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Anna E. M. Cornwall

THE
STAR OF THE WEST;

OR,

National Men and National Measures.

BY

ANNA ELLA CARROLL,
AUTHOR OF THE "GREAT AMERICAN BATTLE," ETC.

"Our Country's glory is our chief concern :
For this we struggle, and for this we burn ;
For this we smile, for this alone we sigh ;
For this we live, for this would freely die."

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:
JAMES FRENCH AND COMPANY.
NEW YORK:
MILLER, ORTON & MULLIGAN.
1857.

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Dedication.

WHEN the PRINCIPLES of the government are at stake, true patriotism, which rises above party, above selfish aspirations, or a thought of personal aggrandizement, is invested with peculiar value, and becomes an object of increased respect. And when we find one whose past life and present action furnish a clear record of devotion to principle for principle's sake; one who has always stood in the van of the great American battle, and freely encountered the adversary, giving his means with his energies; and who will adhere tenaciously to the cause he knows to be just, and to men he believes to be true, without regard to the labor or sacrifice which may inure to himself, we cannot but offer him as an example to others to pursue a course alike honorable and patriotic.

Such a man is

CHESTER DRIGGS, OF NEW YORK CITY;

and when to this strong patriotic feeling is added his high moral excellence and worth, his public spirit, energy, and enterprise, as a citizen of the great commercial mart of the western world, we feel pride and pleasure in dedicating, as we now do, this national volume to the true American,
CHESTER DRIGGS.

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William Pittman

THE UNION OF THE STATES.

CHAPTER I.

“What God in his mercy and wisdom designed,
And armed with his weapons of thunder,
Not all the earth's despots and factions combined
Have the power to conquer or sunder !”

AMERICANS, let us see how the first stones were gathered, and the foundation of this Union laid. It began under great tribulation ; but God overruled its origin, and has been its great support.

A reformed church of “poor people,” or those in moderate circumstances, called Puritans, dwelt in England at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and lived in the villages of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

These people, under their pastor, John Robinson, were assailed day and night by the ministers of the ecclesiastical tyranny which governed and swayed England.

At great suffering and peril, they resolved to seek safety by exile, in Holland. In 1607, their first attempt to leave England was arrested, under King James, and some of the Puritans were imprisoned ; but they had an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, where they continued to worship ; and, on procuring the release of their wives and children, in 1608, they were successful in making their escape to Amsterdam.

From Amsterdam, these Puritans went to Leyden, under the guidance of Robinson and Brewster, and there betook themselves to industrial pursuits of all kinds, which fitted them for their future but unsuspected destiny. The desire to advance the Gospel in the New World, the cherished idea of their minds, finally induced them to turn their thoughts to the settlements in America. Still, the Pilgrims loved their native soil, their native language, and their Anglo-Saxon liberty ; and so deep was the love of country yet implanted in their affections, that they sought the protection of the English government for the colony they projected in the western world.

John Carver and William Bradford repaired to London, and succeeded, after a negotiation of two

years, in obtaining a patent for the Plymouth Company. After an absence of twelve years from their native land, these exiles made ready for embarking across the ocean. They sold their estates, and raised their money in fitting out two vessels for the purpose; but these could accommodate only a part of the congregation.

These Pilgrims sailed from Delfthaven, near Leyden, via Southampton, for America, after being a fortnight in England. But the *Speedwell* proved not to be seaworthy, and they returned to Dartmouth for repairs. Finding, however, that this vessel could not be trusted for such a voyage, they left Dartmouth for Plymouth, where, with one hundred souls, they embarked, on the 17th of September, 1620, for America. Their small vessel, the *Mayflower*, consisted of only one hundred and eighty tons; and after a passage of sixty-three days, it reached the harbor of Cape Cod, and this precious cargo of human souls was landed on the Rock of Plymouth Dec. 22d, 1620.

While the *Mayflower* was at anchor, the form of government to which they should conform, as one people, was seriously discussed; and, after prayer and thanksgiving to almighty God, an instru-

ment or compact was drawn, to which forty-one of the crew subscribed their names; the rest of the one hundred being the wives and children of these men.

This, Americans, was the first *republic* erected in America, and is the most remarkable instance of the true spirit of liberty upon the record of history. Think of a colony, under the sanction of a royal charter, from an English monarch, coming, under the inspiration of God and liberty, to plant upon American soil republican freedom!

Here is the document:

PLYMOUTH COMPACT.

“In the name of God, amen! We, whose names are underwritten, the royal subjects of our dread Sovereign, King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation; and, in furtherance of the ends

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foresaid, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony.

“Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.”

Signed by John Carver, William Brewster, Edward Winslow, and forty-one in all.

For five thousand years this vast continent lay upon the bosom of the deep, occupied by untutored man, of the manner and the date of whose origin here we have no account; but a passage is supposed to have been effected across Behring's Straits, where Asia and America are separated by only forty miles. This continent, nearly as large as Europe and Africa united, extending on both sides of the equator, lying between the western shore of Europe and Africa, and the east of Asia, surrounded by groups of islands on either ocean, presented an impenetrable mystery to the eastern world.

Not less remarkable has been the unparalleled development of liberty, growing out of the desire for a retreat for freedom to worship God. The Huguenots of the South came to this land under the

same inspiration, and suffered even more by persecution. Americans, can the conviction that these were the men whose views were carried out in founding this republic now be slighted? We are the only people strong, courageous, and free — the only nation which has the element of durability. When the flag of our country was borne to Mexico, after so long a period of profound peace, it was prophesied by all the world we were to meet an ignominious defeat; but when the first flash was seen, and the first thunder of cannon heard, American men, who had lived only to protect their homes and firesides, rushed to the scene of action, and fought so gloriously and so triumphantly that the world was lost in admiration at their victories. With our little army of eight or ten thousand opposed to eight or ten millions of Mexicans, added to barriers which nature had made seemingly insurmountable, Americans, under the free spirit which formed the republic on the Mayflower, fought like soldiers, and died like freemen!

The same God which had taken the English Pilgrim and set him on Plymouth Rock led the French Huguenot to the South. It was the genius, the heroism, the instinct, of liberty. So have the

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North and South, when great principles were at stake, commingled as one spirit and one blood! From the days of '76, to the day Gen. Scott, at the head of the American army, caused Santa Anna to lay down the sword and bow to the supremacy of American arms, the North and the South knew no section, divided no interest, when a common danger perilled our existence as a free people.

In 1792, we were thirteen poor and comparatively feeble states. The whole cotton crop did not exceed three hundred and fifty-seven bales. After Whitney's cotton-gin machine was invented, in 1794, there was an increase in its growth, and in 1795 it amounted to three thousand seven hundred and fifty bales. Now, we are a people counting thirty millions, with thirty-one states, and an expansive territory, out of which many others will ultimately be made. The constitutions of most of the old states have been altered. Vast resources are being developed, and our cotton-bales count annually nearly four millions.

