hold good, with some modification, it may be, wherever popery is in the ascendant in Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and every other country under the in-

fluence of this power. But of all countries which have groaned under the weight of this incubus, none have suffered so severely as that bright gem of the ocean, Ireland, the land of orators and poets, where the human intellect, unchained, soars aloft, and exults in deeds of valor and patriotism.

Under the combined influence of English misrule and Romish superstition, the most astounding evils have been inflicted on this unhappy country. The great body of the people, uninstructed in learning and the science of civil government, became an easy prey to those who found their account in plundering them of their property and legal rights.

If, in this work of spoliation, the English government took the lead, by imposing on them heavy burdens, in the shape of taxes and tithes, for the support of the government and the national Church, the landlords and the priests completed the work of destruction, by scraping into their coffers what the former exactors had left behind.

A million of human beings blotted from the page of existence in one island by the frightful death of famine in three years, is an event which a nation of the same numerical strength perhaps never before experienced. It is truly

heart-rending to dwell on a scene of such desolating misery ; yet all this distress may be charged to the account of Romanism, as its grand agent and primary cause.

Popery and monarchy paved the way for the introduction of that train of effects which worked such unparalleled mischief in this unhappy country—*this congenial pair* prepared the way for that complication of evils which fell with such crushing weight on this ill fated and unhappy land. The great body of the people, long unused to reflection and patient thought, excluded from the benefits of education, and unskilled in the arts of life, suffered their governors, temporal and spiritual, to become their masters, and ultimately the destroyers of their lives.

And thus it has ever been, and it ever will be the case, *that where learning declines among the masses, tyranny will take its place* ; for where the people will not think for themselves, or are too indolent and ignorant to do so, there will always be found at hand those who will think and act for them : but it should be borne in mind that they will also be paid *for this labor of love*. They will filch from the people their rights and liberties ; this will be the dear-bought compensation which alone will

compensate *these choice spirits* for their devotion to the dear people.

Liberty must be guarded by eternal vigilance — by untiring labor and industry ; and no people can be accounted worthy to enjoy its blessings, who are unwilling to share in the cares and toils necessary to its preservation. When gross darkness had long covered the earth, day dawned in the Morning of the Reformation ! As the chains fell from the Apostle Peter at the bidding of the Angel, so were the heavier fetters of the human race burst asunder *by that power which attended the Reformation !* The human mind, chained and bound and pressed down to the dust by Papal oppressors and Ecclesiastical Tyrants, awoke then from its slumbering trance of ages, to assert and claim its inherent and heaven-born rights ; among the very first of which, is that right of every one, *to think and act for himself !*

And this, I take it, constitutes the prominent and distinguishing characteristic of the Reformation : the exercise of *Private Judgment*, in opposition to the unqualified *Dictum of the Church !* It was this principle, so long dormant, but now roused to activity, which gave *that impetus to progress*, which remains to the

present time, and will, in all probability continue, should we prove faithful to our trust, till time shall be no longer.

While, previously to the dawn of the Reformation, the intellect of man was held in leading-strings; civilization, and those arts which result from the expansion of intellect were in their infancy, such of them as were then born; and long would they, in all human probability have continued in a state of protracted childhood or stultified minority, but for the light which broke in upon the world at that eventful period.

And what can be so pleasing to the Philanthropist, as to trace the mental and material progress, resulting from this great moral emancipation; the progress of learning and science, of material comfort and civilization, which have sprung up in all lands, visited by those pure streams, then bursting forth in all their pristine purity and sweetness, and carrying with them, into all countries, through which they flowed, every blessing which could be enjoyed or secured by the *joint* action of civil and religious liberty.

And here, since objects strike the mind most forcibly, and leave the most lasting impression

when placed in *contrast*, it may be well to place in this manner, those countries which enjoyed the light of the Reformation, with those still under the dominion of Popery,—which still remain under the shadow of papal darkness and despotism, being “fast bound in misery and iron”.

Take for example the ancient and extensive kingdom of Spain, and contrast it with these independent and sovereign States of America, touching civil and religious freedom; and the difference is almost as great, as between midnight and noonday.

In Italy, Spain and Portugal, the liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press, and the rights of man, are utterly denied; or at best so narrowed down and circumscribed, as scarcely to be worthy the name; while in this happy land they are enjoyed to the fullest extent, and secured to every citizen by the Constitution.

We have already spoken of the material progress which has followed the Reformation; wherever it has spread, it has stamped *this great feature of its character on our own Country!*

A hasty glance at some of the cities of this Union will fully illustrate this point.

Detroit, nearly as old as Philadelphia, long remained an insignificant village or depot for hunters; and until the war of 1814, which paved the way for the introduction of Protestant influence and activity gave little hope of future expansion: since that period however it has grown up into a City, containing a large and flourishing population.