The United States are yet only in their infancy. The growth of their marketable staples, their agricultural resources, and their annual incomes, is beyond all present calculations, as well as the

benefits of commerce and art, which we cannot even conjecture.

Our representative government, our religious freedom, our trial by jury, our free press, and other attributes of Anglo-American liberty, urge this people to extend themselves under peaceful arts, and to cherish perpetually the compact of the Union, as the only bond, the everlasting bond, of our national life, and faith, and action.

Ancient Rome excited glorious patriotism by heaping bright garlands upon her living sons; but her nationality and pride forbade her stopping there. She looked behind, and forgot not the founders of her political edifice. How much more than Romans should we Americans cherish the sacred ashes of our dead, who gave the Union its fair proportions, and taught the lesson of self-denial and conciliation by which it must be preserved!

Josiah Quincy went from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, to enlist the Huguenots with the descendants of the Puritans for our independence, — the descendants of men who were answered in their last prayer, and shown by God the way to this their promised land.

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When the Union was endangered for the third time, in 1850, J. C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, discoursed upon this bond of attachment which bound together Massachusetts and Carolina, and declared, with rapture, shortly before he died, that it was as indissoluble as ever.

Webster, too, who first read the constitution on a cotton handkerchief, wanted that constitution to give its rights to all parts of the Union. When warned, in 1850, that his course on the compromise would endanger his hopes for the presidency, the triumph of the Union over selfish ambition showed itself, as he exclaimed, "I would not swerve a hair to be president."

Henry Clay, dear to the hearts of millions, from this same love of the Union, was warned in 1839, in the Senate, by William C. Preston, of South Carolina, against unnecessarily exciting the abolitionists, as it might interfere with the aspirations he then enjoyed for the presidency. The great American's prompt response is above all Greek or Roman fame — "I had rather be right than be president!" The abolitionists became ever after his unrelenting foes, and, in connection with Mr. Buchanan's false charge of bribery, of which Bu-

chanan himself was the sole author, and the Romish hierarchy, defeated his prospects and blighted the hopes of his friends forever.

Americans, for the fourth time our national existence is in peril! Its first danger was under Madison; second, under Jackson; third, under Taylor and Millard Fillmore; and lastly, under Franklin Pierce, our present chief magistrate.

Under the administration of Gen. Taylor, three Southern States of the Union submitted the question to the people whether they should remain in the Union. Officers of the army and navy were then sounded, to see if they would declare for a Southern republic. They declared for the Union as it is, under the American flag. All the Southern States but one did likewise. It was the Roman firmness of Mr. Fillmore, after the death of Taylor, that saved the Union in 1850.

The treaty of peace, which acknowledged our national independence, in 1783, was not only highly honorable to us, but England made far greater concessions to us than she did at that time to Spain or France. In 1785, Congress elected John Adams, by ballot, as the first minister to Great Britain; and on the 25th of May of that year, the King of

England, who had waged war upon us as subjects, and attempted to brow-beat us as menials, was humiliated to a public reception of our national ambassador, who represented the new republic. Keenly did England feel the blow which had forced her, before mankind, to recognize our power and dignity among the nations of the earth. George the Third, the king, received Mr. Adams by a speech, to which Mr. Adams replied. He was afterwards presented to the queen, who also had a kind word to say of "America and Americans." "You are not," said the king to Mr. Adams, "like the most of your countrymen, attached to France." "I have no attachment but to my native country," said Mr. Adams. "An honest man will have no other," said the king. And this was the feeling under which we were baptized a free people.

Messrs. Jay, Adams, and Franklin, were sent to Paris to obtain formal protection to our commerce. But while other European nations entered readily into treaties of commerce, England refused to do so, and during the six years of our confederacy after peace, no minister was sent to America.

Mr. Adams, failing to induce Great Britain to

send a minister, or to form a treaty of commerce, returned home in 1787.

After the Union was organized, the strength and dignity of the government were felt by all foreign nations, and respected. Gen. Washington requested Gouverneur Morris, who was in Europe, to see if England would then send a minister; to which she readily acceded, and George Hammond presented his credentials from that court in August, 1791.

The strength and dignity obtained for the government by the Union of the States were at once felt and manifested by foreign powers. In 1793, when France declared war against England, Gen. Washington issued his celebrated proclamation for neutrality, and recommended to Congress that a special messenger be sent to England, to aid Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, already our accredited minister to that court. General Washington determined to save the Union, but just formed; and, in defiance of the unpopularity of this measure, to preserve the policy of neutrality. He therefore immediately nominated John Jay, and hence the treaty which laid the foundation of this Union's

commercial prosperity, and made its basis still more impregnable.

And now, Americans, it is the firmness of the Union, its celebrity, its prosperity, its past happiness, attained under our free and fair constitution, which has struck terror to European despots, and made them tremble on their thrones. This government is the only one upon earth which meets the wants of the masses, and embraces, as far as its limits extend, the entire continent under the shadow of its protecting wings. Under its wise laws and benign policy, nothing can stay our national progress, — nothing, nothing! The bravest, the freest, the most energetic people on the face of the globe, have been born under the flag of the American States.

Look, my countrymen, at the resources of your mighty republic, and see how the Union has developed them! Look at your territory, and see how the Union, in its triumphant march, has expanded its boundaries from a fragment to a continent! Look at your inventive genius, your skilful artists, the busy hum of internal trade, the multiplied products of healthy sinews and free labor, and see how the Union has prospered you! Look at your

sublime mountains, your magnificent rivers, your luxuriant prairies, your vast and beautiful lakes, your exhaustless mines of gold and silver, and your rich and beneficent soil, and see why your population has swelled from two million five hundred thousand to thirty millions, in eighty years!

It is the Union of these States, under the greatest and best form of government human wisdom ever conceived, that has done it all. It is the cry of love and peace, which has been drunk from the fountain of the constitution, by the whole population. The nation, from all points of our compass, have met in the circling bond of the Union, and clasped the pillars of the constitution with united heart and hand; and, under the inspiration of its proud stars and stripes, have exchanged the grateful and joyful tokens of faith and affection.

What should be the cry of all the inhabitants of this land, but "The Constitution and the Union forever!" With this glow of magnanimity, with this cry of patriotism, traitors and emissaries from without can as easily upturn the ocean from its bed, or tear the pillars of the Alleghany from their deep foundations, as to break up this

government by the dissolution of this blessed, blood-bought, heaven-descended Union.

We know full well the jealousy of foreign despots. To arrest our "manifest destiny," by the destruction of republicanism, is the ceaseless aim of the despotisms of Europe, to favor their own self-preservation. Russia, England, France, Austria, Rome, Spain, and every other monarchical and despotic government, now swell with joy to witness internal dissensions which threaten a severance of the states; but how much more would they exult in its actual occurrence! Philip of Macedon, when he set about conquering Greece, did not invade it by an aggressive army, but by creating and cherishing dissensions among the states of Greece. So it is now with European governments. They feel the moral as well as the political reaction upon them of the United States. They know that the principles upon which the Union is founded are subversive of European aristocracies. They were aware of the sympathy of Americans with the struggling patriots of Greece, — with the struggling patriots of Italy, in the revolution of '48, — and the moral influence which ever reacts in favor of a people panting for free-

dom. They behold, with secret wonder and envy, the rapid growth of the United States in power and greatness.

England — we speak of her government particularly — is jealous of us, because she is monarchical, and moves in the reciprocal sympathies of the other monarchies of Europe. But the great body of her people are strongly opposed to a war with the United States. When we speak of England, therefore, we more particularly speak of her government, which found, in 1812, that no thunder could be obtained by her arms in a contest with the Americans. Her oligarchy try a more quiet course of action, to sow dissension, and reap the benefit of contention, among the states, by favoring any symptoms of disaffection which may spring up to disturb our happy Union. In this unholy antagonism, the press of Europe has heaped its slanders upon us. But its praise or blame neither disturbs our sleep, nor intercepts our influence and onward march.

Our commercial marine, on the high seas, is greater than that of France or England, — perhaps both united; and; in case of danger, our marine and fishermen would supply our navy. England

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fears our strength, while she feels our cotton and breadstuffs essential to her very existence. These motives constrain her to jesuitical cautiousness in her attempts to divide the Union, by which she expects to treat with both North and South on her own terms.

Once let England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, send us representative men, — men of large ideas, who can understand the principles of our political machinery, and faithfully report the progress and development of our country at home, — then the value and the permanence of the Union can be appreciated, and much useless expenditure of money and time may be averted.

But who is it that now cries out, "Join us, to save the Union"? Americans, it is the very party — the democratic party — who have shown the people, by their acts, that they are not competent to administer the government of our country. The Missouri Compromise law, which was framed to give peace and perpetuity to the Union, and the repeal of which was in all respects the most atrocious act ever perpetrated by the representatives of the people, was the achievement of the demo-

cratic party, under an imbecile democratic president.

Americans, the day has come when you must not and will not be deceived by these specious pretences of loving the Union ; and it is idle for that party, which has more than once endangered it, longer to attempt to cheat the people. What are the facts from the records of history ? At the time the government of the United States was formed under the constitution, there was a large tract of land lying north-west of the Ohio River, called, on that account, the North-west Territory ; and, to have all those who participated in the battles of the Revolution possess a common right to it, our fathers passed a law called the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in all the territory then belonging to the United States. In 1803, we acquired, by a treaty under Mr. Jefferson, another tract of land, known as Louisiana Territory ; and as the Ordinance of '87 had reference only to the North-west Territory exclusively, and not to that which the framers of the constitution never supposed we would possess, agitation at once was created between the North and

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South as to the mode of disposing of the slave question on their new territory.

In a little while the State of Missouri was formed out of a part of the Louisiana Territory, and knocked for admission into the Union at the door of Congress. The South, at that time, was in a minority in Congress, and it was therefore in the power of the North to admit Missouri as a slave state, or to reject it, and insist that the law of 1787, which forbade the extension of the institution of slavery into the North-west Territory, should be made also to apply to the Louisiana Territory.

Finally, the *South introduced the famous Missouri Compromise*, and it was passed by Southern votes. It is true a Northern man introduced the measure; but the proposition came from the South, and was supported by the South. The South said to the North, "If you will allow us — you being in the majority, and having the control — if you will permit us to carry slavery up to the line of 36 deg. 30 min., we will pledge ourselves not to attempt to carry slavery beyond 36 deg. 30 min." They said, "We will allow every state south of 36 deg. 30 min., that chooses, to adopt slavery or

reject it, as they please ;” but, if they come to Congress, as Missouri has done, you will make no opposition to their admission on the ground of slavery, whether it is in or out of their constitution.

In the Senate of the United States every senator from the South voted for this Missouri Compromise, but *two*, and every senator from the North voted against it, but *four*. There were then eighteen Northern votes cast in opposition to it, and but two Southern votes ; Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, and Mr. Smith, of South Carolina. When the bill went to the House of Representatives, it passed by one hundred and thirty-four to forty-two votes. Forty Southern representatives went for it, and thirty-seven against it. Mr. Clay, Mr. Lowndes, and others from the South, were the chief advocates of the measure ; and the history of the events of that day demonstrates with what enthusiasm that Compromise of 1820 was received by the whole South. Mr. Monroe was President at that period, and before he signed the law it was submitted to Wm. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, and Wm. Wirt, Southern members of his cabinet, who were unanimous as to its constitutionality.

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To this law, then, the integrity and honor of the South was pledged. And now, Americans, mark the conduct of this democratic party! They waited to people all the territory that could be populated by slaves, and then disturbed the peace and prosperity of the country by attempting to take what of right belongs to the North; for Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, could have all been kept out of the Union, if the North had seen fit.

The Missouri Compromise being applied to the Louisiana Territory, all settled down in peace, until the annexation of Texas. The democratic party, in the mean while, having made a *scare-crow* of a few abolitionists in the North, by introducing a resolution refusing the people their constitutional right of petition, kept alive agitation, as a part of their sacred creed; and by the passage of the "twenty-first rule" they brought thousands and tens of thousands of these petitioners to Congress, insisting upon their right to be heard. The democratic party then became alarmed at the unpopularity of their act, and repealed the twenty-first rule. What was the result? The people became satisfied, when once their own rights were vindicated, and, instead of flooding Congress with these

petitions the succeeding session, it was a rare occurrence to hear that one was presented.

When Texas became a state, the Missouri Compromise line was applied to it by act of Congress, and that matter was thus settled. It passed the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight, and every Southern democrat in that assembly voted for it.

But not long after this the Mexican war occurred, and California, Utah, and New Mexico, were added to our territory. Oregon had just been organized as a territory, with the ordinance of 1787, which you will bear in mind, Americans, was a prohibition to the extension of slavery, and was signed by Mr. Polk, having as his cabinet adviser *James Buchanan*, of Pennsylvania!

The next thing to be done was to provide for the Territory of California. The Missouri Compromise was then offered in Congress to be applied to it, and every Southern senator voted for it. But, there was other territory acquired from Mexico, which was not included in this legislation, and about which great difficulty was created. Then it was that Mr. Clay, in the decline of life, left his own fireside, to forego all its pleasures in his last

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hours, to heal the impending strife by aiding in the passage of the Compromise measures of 1850. And let it not be overlooked that the democrats, who caused the twenty-first rule to be enacted in the House, a short time before, to create agitation and disunion at the North, were the stern opponents of the Compromise of 1850, which saved the Union, and restored harmony to all sections.