The same remark holds good when applied to New Orleans, St. Louis, and Cincinnati; it is by the joint influence of capital and intelligence, aided by the great motive power of which we have been speaking, that these fair cities have attained their present importance.

We might further notice in this place, that the great body of English literature has been the result of the Reformation; Shakespeare and Milton, Thompson and Cowper and Watts; and a long list of Poets, too numerous to mention, have sprung up since the glorious Reformation, to breathe sweet music into the soul of man; while Addison, Johnson and Swift, and a host of essayists, of orators, historians and statesmen have appeared, both in the old world and in the new, to enrich our literature and language, and to refine and elevate society by their productions. Indeed there is scarcely a book in the English language worth reading,

that has not been written since the Reformation. Man must be free before he can make desirable proficiency in any science or art: the mind scorns to remain bound and fettered, and utterly refuses to act under the influence of coercion or dictation; suitable training and a right direction is all that it requires; which leads me *to that topic*, most worthy of our consideration in a treatise on civil Liberty, to point out the best method of preserving unimpaired, this inestimable blessing.—As ignorance has ever been the mother of superstition, so, by parity of reasoning we may infer, other things being equal, that learning and enlightenment will produce freedom of thought, and all the attendant blessings and benefits of well ordered society.

A sound education for youth is the first step which should engage the attention of parents and legislators.

Superior institutions will never be wanting, to which the children of the wealthy or comparatively wealthy can resort for instruction; but the blessings flowing from the general diffusion of education are so numerous, that exertions should be made to extend it to every child in the land. Every one should be taught, not merely the rudiments of his language, but should be instructed in all the solid and useful

branches of education. Hence the necessity for District or common schools, to aid so important an enterprize ; these institutions, since they are designed for the benefit of all, it is only reasonable that they should receive the support of all. Every man should be called upon by the public authority, to contribute his share, in proportion to his means, to establish such nurseries of learning in every hamlet or neighborhood in the land.

As our civil Liberty was at first secured *by joint effort*, so can the general diffusion of education be most effectually promoted in like manner. It was by pulling together, without regard to sect or party in politics or religion, that our patriotic forefathers secured for their descendants the invaluable blessings of liberty and independence ; *and it is only by acting in concert* in advancing the scarcely less valuable cause of *general education*, that we can hope to secure the largest amount of success in this great undertaking.

“ *United we stand,*” was the motto *then*, the *same union of strength* is necessary to success *now*, in extending the benefits of popular education. The means provided by public authority for the support of schools, by being divided, *would be frittered away*, and in the end

prove nearly useless; particularly would this mark be found to apply to schools in the country, where the sparseness of the population, together with other causes, must ever prevent, as a general rule, more than one School in the same vicinity or School-District.

Furthermore, there can be no good reason assigned for such a subdivision of the funds, appropriated by the Legislature for the support of common Schools; the measure, indeed, is fraught with danger, and replete with mischief of every kind.

The peace and harmony of society are best promoted, by that kind and friendly commingling together for purposes of public utility of persons maintaining, on minor points, some slight diversity of opinion.

Such a measure, as the division of school funds, provided for the support of general instruction, if carried into operation, *would* not only interrupt the existence of this friendly feeling, but would also *annihilate a large proportion of the public schools*, and most probably subject great numbers to the misfortune of being brought up in ignorance; or might be the means of placing them under such influences, as would prove detrimental to the advancement of sound education and the

diffusion of liberal principles. Evils every way injurious both to the community and to individuals. "Divide and conquer" is the policy of an influential and aspiring class, *who might find such a division and apportionment of the Public School funds conducive to the consummation of their ambitious designs.

But we again remark, that the noblest monument which can be erected to the honor of the country, is an intelligent population! And since the great masses of the people are not privileged with the advantages held out by the superior schools and colleges, the standard of education should be elevated, as far as possible, in the district or common schools; which should be made accessible to every child within their sphere of operation.

The District Schools should never be regarded *as common in the sense of inferiority*; but only, as the air we breathe, and the water with which we allay our thirst; in every other respect they should be, as far as practicable, *superior schools*; for the blessings and benefits of education, like light and air, should be freely enjoyed by every one.

We have already hinted at the general inconvenience which would attend the distribu-

tion of the school funds, as respects the rural districts; we might here add, that we cannot discover any counterbalancing advantages which would result from the measure.

We cannot see any good reason, why the children of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists, and even Romanists, Mahomedans, and Pagans, may not be instructed in the same school or college, without receiving the slightest injury from such association.