At the beginning of the session, subsequent to the Compromise of 1850, Col. Jackson, of Georgia, offered this resolution: — “ *Resolved*, That we recognize the binding efficacy of the compromises of the constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide such compromises, and to sustain the laws necessary to carry them out, — the provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves and that act of the last Congress for the purpose included, — and we deprecate all further agitation of all questions growing out of that provision, of the questions embraced in the acts of the last Congress known as the Compromise, and of questions generally connected with the institution of slavery, as unnecessary, useless, and dangerous;” when sixty-four voted against it. The

democratic papers of that day said, "We notice the ultra Southern members from South Carolina voted with the free-soilers." That is, against the acquiescence of the two sections in peace; and a settlement of the slavery question.

Mr. Hillyer, another member of the House, offered, in addition, this resolution: — "*Resolved*, That the series of acts passed during the first session of the Thirty-first Congress, known as the Compromise, are regarded as a final adjustment and a permanent settlement of the question therein embraced, and should be regarded, maintained, and executed, as such ;" which was also opposed by sixty-five votes ! And these from the South were every one democrats, who united with the abolitionists of the North against the very measures, Americans, which had just restored peace to your distracted country.

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CHAPTER II.

IN 1852 Pierce obtained the nomination for President by the democratic party, and was elected by fraudulently deceiving the people, and inducing them to believe he was true to the compromises of the Constitution and the Union. The democratic party then got into power by that deception. And what has it done, my countrymen? Why, it has plunged us into civil war; and we should also have been in foreign war, but for the respectable position the British cabinet took when they saw that Franklin Pierce and the democratic leaders were not representing, but personating, the American people. They have introduced an insurrectionary and revolutionary spirit among the masses, that they may hold out the Union flag, after staining it with blood, and call on the people to rally around it for the safety of the Union. Great Heaven, defend us from this serpent rule another four years! Defend this people, O, our nation's God, our people's only

THE UNION OF THE STATES.

refuge, from James Buchanan's power to perpetuate this shameful democratic rule, which is now shaking the edifice of the Union through an executive instrument who sacrilegiously occupies the chair of state!

Out of ten senators in Congress who voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, thereby unsettling the compromises of 1820 and 1850, seven of that number have gone over to the fortunes of the democratic party, with Atchison, Douglas, and Franklin Pierce, and just where the American people want them to remain. "Pierce suits us well;" "we know our man," was said with no more truth by Van Buren, in 1852, than it is now said of James Buchanan. It is the interest of the democratic leaders to keep up the agitation of slavery; in this they live, move, and have their being; and James Buchanan is pledged to keep all its elements in full blast, to perpetuate the power of the democratic dynasty.

And who is it now, Americans, who can arrest the dangerous evils that democratic misrule has brought upon the land? We answer, there is but one man now before the people who can restore us to the peace, prosperity, and progress, which were

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given the country by the Compromise of 1850 ; and that man is Millard Fillmore. Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, United States senator from Illinois, is very good democratic authority ; and we give you an extract from his speech made in Richmond in 1852, and published in the Richmond *Examiner*, an influential democratic paper of that state. Mr. Douglas was denouncing the Baltimore convention for not nominating Mr. Fillmore at that time, and said, " We say — ay, all of us — that Mr. Fillmore was a real God-send ; that he was sent by his Creator, that he was sent by God himself, to rule over the destinies of this country, when the ship of state was sinking in the tempest. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) It was the calming of the waters when the ship was sinking in the tempest. All, therefore, look kindly on Mr. Fillmore ; and we like to give him all the consolation we can, after the bad treatment he received at Baltimore, because he was a whig, and yet did no harm to the country."

No, Americans, the most violent political opponent cannot and dare not assume that Millard Fillmore did not advance the welfare of his country as a whole, and protect all its interests everywhere

Another fact, not to be omitted at this crisis, is, that the democratic party were the first to oppose the introduction of *foreigners* into the national councils, as well as Roman Catholics, though they have since courted these influences, and denounced the American party for insisting that none but Americans shall rule America. In the celebrated Virginia democratic resolutions of '98 and '99 are these :

“ That the General Assembly, nevertheless concurring in opinion with the Legislature of Massachusetts, that every constitutional barrier should be opposed to the introduction of foreign influence into our national councils,

“ *Resolved*, That the constitution should be so amended that no foreigner who shall not have acquired rights under the constitution and laws at the time of making this amendment shall therefore be eligible to the office of senator or representative in the Congress of the United States, nor to any office in the executive or judiciary departments.”

Now, while the American party has not any prejudice towards respectable foreigners, and makes no war upon them *as foreigners*, but, *as subjects of the Pope of Rome*, repudiates their *interference*

with our just political rights, the democratic party has opposed them as such ; and we all know that in the State of New Hampshire, a state devoted to the democracy, a Roman Catholic cannot, to this day, hold any civil office, because he is a Catholic. And yet these democratic leaders, who have made all the agitation, and bought and sold the papal vote like a hogshhead of tobacco or a bale of cotton, to carry their own election and retain the power, put out the signal of disunion, and would have the people cheated into the belief that they alone can save it from dissolution !

Americans, seventy years ago, the greatest work of mankind was completed, when our fathers embodied into an organic form the free covenant which gave to this nation its life, liberty, and happiness. This formation of the government takes rank in importance above the Revolution, and above the Declaration of Independence. You ask why? We answer, that while the Declaration of Independence cost the very extreme of sacrifice and the essence of patriotism, the labor to maintain our liberties would have been lost, after being won, had not the American Union been the result. And the great error now being committed by the people is

in putting the Declaration in the place of the Constitution, and looking to it as the instrument which governs them.

But one fact must be kept alive, — that no one man could have been the author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Livingston, Lee, Hancock, &c., all differed; and it was these shades of opinion, delicately balanced, which made the Declaration, as it subsequently did the Constitution. And now, my countrymen, has one portion of these states been more benefited by the Union than the other? In other words, has the North or the South been gainers by the national compact? Take the increase of territory, and look at the question in this sense.

In 1803, Louisiana was bought for upwards of twenty-three millions of dollars, in order to control the commerce of the Mississippi valley, which has resulted in a benefit since that time to the free states and territories contiguous of not less, certainly, than a thousand millions of dollars! Iowa, Minnesota, the Nebraska territory, with a certainty of Kansas and the rich prairies south of it, have all inured to the Northern States by that Louisiana purchase. The public lands, also, that have been

and yet remain to be sold, and the grants to Northern railroads, will surely equal two millions more in money, which goes at once to the North; and makes the result of the Louisiana increase beneficial to that section of the Union upwards of eleven hundred millions of dollars.