Besides, there is no *heresy or schism* to be found in Grammar, Arithmetic, Natural History, Geography, or in the higher branches of Mathematics, Astronomy, or even in Greek itself; and the Latin has been too long employed in the sacred service of the church, to be feared by any, except uneasy spirits or demons.*)

But another objection made to this friendly and liberal association or union of all the various denominations, has been that in the work of education the denominational views of each would be encroached upon, or unduly influenced by teachers and instructors. This objection

*) We have, as we believe, a well authenticated account of the laying of a spirit by the Rev. Mr. M——, Roman Priest in Patterson, New Jersey. This happened only a few years since.

The above was given us by a highly respectable clergyman of the city of St. Louis.

must prove groundless when we remember that under the parental roof, and in the Sunday School, an abundant opportunity is offered for the inculcation of religious instruction, in that manner most pleasing to parents and guardians. Indeed five days in the week, are amply sufficient for the work of secular instruction; the remaining two may, at the discretion of the parents, be devoted to such a system of religious training as they respectively prefer.

But should the Bible be introduced as a text-book in schools?

The introduction of this book of books, has been made one of the principal objections to the great union of the people for the advancement of education.

If admitted, the schools are pronounced sectarian in their character—if excluded, Godless and Infidel institutions!

Jesuits and Romanists in general, object alike, on both views of the subject, *to that course, which alone can insure the largest amount of education and sound instruction for the great body of the people!*

The Bible is not like the dogmas of men, calculated often to mislead, but without note or comments “able to make wise unto salvation”; and besides the sacred treasure of di-

vine truth, of which it is the bearer, it contains the most ancient and interesting history in the world—the history of the Creation, and of man, the lord of the Creation. The Prophets and the Psalms contain poetry never equalled by the ingenuity of uninspired man, while its precepts teach us lessons of mercy and compassion to our fellow men, under every exigency of life. Our duty to God and our duty to our neighbor, are there most distinctly taught, and yet in a manner free of all sectarian bias. —

Who then, regarding the good of the community, and the due expansion of the human intellect, would bar our this book from schools and other institutions of learning?

There is in the holy Scriptures enough on which all denominations are fully agreed, to make the Bible invaluable to them!

But the objection raised to the admission of the Bible into schools, is attempted to be put on the ground of the faulty or incorrect translation of the Sacred Scriptures, in general use among Protestants. This is merely an evasion, on the part of Roman Catholics, who are really opposed to the distribution of the Sacred Scriptures among the people, *in any language or translation*. And in their schools and semi-

naries, when were they ever known to teach a boy to think or reason independently on any subject, whether on civil liberty or religion? When, and to whom did they ever put the question: "*how readest thou, or how thinkest thou?*" The true state of the case is, that their pupils have nothing to do with *thinking*, except as *permitted by their spiritual guides!* Indeed there is scarcely anything more to be deplored than that of introducing sectarian strife and diversity of religious teaching and opinion within the walls of the District or common School. The country expects every one to do his duty as a good citizen; but could such a *narrow-minded* measure be made conducive to good citizenship? Instead of proceeding to examine the constitution with independence and liberality, the youth who had been trained under sectarian influence in the school, would be disposed to associate his particular religious belief with the constitution of the country.

Humanity, and compassion, and all the milder virtues, as they might be styled, are unfolded in the Sacred Scriptures for our admiration and imitation. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them", is the fraternal burden which the author of this blessed book has gently laid upon us all. When the Disciples of Christ, urged

by a generous but mistaken attachment to the person of their Master, desired that they might be permitted to call down fire from heaven to consume the churlish villagers who refused them hospitality, he rebuked their blind zeal, and assured them that they knew not what spirit they were of; and thus, when any set of men would lock up this treasure of Divine truth, or exclude it from schools and seminaries of learning, the most charitable construction which we can put upon their conduct is, that they know not what spirit they are of. Had this spirit of humanity been inculcated more generally, and impressed betimes on the minds of the young, this world would have been a far fitter abode for man than it now is. Religious persecution would have been unknown, benevolence would have pervaded every heart, and men of every nation and of every creed, would have been, in very deed, a band of brothers.

We have said, in the former part of this address, *that civil liberty had just cause of alarm, in this country, from the encroachments of Popery.* The manner in which the Pope treated, and still continues to treat, his Italian subjects is a sufficient proof of his opposition to free institutions. And with what

sincerity can Romish Priests and Prelates, in America, persist in asserting their preference for Republican institutions, when they so liberally aided the Pope in his late exile, *not in not in recovering his spiritual jurisdiction*, for this was never lost, but in regaining his *temporal sovereignty* over the poor Italians, who, but for this aid, and the cooperation of *Republican France* might have gained their Liberty and separated Church and State, a dissolution of partnership which the Romish Priesthood in this county formerly *affected so much to admire*. The cruelty perpetrated in putting down this struggle for liberty in Italy, fully illustrates the character of the Papacy.

The Church of Rome is the same persecuting cruel enemy of civil and religious liberty now, that she was in the depths of the dark ages; it is her boast that she never changes, and though all things around her bear unmistakable marks of mutation, she remains forever the same. Her method of suppressing liberty has ever been open and aggressive when she possessed the power, and when she judged the exigency required it. But in her aggressions on those who differed from herself in matters of faith, never probably did her zeal blaze with greater lustre than on the eve of St. Barthole-

mew's day, in 1572, when thousands perished in a single night. The Protestant, after the usual salutations of the night, surrendered himself to sleep, or still lingered in the social circle, when the deep peal of the great bell of the Metropolitan church aroused him to meet the knife of the midnight assassin.—There was in this horrid transaction such a compound of *hypocrisy, cruelty and barbarity*, as very rarely can be met with in the annals of crime. Russians, with *white crosses* on their shoulders, rushed suddenly upon their unsuspecting victims, sparing neither age nor sex; and ere the beams of the morning sun illuminated the spires and domes of Paris, husbands and wives, parents and children were weltering in their blood, a sad spectacle to men and angels.

But how was the intelligence of this cold-blooded butchery received at Rome? With every demonstration of joy. *The Sacred Pontiff* ordered the bells to send forth their merriest chimes, and *Te Deum laudamus* to be chanted in the churches, in token of gratitude to the Almighty for this signal victory over the enemies of the church!—Not even content with giving such proofs of his exultation on this occasion, he ordered a new coin or medal to be struck in the *Holy Papal mint* on which was

engraved “*Huguenotorum Strages*”, *the Murder or Slaughter of the Huguenots* !

But time would fail us to speak of the great “*Sacramental host of God’s elect*”, which in different times have fallen before this implacable enemy of God and man, who has exalted himself above his fellows, and so long lorded it over God’s heritage.

But if anything were wanting to finish the picture of *that cruelty*, which has ever characterized the papal Government, it is the worse than *savage treatment* inflicted on the christian hero and patriot UGO BASSI, who, from attachment to his country, joined himself to the valiant and patriotic little army, who so nobly contended for their Country’s Liberty,—*for that Liberty which is the sacred birth-right of man* !

The result of this struggle, like that of unhappy but glorious Hungary, is still too fresh in every mind to require any additional remark to recall it to memory : Liberty was subdued, *by brute force*, and the REV. UGO BASSI, the virtuous and patriotic Priest and his brave companions, fell into the hands of their despotic enemies.

But not to prolong the painful recital, Bassi is condemned, by an Austrian court-martial, to

be shot!—For what? Simply for what so many brave men did in this country in 1776—for contending nobly in the cause of Liberty. But hard as his fate was in being condemned to suffer death at the hands tyrants, it was but the fate of war—the result to be expected from defeat! We leave him, then, in the hands of the bloody soldiers of a haughty despot, while we proceed to notice the treatment he received *from the Romish PRIESTHOOD*—men who once ministered with him at the same altar! Surely these holy men, bound by the sacred vows of religion to be mild, and merciful, and just, will pity poor Bassi, and do everything in their power to mitigate and assuage his grief.—Mark the compassion they discover for the unhappy man. They rush upon him, like ravening wolves upon the defenceless flock: The Priest must be displaced from the ministry; excommunicated from the church, and handed over to the tender mercies of Satan, so far as these men possessed the will and malignity to send him thither. But not content with the bare exercise of *these clerical powers and prerogatives*, these blood-hounds proceed, with the malice of Demons and Infernal spirits, *to flay the skin from his hands, and to tear the scalp from his bleeding head*; under the hypocritical pretext of

honoring God and advancing the sacred cause of religion!—As a suitable punishment for treason and heresy, as the means of vindicating the claims of Religion! *)

To honor Religion?—The Religion of that merciful and compassionate Redeemer of men, of whom it is said by the evangelic Prophet: “A bruised reed shall he not break.” Oh, merciful Saviour, how every way dissimilar was thy spirit from the spirit of those who boast, *that they alone*, of the thousands “who profess and call themselves christians,” are thy true disciples—the only called according to thy purpose! Oh, what a monstrous libel is the cruel despotism of Romanism on the blood-bought Religion of the Son of God! What greater dissimilarity could be imagined to exist in the widely extended universe of God, than that which distinguishes Romanism from the mild and merciful religion of Jesus Christ! Christ came into the world, *to save—not to destroy—to pardon—not to condemn*: While on the contrary, Romanism seems to delight in *devising new modes of torment* for the punishment of its unhappy victims.

*) The substance of this tragic account was obtained from a most respectable Religious Journal published in the city of St. Louis.