Then, again, look at Texas. Its annexation cost the country, by the Mexican war, upwards of two hundred and seventeen millions; by Texas claims, sixteen millions; by the Gadsden Treaty, ten millions; making the cost for the acquisition of Texas to the Union two hundred and thirty-three millions. By this the North acquired California, and a specie dividend which has amounted since 1848 to three hundred and fifty millions of gold! In addition to the gain in gold, this section of the Union has obtained by the Texas annexation a command over the trade of the Pacific.

The increase of territory has therefore benefited the whole Union, and facilitated its enterprise, resources, and industry; and California gave an impetus to the trade of the whole country, which could not have been felt otherwise in two hundred years.

My countrymen, the American Union has God

for its author, and the welfare of the whole people for its basis — the welfare of men, the welfare of the states. Then, in all the majesty of American citizens, let the people stand to their rights, instead of trembling for their bread. The American Revolution had one Arnold, but the name of traitor, in this present revolution, is “legion.” They hate the doctrine of Washington, which is dear to the people, because it teaches that only “Americans shall rule America ;” the same doctrine which made Charlemagne dear to Frenchmen, Robert Bruce to Scotchmen, Alfred the Great to Englishmen ! To intensify the love for the Union of these States, and make “dissolving views” of disunionists, is now the aim of the American party. Other evils may exist singly, and impose but one burden, but the destruction of this Union would subvert the interests of every state. It would change wisdom for folly, religion for sin, propagandism for patriotism, light for darkness. It would stop trade, commerce, and the development of our best agricultural resources. It would put an end to our unrivalled systems of education, and the utility of our inventions. It would arrest the increase of our newspaper issues,

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and the increase of population. In a word, it would take away the key to all our knowledge, and shut against us the very gates of heaven. Humanity demands that this Union be preserved ; equality of rights demands it ; the religion of Jesus Christ demands it ; and, glory to God, the Ruler of the world controls it !

No pen can expose the benefits, or portray the affliction, which would jeopardize trade, interest, labor, life ! And now, when the Union itself is a candidate for popular suffrage, can any other than an American feeling sweep the land ? The constitution comes from the people ; the majesty of sovereignty is in them. Who are the people ? They are the sons of the soil, and their industry made us free ! Our farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, laborers, artisans, are the true constituency, and they insist that the right of the American working-man and mechanic can only be secured from foreign competition by maintaining the Union in all its integrity. In the abuse of the ballot-box the American laborer has been cast aside for the outcasts of Europe, until foreign interests, foreign laws, foreign regiments, and foreign lan-

guages, have made the nation totter, by robbing the Union of its pristine strength.

My countrymen, do you not remember that Rome's name, once a dread to despots, was made a reproach by the very act we are now committing? She gave to conquered races the right to citizenship, and this destroyed her. And the Italian republics of the middle ages were invaded and enslaved by the Guelphs, Ghibelines, Germans, Swiss, Austrians, and French, who broke up the union of those little confederacies, simply because they neglected to guard the nationality of their own people. Athens and Lacedemon, for the same reason, fomented disunion; and prepared the way for Philip of Macedon, a northern conqueror, who accomplished their destruction.

Even the Pope of Rome teaches this national principle to his own subjects; and who but an Italian could succeed his holiness? And, we say, let France be governed by Frenchmen, Ireland by Irishmen, Germany by Germans, and America by Americans, if this Union of ours is to remain. Like the telegraph, the Union keeps no local office, has no visible link between the states, but is the electric medium which circulates through all their

exchanges, meets all extremes and centralizes then, and is the ever-present source of the closest political intimacy.

Americans, can anything dissolve this bright and sparkling cluster of stars, which make one shining jewel, upon which the Union's image is alone reflected? Politicians may attempt it; crazy fanatics may rail at it; European emissaries may toil for it, and send money to the native traitors to facilitate it; but we believe that beneath the present agitation and strife, Providence conceals a future blessing to this Union, and that is its peace and permanent endurance.

When the Mexican war was declared, there was a majority of the people of this country who believed it aggressive and unjust. The election of 1844 had turned, in a great measure, upon the question of annexing Texas; James K. Polk, the democratic nominee, favoring it, while Henry Clay, the whig candidate, opposed it. That election, discarding the foreign vote, was most unquestionably a triumph to Mr. Clay, and a significant sign of opposition to Texas annexation. But, what effect had that freedom of opinion upon the war? Why Americans, you all know, it was no

sooner declared than citizens of all parts of the Union rushed to be enrolled and press into battle. In six weeks two hundred thousand were ready to take up arms. In three months two hundred thousand more were enlisted; and, had it been necessary to vindicate our nationality and preserve the Union, a million of men would readily have gone to the fight. And can any sane mind believe that now, when the internal foes of the Union and the constitution have declared war against them, to be fought in a single day at the *ballot-box*, that the love for them will be less intensely exhibited? Who can doubt that the mere suspicion of treason to this government will merge all sectional questions, and occupy with one thought this whole people, who will march to the music of the Union, and sweep out the offenders and the offence?

In the late European war in the Crimea, it was difficult for the allies to keep forty thousand men at any one time upon duty. Why? Because these troops did not move by patriotic emotions, or a cultivated national feeling. Many of them had never held a rifle before, and would miss aim in a hundred successive shots. Americans, on the contrary, are mostly target-shooters, and rarely waste

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ball and powder. As they are in war, so they are in peace; ready to sacrifice all for the glorious privileges secured to them by the free institutions under which they live. By all, then, my countrymen, that is dear to the patriotism of your country, by all that is dear to the glory and transcendent magnitude of its peace and rising prosperity, by all that is dear to your domestic firesides, to your loved homes, and to all that can give value to the landing of the Pilgrims, to the illustrious memory of their deeds, the achievement of the revolutionary battle-fields, the bright galaxy of your heroes and the pride of country, avoid, by some conciliation, the dangers that now surround us, and let not the world point with scorn, and despots laugh in triumph over our crushed and ruined liberties.

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My countrymen, the love borne to the Union by the majorities of the people, with their vital interests indissolubly bound up in it, repels the idea that they ever will dissolve it while the simple remedy of the ballot-box remains in their hands. They cannot but see the inevitable fate of all the smaller states of the Union, North, Middle, and South. Never again would they have an equality with the larger states. Never again would they

stand as they now do in the Senate. Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, Florida, and the like, would suffer absorption and annihilation. Texas would be destroyed by the Indians on the banks of the Rio Grande. Every Southern state would need all the militia within its own borders to defend itself, and could not fly to the succor of its sister states. If the small states sought foreign aid against the aggression of the larger, that foreign power would afterwards claim them as its vassals.

There are now five of these small states, which are just as strongly represented in the United States Senate as the five largest ones in the Union. New York has no more voice there than Rhode Island, Virginia than Florida. Hence, nearly one sixth of the power of the general government, and the treaty-making authority, is now in the smaller states. But, if ever separation comes, remember no revolution will ever make the Union again what it is now. Our civil and religious blessings, our growth, our resources, the development of our wealth, are gone, and the small states lost forever.

The neglect of the Bible is, in our judgment, the prominent reason for our past evils and present peril. Can anything be more ominous of destruc-

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tion to a people, than neglect of moral culture, and contempt of the principles of virtue and Christianity? What other bulwarks can avail to save our Union? The principles of the Bible, where its spirit imbues the heart, and is acted out in the life, will save us from disunion. Without it, the charm of liberty and the Union is lost. Men are ripe for treason, stratagem, and war. We may make music for a thousand ages, but it will not be that of the song and the shouts of victory of Deborah, when the chariots and the horsemen of Pharaoh were overthrown.

Fillmore's election will give support to private integrity, as well as national credit and honor, and save the reduction of property, products, and commerce. He will be to the whole people as a strong metallic currency was to England in her bloody war with France — the strong confidence by which she humbled the states of Europe, swept the seas with her navy, and sent Napoleon to St. Helena.

Now, what would be the result of rejecting Millard Fillmore, whom a kind Providence has allowed you the privilege to elect, if you would save your country? It is no fancy sketch to tell you these

plain truths. There would be a distress, deep and universal, in this country, never felt before. The banks would be drained of their gold, because their credit would fail; trade would be crippled, and merchants would cease to be able to procure credit at long dates, and therefore obliged to suspend. Manufacturers would not be able to sell their goods, or raise money on them. American industry would then be checked at once. The national debt would be doubled. The taxes upon the people would be increased ten-fold. The credit of the nation would be so reduced that the navy and army would be compelled to disband. There would be such distrust among all the industrial walks of the people, that no one could command a barrel of flour, or a bag of coffee, unless the money accompanied the order. The whole country would be in gloom, and the honest yeomen of the land would smite their breasts and cry aloud, "We are deceived, we are destroyed!" Everything within and without threatens destruction, if Fillmore is now cast aside. The nation's faith and the nation's honor should demand this pledge to be made, and the world reassured that the experiment of self-government has not

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ailed — that America's fortress is still armed and
manned by freemen.

Now, let us look rationally at the matter, and
ask to what amounts the folly of pretending to
advocate, at this crisis, the *restoration* of the Mis-
souri Compromise. It plainly means nothing at
all, but to keep up a practised art of deceiving
honest minds. The day for this has passed; and
it is as pertinent to say the repeal of the Missouri
Compromise might have been avoided by defeating
Franklin Pierce's election to the presidency in
1852, or that some dead man might have lived,
if proper remedies had been seasonably used,
as to say now that the Missouri Compromise can
ever be restored, as it stood when Pierce and the
democratic leaders laid upon it their sacrilegious
hands. Some may ask, is this impossible? We
answer, it is; for, while the South could voluntarily
restore it, it is not to be supposed it would, and
thereby pass condemnation on its own acts.

My countrymen, it is high time to awake from
this delusion, and cast aside this phantom which
is being embodied into pretended substance, and
made an issue in the pending presidential election,
when, in truth, the restoration of the compromise

has no more to do with the election of President than it has with the coronation of Alexander of Russia, or the baptism of the heir of Louis Napoleon of France. And why? We answer, Because the question of restoring the compromise will never be made one for any future President to consider in his official station.

There is no earthly prospect that Congress, which alone could reïnstate what it created and has destroyed, would pass an act of this nature before Kansas was admitted into the Union as a state. We all know that, with the sectional agitation now existing, such a step would rend the Union at once into fragments. It is morally impossible, therefore, and folly even to entertain such an idea. And you also understand the meaning of your own constitution, and know equally well that Congress cannot, if it wished, lay the weight of a feather upon the institutions of a state of this Union. So, whether Kansas was a free or a slave state, — and God forbid it should be the latter! — the Missouri Compromise would not and could not be restored. Then, if it is true — and every man and woman in the land knows it — that Kansas will soon be a free state, asking admission into the sisterhood of the

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Union, it will require more art, we believe, than all the political demagogues of the country contain, to persuade the American people that the election of the President has anything to do with restoring the Missouri Compromise. And it needs high pressure now to be put upon the public virtue of the country, to awaken it to the true sight of its designing foes; that the people may at once see that the Union's strength is alone in its devotion to *constitutional liberty*, and on this *alone* it must stand or fall. The Convention which made the Constitution in 1787, sent out a letter to all the people, giving them to understand the spirit of compromise upon which it was adjusted, and which the States, to maintain it, must preserve. George Washington signed that letter, and we give its language, as pertinent to our present emergency.

“Individuals,” said the Convention, “entering into society, must give up *a share* of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstances as on the object to be attained. In all our deliberations on this subject, the object which the Convention has kept steadily in view, was the *consolidation of the Union, in which is involved our*

prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected."

NOTE FOR PAGE 50.

The full returns to the 1st of October, 1856, will show that our commercial marine exceeds that of Great Britain *one million of tons*; and, if our national progress and prosperity continue in the next three years at the same rate, we have no reason to doubt that in 1860 our commercial marine will exceed that of Great Britain and France combined.

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CHAPTER III.

ON the 4th of March, 1857, the present Congress closes its power. The next Congress will begin its session the following December. Before that time, Kansas will either be in the Union, or at the door of Congress for admission. Now, with a large democratic majority from the South in the House, and a democratic majority also in the Senate, is it not an insult to the intelligence of the people to talk of doing anything with the compromise the next session, while the Senate will still hold its democratic majority in the succeeding Congress, thereby putting the compromise restoration at an end forever! Its repeal, in the language of Millard Fillmore, "was the Pandora's box, out of which have issued all our present evils." The whole country had for thirty years acquiesced in the compromises of the constitution as sacred; and the intelligence, justice, and honor, of the people of the South, were opposed to its repeal just as much

as were the people of the North. It was the act of the democratic party — we mean its treacherous leaders, in league with Pierce, whom they used as the instrument to accomplish their long-predetermined scheme to foster agitation, and perpetuate their own power. Franklin Pierce was the man for their ends; hence the occasion to appropriate him was eagerly embraced. O, my countrymen, be conjured to rise in the majesty of your own intelligence! Search into these matters, and see for yourselves that the Missouri Compromise is dead, and cannot be restored; that with it the President you elect will never have anything officially to do; that it is not *truthfully* any more an issue before the people than the “embargo” which was passed under Mr. Jefferson’s administration, or the alien and sedition laws under that of John Adams.