Instead of assuaging the griefs of mankind, and cheering them on their pilgrimage through life, the church of Rome delights in pressing as much of bitterness as she can, into every one's cup, for the good of his soul and the honor of religion. By her anathemas and excommunications, her fasts and penances, she would seem resolved to make the world a howling wilderness—the fit abode of hermits and monks, rather than the cheerful residence of social beings!

As dispensed by Romish Priests, how, I would ask, can the Gospel prove, as its name imports, “Good tidings” which shall be to all people?—Did it speak this language when it charged the Priests to tear the scalp from the bleeding head of Bassi?

But why select this from among the thousand bloody acts which have marked the cruel progress of Romanism?

Where are the thousands, and tens of thousands, snatched, by this nursing mother, from all the ties of friends and kindred, and consigned to the gloomy dungeons of the Inquisition!

Romanism has ever been the enemy of civil and religious Liberty; and if she has sometimes appeared to espouse the rights of the People, it has been to punish the insolence of

some haughty Monarch, whom she regarded as a rival in power.

Rome can bear no Rival. She can acknowledge no superior; hence her eternal enmity to the various governments of the world.

“*Truth,*” she avers by her dignitaries, “*has ever been hostile to error,*” and she assumes that she only has the truth!—that she only knows how to explain and enforce it: and this she has done, by that attitude of antagonism in which she has opposed progress and humanity, and the sacred rights of man, under the specious pretext, *that they are errors,* and opposed to the honor and interests of religion!

The exercise of private or individual judgment is regarded by Romanism, as rebellion against God, as impiety and blasphemy, as treason against heaven and the church, as fraught with every conceivable mischief to religion.

And here, it cannot be denied, that Romanism and the Protestant or Reformed religion, *are in a condition of antagonism!* Both possess *vitality*, both contend for the mastery. Should the former succeed in her ambitious designs, the darkness of by-gone ages would again return. The clouds would return again after the rain—after the refreshing showers of the early

part of the sixteenth century. The dark clouds of ignorance and superstition, it is much to be feared, would once more cover the horizon of the church, and divine truth would again be obscured.

Formerly, physical force was employed in settling differences on the subject of religion and civil liberty. Now it is to be hoped, that a better method will be resorted to, *that of argument—not brute force; alike dishonorable to the head and heart—to the intellect and the moral sensibilities.*

BUT A BATTLE MUST BE FOUGHT; but it will not be fought by the dim twilight of the middle ages, nor in priest-ridden Italy or Austria, but in the full blaze of the nineteenth century, and on the free soil of AMERICA! The priests will not find the despotic kings and emperors of the old world at their side, to support them in the prosecution of their ambitious and politic designs; but the free and independent people of America, who will yield to no foreign influence nor submit to any authority, civil or religious, which cannot be made to coincide with the rights of freemen. And on these points they are accustomed to judge for themselves.

For information on the first point, they go not to the PRESIDENT, but to the CONSTITU-

TION; and for light on the second, they resort not to the PRIEST, but to the BIBLE!

On the manner, therefore, in which this subject is approached, may the prosperity of this great Republic and the happiness and intelligence of unborn millions be suspended.

The influence which the Pope exercises over his subjects, *is the most despotic that can be imagined!*

Popery leaves to man nothing *but the human form*, and holds him accountable for the manner in which he exercises every faculty of mind or body! How, therefore, can such persons,—bound by oaths and obligations written in blood, and enforced under the pains and penalties of the divine displeasure, *bear true allegiance to these free and independent States of America?*

Impossible!—the thing is utterly impossible; and until some method can be devised, by which darkness can be blended with light, truth with falsehood, meekness with arrogance, and mercy with cruelty and savage barbarity, it will be worse than idle to assert, that civil and religious liberty have nothing to apprehend from the usurpations and encroachments of Popery!

APPENDIX.

THE author of the preceeding pages has charged Romanism with being unfriendly to progress, in whatever sense the term may be legitimately understood, in its application to civil and religious liberty, and the right of private judgment.

In this second edition of the little work, which he now presents to the public, with such slight alterations as he hopes may make it more interesting and acceptable to his readers, he will prove, by quotations from a most respectable Roman Catholic journal, "The Shepherd of the Valley," published in the city of St. Louis, under the protection of one of the most distinguished prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, that the views which he has advanced, so far from being rejected, *are confirmed* by the Roman Catholic Church of the present age; thus showing that Romanism is ever the same, both with respect to date and country, and aims to control republics as well as monarchies.

In the introductory part of this little book, the author observes that, "of all the nations on which the sun shines, the American Republic is the only government in which liberty is well understood—the only country in which the people possess the governing power, and are able to control their public servants."