Never before was so false an issue made as is now thrust before the people upon the Kansas question; as though the majorities of the South did not as fully as the North condemn the leaders of the democratic party and its President for allowing American blood to be shed on American soil by American men. These leaders have incited those

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bloody deeds in that territory, rather than interposed the government and laws to arrest the civil war, and bring the offenders to punishment. Why, then, should fifteen states of this Union be sentenced to the vindictive curses of sixteen others? In commerce and trade, in the struggle for a national existence, in all the revolutionary battles, and the subsequent association since our independence, the interests of all these states have been identified. The fifteen states of the South do not support now a candidate for their own section, but for the whole thirty-one states. And, in proof of this, a majority of these states will cast their vote for Millard Fillmore, a native citizen, and resident of the great State of New York. My countrymen, it is treason to the Union to support any candidate on account of this sectional feeling. It is madness on the part of the people, and will be the dying out of all our national fame.

It will be death to the great commercial metropolis of the country, which has been built up by the common trade of the North and South. This commerce, which has, in this present year, 1856, swelled to the enormous aggregated amount of four billions five hundred millions, was the origin of our present

constitutional government. The cities of New York, Boston, and others, refused to treat with men longer under the unstable articles of the old confederacy of states ; and this desire to give security to the trade of the North and South led to the convention of 1787, which gave us the most glorious system of free government which has ever blessed mankind.

But then, Americans, that commerce was confined to a few privateers. The effects of the Revolutionary War were all around us. Now we have the greatest commercial tonnage of any nation on earth, and soon will have more, if we continue as we are, than all the rest together. See, only last year, 1855, while Great Britain had five millions, the United States had five millions two hundred thousand, and the rest of the world together had the exact amount of Great Britain ; and while, in the last thirty years, the commercial marine has increased in Great Britain twenty-eight per cent., it has increased in the United States fifty-eight per cent. in the same period. (See note on page 46.)

Americans, it is your country, and New York its great emporium, which has outsailed and outnumbered the commercial marine of the whole globe ;

and now owes the greatness of her trade to the Union of all the states. And who, that knows the intelligence of her people, believes for a moment that a city maintaining upwards of eighty-five thousand qualified voters could ever give its vote to a sectional issue between these states? Who believes the merchant, the banker, the ship-owner, the property-holder, the men of the workshop, the master mechanic, and builder, of New York, Boston, and other cities, will surrender the opportunity, when presented in the presidential election, to vindicate the Union of these states? Will the young men, who have all to hope in the rising greatness of their country, hesitate?—will they who look to New York as the national trading and commercial metropolis, and whose ambition would make them run to the music of the Union?

It is the Union as it is, the preservation of the rights of the North and the South, that now calls on the merchants and property-holders of the Empire City of the Union to look to its future name. In New York city, we find, by the comptroller's report in 1856, there is five hundred and thirteen millions of individual wealth; the city corporations also holding forty-two millions of real property, and a

banking and insurance capital of seventy millions. New York city, then, has a capital involved in the welfare of this Union of six hundred and thirty millions of dollars, with a population of six hundred and thirty thousand.

Americans, what unequalled prosperity is here presented! — a city averaging a thousand dollars per capita! And how comes all this? Why, plainly from the concentration of all the trade and commerce of the thirty-one states of this federal Union. Now, let the business men of the country, the property-owners, young men of all trades, the mechanics, say what would result to New York city alone by the separation of fifteen states of the Union from the other sixteen. Let them tell what would result to the *cotton* trade, raised exclusively at the South, but exchanged *exclusively* at the North. In the year 1855, this crop placed to Northern credit alone one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars; beside more than half a million of cotton-bales were manufactured last year at the North, making another hundred millions to the cotton exchanges that season. And what, too, but Northern ships and Northern men were employed in transporting these three thousand five hundred cotton-bales to be

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manufactured at the North? Americans, who can believe that the practical men of the nation, the manufacturers of New England, are not above deception upon the vital question of their own interests, as well as the mechanics and property-holders of New York? Certainly not less than two hundred millions of dollars passed into the hands of carriers, factors, and bankers, in the year 1855; and is it not best to trust the liberties and institutions of your country again to a man who has filled the presidential chair with so much benefit to every interest, that every party endorsed him? Is it not best to take the man who endorsed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, when he signed the compromises of 1850, which made Kansas a free state? We say, is it not wise to secure the man whose devotion to the Union of the states has been demonstrated by his acts, while Providence offers us the privilege to place our country once more at peace?

The election of Millard Fillmore would put an end to Kansas fighting in a single day. If needful, he would march the entire army of the United States to that scene of blood, with the gallant Scott at its head. He would allow the actual settlers of that territory to settle its government for them-

selves ; and, by exerting the influence of the government for the safety of that people, all strife would cease, and a full sweep be given to the energy and enterprise of settlers in all their free pursuits.

Americans, with Fillmore at the helm of state, no more legislation, no more interference from any source, is needed to terminate civil war, and give freedom and peace to Kansas, and lift the pall of human wrong from this rising country ; so that Anglo-Saxon blood may go on to populate, civilize, enrich, and aggrandize the heritage which God has opened for the welfare of our own people, and the good of the human race.

It is time to end a censorship which the sixteen Northern states and the fifteen Southern states are each attempting, through *fanatical* spirits, to exert over the other. It is more baneful to our liberties than that now existing in France, Austria, Russia, or Italy. It is more odious to freemen than the Council of Ten in ancient Venice. We must not forget that conciliation has ever been the bond of this Union, and that it has saved more than once our streets from growing with grass, our rivers from being red with blood, and thousands now in man-

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hood from untimely graves. Let us not forget how the Missouri difficulty in 1820 was settled; how the tariff question, under General Jackson's administration, was adjusted; how the compromise of 1850 made the North and the South sing aloud with joy! It was a *national arrangement*, to which all sections at once consented, and on which all parties harmonized, when a Northern man, with Northern sentiments, who had steadily stood to Northern principles, became a *national* man, and proved true to the constitution and the Union of all the thirty-one states, and signed that law!

Now, when the interests of the country are all affected, and real estate depreciating in value every day, is it not time to box up every other interest, as our fathers did in the American Revolution? Leave the workshop, the counting-house, the agricultural implements lying in the fields of your country, and prepare for the contest for the PRINCIPLES of your government which is to be fought in November without cannon or bayonet. My countrymen, a thousand millions of money could not pay for the ill effects which may result from the *defeat* of Millard Fillmore at this crisis of our history; while his election will be the *certain insur-*

ance upon your commerce, finance, trade, your shipping, inventions, discoveries, educational blessings, your Protestant liberty, and your unbroken union and national renown.

In the light of all these reflections and causes of danger to our safety, and the fear of splitting on the rock of disunion, let us, my countrymen, take warning from the history of all the republics of the past. Where are the communities which have been exalted by prosperity, arts, commerce, and military might? Where are the treasures of Nineveh, the walls of Babylon, the sceptres of the Cæsars? A thousand warnings come across the ocean from the monarchies and republics of the Old World:—Athens, Thebes, Rome, and Byzantium; the flourishing states of Holland, of Geneva, of Venice, — of which nothing is left but the living monument of history. This republic has risen, as it were, from the despotism and ashes of the Old World; and wonderful is our story, mighty our prowess, our progress, our elevation, and we have been saved thus far. For this let us send forth peans of united praise, and give glory to the Author of our being, and of our national preservation!