After the many ardent professions, in high places among the Roman Catholics, of strong attachment to this republic and our free institutions, "The Shepherd of the Valley" gives utterance, and no doubt with great sincerity to the following language :

"The Church, it is true, does not admit the doctrine, so universally received in this country, that republicanism is the only legitimate form of civil government: that freedom is impossible where this form is not established. She does not profess to recognize the United States of America AS THE CENSOR OF NATIONS, nor does she, we believe, *in any way*, intimate a preference for a republic over other forms of government, considered in themselves. Where it [a republic] lawfully exists, she commands her children to respect and obey it, *and that is all.*"

The most careless reader can scarcely help noticing in this extract from "The Shepherd

of the Valley," a most striking contrast and palpable contradiction, to those oft repeated professions of loyalty and attachment for republican institutions, which, from time to time, have so profusely garnished the public orations of the Most Rev. John Hughes, Arch Bishop of New York, and which have been used, second-handed, by men of less intellectual strength, who have followed in his wake.

These gentlemen, until quite recently, have been accustomed to laud, with united voice, our free institutions to the skies; but now they "command their children *to respect and obey them*, and that is all."

What a falling off is this! And to what cause are we to ascribe it? To what are we to attribute this haughty and imperious front which they now present to our institutions? Simply to reliance on their numerical strength in this country.

But the "Shepherd of the Valley" is not content with showing his utter indifference for republican institutions; he does more. In his clerical and pastoral character, he declares his most decided disapprobation of them; *and like a faithful son of his venerable mother*, denounces and curses them. He calls our national faith "the religion of the devil." "It

seems," he adds, "a harsh thing to say; but we are not of those who think *with Richlieu*, [Query—whether ever Richlieu said it?] that language was given to man to enable him to conceal his thoughts. We think so, and therefore we say it. The advocate of freedom of speech should not object to that." Nor do we, good "Shepherd of the Valley," but give you full credit for sincerity. To use your own language, we think "the devil speaks out like an honest devil," when he declares from the lips of Romish prelates, or from their public journals, that popery has no sympathy with our republican institutions.

In the course of his remarks in the foregoing pages, the author observes, that "Romanism differs most widely and essentially, from every other religious system in this, that it owes undying and eternal allegiance to a FOREIGN SOVEREIGN."

This charge against Romanism, the "Shepherd of the Valley" makes good, when he asserts, that "it is not true, as some say, that the Catholic is left by his Church free to adopt any political theories which it suits his temporal interests to espouse for the time." Here, again, we give the "Shepherd" credit for sincerity; and although we have often been told

that in the exercise of their political rights and privileges, the Roman Catholics were as free as the Protestants, yet we never believed such persons, but regarded them as being either ignorant or interested, and therefore not worthy of entire confidence. The "Shepherd" gives us the true statement of the case, for which we thank him.

But the worthy "Shepherd of the Valley" proceeds to give a very plausible reason why men should not be permitted to exercise the right of judging for themselves, in political affairs. "The civil power," he says, "has its limits; it may overstep them, *for it is not infallible like the Church*; when it does so, *obedience at once ceases to be a duty*. The question of the justice or injustice of a civil enactment is one, however, which the individual is not competent to decide the fact of the necessity of a tribunal capable of determining a point like this, is presumptive evidence in favor of the claims of the Church; *and the fact that the Church is such tribunal*, is a sufficient answer to all those who declaim against her, as the enemy of the rights of man. Civil liberty cannot exist without the Church." (Roman Catholic, of course.) "*Where she is not recognized, anarchy or despotism must*

of necessity prevail. Grant that no tribunal exists, capable of pronouncing when the State transcends its powers; when man is freed from the obligation of obedience, and when it becomes sinful to obey; and you either establish despotism by asserting that every State enactment must of necessity be obeyed, or destroy government altogether, and introduce universal disorder, *by applying to practical life, that most absurd of all doctrines, the doctrine of the right of private judgment.*”

Such startling language as this, is calculated to awaken the keenest apprehension in the mind of every one who regards either national or individual liberty. The government and the individual citizen are here represented, by the “Shepherd of the Valley,” as alike incompetent to form a correct judgment of the validity or propriety of a legislative enactment; as utterly unable to determine “when man is freed from the obligation of obedience, and when it becomes sinful to obey.” No other tribunal or body can determine this most important point, *save the Church of Rome*. Are reflecting American citizens prepared to subscribe to this doctrine, so distinctly announced by the “Shepherd of the Valley”? Are they ready to give up themselves and their country into

the hands of the Roman Catholic Church, and as her bond-men, submit to any terms she may be pleased to dictate?

We have been long accustomed to that watch-word, "Hear the Church," as *falsely* applied by the old lady of Rome to her spiritual dictation, but were not altogether prepared for its direct application to the affairs of civil government also.

We had always supposed that *the Supreme Court of the United States*, was the tribunal of final appeal to which legislative enactment should be brought for adjudication; but the good "Shepherd of the Valley" teaches us our mistake, and tells us that we must bring up all such *enactments* to the *Court of Rome* for final settlement. Privilege! privilege! with a vengeance. No marvel, under this view of the case, that the "Shepherd of the Valley" should regard the Roman Catholic Church as the great *sine que non* in the science of government, as the only means of prolonging the "existence of civil liberty." We only add, in this place, that we most sincerely pray, that it may be long before this great republic will consent to carry up appeals to the court of Rome, or crouch before papal power.

We still feel slow to yield our assent to the

assertion of the “Shepherd’s,” viz.: that the only hope of this great republic is suspended on the progress of Romanism in this country. How, we beg leave to ask, can Romanism prove a blessing to this country, when it has been a curse to every other country on which it has been fastened?

True it is, that in the estimation of this paper, that most detestable “doctrine of the right of private judgment” would be rooted out of the land, yet in sober truth, in what respect we should become gainers by the change, is difficult to determine; but the “Shepherd” tells us so, and as obedient children of the Church, we should have nothing to do but submit to the dictation of Holy Mother, who cannot err!

Little as we can discover in the person of an old Italian priest, some thousands of miles distant, to engage our attention and challenge our respect, yet it is only by swearing spiritual allegiance to this old imbecile, that the “Shepherd” can promise us EVEN PROLONGED EXISTENCE AS A NATION—the only way the “Shepherd can devise of saving the country!

But we proceed to shew that the “Shepherd” feels a strong preference for monarchical institutions. He continues in this *liberal*

strain : “ We must be loyal to our republican institutions, *because they are legitimate here.*” Mark the reason he assigns for the necessity of this prolonged loyalty on the part of Roman Catholics in this country. But he immediately adds: “ Were we subjects of a monarchy, however, the case would be reversed, and we should then be compelled to true obedience to the existing order, *so long as it preserved its claims to our obedience, by setting us the example of subordination* IN ITS OWN SUBMISSION TO THE LAWS OF GOD AND THE CHURCH!” Here we have it; so long as the existing government, whether republic or monarchy, submits to the Roman Catholic Church, so long the Church will command *her subjects to obey* the civil government, and no longer!

No comment that we could offer, would place this Romish domination in a clearer or stronger light, than that in which it is placed by this last extract from the “ Shepherd.”

Whether priest or prelate, or whoever may have been the author of the article, the drift of the artful writer is evidently this, viz.: to place the Romish church above the civil government, and to dictate the manner and matter of legislation. However disguised by jesuitical cunning and sophistry, the ultimate design of

the party is here hinted at, in language too obvious to be misunderstood by any reader.

But the "Shepherd" does not attempt to defend the Church of Rome from the charge of **DESPOTISM**. Indeed, he confesses that "the Church cannot be defended from the charge of favoring despotism, if a monarchy is essentially a despotism, for she would interfere to protect the just authority of the throne, no less than to shelter the people, as she has done a thousand times, from an abuse of that authority." We clearly discover, in this last extract from the "Shepherd of the Valley," an acknowledgment of that authority over civil government, which the Church of Rome, with the Pope at its head, pretends to claim, as a prerogative by divine right, and which he tells us she has exercised "a thousand times." Those who are wont to sympathize with the Romish apostacy in this country, do sometimes tell us, by way of apology for that spurious Church, that although the Pope did formerly, during the dark ages, depose kings from their thrones, and give their kingdoms to others, releasing their subjects from their oath of allegiance, yet that now the thing is quite changed, and that they lay claim to no such power! But does the "Shepherd of the Valley" confirm this gra-

tuitous apology? No, nothing of the kind; and, let the author remark here, that the Church of Rome gives little praise to those who attempt to apologize for her conduct, at the expense of her immutability!

Notwithstanding the Saviour of the world unequivocally declares, "My kingdom is not of this world," yet ever since the bishop of Rome obtained (partly by gift and concession, but more by usurpation,) the proud title of Sovereign Pontiff, he has claimed this right, and still exercises it over Spain, Portugal, Austria, Naples, and wherever ignorance and superstition prevail.

The governments support the papacy; and the papacy, in return, sanctions their despotic acts, and commands the people to yield obedience to their arbitrary rulers, under pain of excommunication!

The "Shepherd" further informs us, that "the Catholic has no mission to propagate democracy." We never supposed he had; we might as well look to the Emperors of Russia or Austria for the exercise of such a mission, as to expect it from the Church of Rome.

While the "Shepherd" proclaims the Church to be "indeed the friend of the people, the only refuge of the individual and the masses in

every time of trouble," yet it adds: "It is false to say, that she prefers the liberty cap to the crown, or the liberty-pole to the sceptre."

This last quotation shows how strongly the great Metropolitan Shepherd is attached to republican institutions! Verily, the Church of Rome cannot be defended from "favoring despotism," when she cordially approves the governments of Italy, Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and has used her best exertions to extinguish liberty in Europe generally, wherever her influence has extended.

But the "Shepherd" reserves his most spirited attack for the castigation of Protestantism: "The Church, we hear, is hostile to liberty; obscures the dignity of human nature; would trample under foot the rights of man; is everywhere leagued with despots against their unhappy subjects; and opposes, and always has opposed, all intellectual and social progress. In short, in this country, the devil speaks out like an honest devil. He takes up his old cry of rebellion; he persuades men that none but tyrants would demand obedience and submission; he proves that the Church does demand obedience, absolute and implicit obedience, from her children to herself, and all legitimate civil rulers, and he flatters himself that his

task is done, and in very many cases the devil is right. When he has done this he has made out his case, and confirmed in their rebellion against the Church, all who are determined to maintain the supremacy of man. Dr. Johnson said that the devil was the first whig. By this he meant that he was the first created being that rebelled against his legitimate ruler. *He would have done better had he said that the devil was the first Protestant."*

In a similar strain the "Shepherd" continues: "*Liberty and authority are not reconcilable on Protestant principles.*" And once more, to the same effect: "Protestantism as it really is not a religion, not a positive system or collection of systems, but the incarnate demon of rebellion against all authority and law. As such, the Catholic is bound to flee from it as from a pestilence; is bound to use all his influence in every way [fire and faggot not excepted] to check and put it down."

In a recent number of the "Shepherd of the Valley," the writer, after asserting religious toleration to be the work of the devil, and deeply to be deplored in "this miserable country," uses the following language: "Religious toleration and civil toleration are, however, we admit, things perfectly distinct. The first,

every christian is bound to condemn; the second, he will and must approve, wherever it is expedient." Note, here, it may, in some cases, be expedient to kill heretics, and then every true christian (Catholic) "must approve" of it! "We will say, however, that we are not in favor of roasting heretics; but we are not, therefore, going to deny the facts of history, or to blame the saints of God, and the doctors and pastors of the Church, for what they have done and sanctioned. We say that the temporal punishment of heresy is a mere question of expediency; that protestants do not persecute us here, simply because they have not the power; and that where we abstain from persecuting them, they are well aware that it is merely because we cannot do so, or think that by doing so we should injure the cause that we wish to serve. We are all intolerant—all of us [i. e. all Roman Catholics] who believe."

The reader must be convinced that the Roman Catholic Church is truly hostile to republican institutions, individual liberty, and the protestant faith, which, under God, is the prime author of all our blessings, national and social, and, therefore, to be cherished by every true republican and sincere friend of his country.

By way of applying these remarks, we add,

that principles will and ought to be freely and fully discussed in this country. The spirit of the age and the genius of our government require it. And yet, strange to say, not only Roman Catholics, but even some protestants are to be found, who are utterly averse to free discussion! Protestants should remember, that religious liberty and free discussion go hand in hand. To look upon free discussion, then, in the light of persecution, is all wrong, and discovers a prejudice and narrowness of mind, better adapted to down-trodden Italy or priest-ridden Austria or Spain, than to free republican America. Free discussion, whether in reference to politics or religion, in a government proceeding from the people, is all important, and should be so regarded by freemen!

Those great principles which lie at the foundation of civil and religious liberty, call for patient investigation, in order that freemen may duly appreciate their just rights, and have wisdom to defend them against every hurtful influence.

Americans are not easily intimidated by denunciations, either from popish journals or presses. The time has passed for this bravado; this spirit of defiance, this priestly blustering

and cursing belongs to ages which have passed, we hope never to return.

Let such men as Archbishop Hughes, O. A. Brownson & Co., see how very unbecoming it is to attempt to palm the tyrannical government of the Church of Rome on free America. How every way incompatible such gross denunciations as the following, with their oft repeated protestations of loyalty and attachment for republican institutions: They denounce our national faith as "the religion of the devil." The Protestant religion as "no religion," but a moral pestilence," "a system of anarchy, which every consistent Catholic should labor in every way in his power to check and put down."

This is neither the age nor the country to denounce Protestants from the pulpit, as having forfeited their lives to divine justice," because they refuse to submit to the authority of the Pope. To these agents of the so styled holy father, we would say, "bless and curse not;" and to our readers and patrons beg leave to add, that while we hold fast the Bible, the constitution, and free discussion, we shall have nothing to fear.

ИЗДАНИЕ ПЕРВОЕ