And now, we ask, who will not join in prolong-

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ing this Union? Who will prove recreant here? Speak, ye patriots, ye sons of the soil, East and West, North and South! Who is able to probe the depth of this subject? It swells the heart with emotions too big for utterance. The Union of the States! What a theme! — a theme which surpasses in importance and magnificence the highest powers of our imagination to conceive, or our pen to portray. How feebly have we spoken! Come, assemble, ye American men! Let your glowing eloquence fill with rapture the listening throng, as you arouse with patriotism, and startle with magic logic, the sons of your soil to the greatness and sublimity of their patrimony! Come, ye proudest of historians, — Bancroft, Hume, and Hilliard, — and reveal the majesty of Plymouth Rock, of Bunker Hill, of Yorktown; the rising enterprise, genius, glory, and boundless prospects of this New World, in the indissoluble charm of this Union! Come, ye muses, — Apollo, Calliope, Calypso, — and celebrate, in strains as sweet as the harp of David, or an angel's lyre, the ineffable grandeur and loveliness of this western empire, in one unbroken unity of brilliant stars!

Come, assemble, ye patriots, natives of this soil,

ye who best know how to feel the inspiration which calls you to defend it, if invaded, with millions of bayonets, or to repose, when in peace and prosperity, under the shadow of its outspread and majestic wings ! Come, weigh, ponder, stand on Capitol Hill and survey the whole horizon in the immense field of your vision, and see if you can estimate its value, or reach in debate the height and dignity of this immortal theme !

Then, in this view, to change the tenor of our remarks, what shall we say of the traitor who dares to stand forth, and, with polluted and murderous hands, with the associates of Catiline at his back, to strike a fatal blow at this Union, and to pull down its pillars ? Erostratus fired the temple of Ephesus, and then disappeared by the light of the blaze. So will those, South and North, who are piling up fagots to set this Union in a glittering flame, cease their madness, and be swept to the insignificance from whence they were taken, while the Union, on the proud pillars of the constitution, will be found standing as on a rock of adamant !

EXPLANATION OF MR. FILLMORE'S
ALBANY SPEECH.

MAYOR FERRY'S ADDRESS.

“MR. FILLMORE: Words cannot express the emotions of our hearts to-day, as we receive you back, the distinguished and honored son of this great state; one who has worthily possessed the highest testimonial which a free people can offer to patriotism and exalted worth, and who is now, by the voluntary action of that people, again selected as their first choice to preside over the destinies of this great republic. The waters of the vast Atlantic could not wash you from our remembrance; and while separated from us by time and by distance, you have lived, sir, as you must ever live, in our warmest remembrance. During your absence, it has been at once the pride and the pleasure of the American people to present your name again as their choice for the high and glorious position of President of these United States, knowing that you sought not office for office's sake. Knowing that no mean ambition could tempt you from the path of duty, yet fearing that your disposition might incline you to retreat from the cares of public into

the pleasures of private life, we have stood in anxious suspense, until we have received the welcome announcement of your acceptance of that honor which it is our wish and design to confer upon you. And if anything could add to the pride and pleasure with which we now welcome you, it is a knowledge of the fact, *'that if there be those, either North or South, who desire an administration for the North as against the South, or for the South as against the North, they are not the men who should give their suffrages to you.'* And, sir, we glory in the patriotic announcement, that you, as the chief magistrate of our united and beloved land, will *'know only your country, your whole country, and nothing but your country.'* It is such a statement as this which will restore peace to our agitated land; will allay the angry passions excited by bad and designing men; will roll back the dark and portentous cloud which threatens to arise, and will stay the further progress of fraternal discord and angry strife. Sir, we welcome you, as a man, with warm hearts, because we love you; but, chiefly, and more than all, we welcome you, because of the proof we derive, both from your past and present course, that the same pure spirit

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of patriotism you have ever manifested will continue to influence you in the future; and that thus 'our beloved country, our whole country, and nothing but our country,' may be preserved from the dangers which threaten it, and may be transmitted with renewed glory, and unimpaired by any act of ours, to remotest posterity.

"Mr. Fillmore: In the name of the citizens of Albany, and on their behalf, I am proud to bid you a most hearty welcome."

Mr. Fillmore, in response, said:

"We see a political party presenting candidates for the presidency and vice presidency, selected for the first time from the free states alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? (Cheers.) Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate? (Cheers.) Would he be required to follow the

same rule prescribed by those who elected him in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be president or vice president, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter as one of his cabinet counsel, or to represent the nation in a foreign country? or, indeed, to collect the revenue or administer the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the president to adopt in selecting men for office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him? These are serious but practical questions; and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for president and vice president, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North. Do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment! (Applause.) And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less zealous of their rights? (Tremendous cheering.) If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party

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succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance."

Here we discover the true spirit of submission to the popular will, and devotion to the entire Union, as it exists under our national constitution. *He does not say* that the election of the nominee of the republican party would not and ought not to be submitted to by the South. But that, if the principle was carried out, of *excluding every Southern man from participation in government by that party, and the cabinet offices, foreign appointments, judges of the courts, and administrative offices of the government, were placed wholly in the hands of the North, that the South ought no more to submit, than would he and his Northern friends submit, if the South, as the South, should attempt to control and act for the whole country.*

Americans, this speech was not made to the South, but was delivered at Albany, the headquarters of sectionalism, and addressed to *Northern men*, warning them of probable danger, and depicting its consequences Mr Fillmore, true to the spirit of

Washington's "Farewell Address," "indignantly frowned upon *the first dawning of the attempt to alienate one portion of our country from the rest*;" while he declares to all the world that *he himself will stand to the Union, no matter which of the presidential candidates shall be elected by the free suffrages of the American people.*

"Will not submit" were very harmless words when used years ago by Gen. Washington, and, later still, by Henry Clay. When it was proposed by Congress, in the Revolutionary struggle, to *elevate foreigners* in the American army, Gen. Washington objected, and said, "American officers would not submit to it;" and when Hon. Edward Everett, in whom every American has infinite cause for pride, was nominated to the United States Senate as Minister to England, there were certain Southern members who objected; when Mr. Clay, perceiving this sectional feeling, arose in his place, and rebuked it, remarking that such a manifestation of *sectionalism* would not be tolerated, — that "the *North* would not submit."

Here the language in both cases was identical with that employed on the recent occasion by Mr. Fillmore at Albany; yet it was then deemed very harmless, and excited no prejudiced remark in any quarter. What now constitutes the crime of the same expression by Mr. Fillmore, whose whole character and conduct exhibit patriotism and devotion to the Union worthy in all respects of his distinguished predecessors? Why, simply that he stands in the way of those whose interest it is to *misrepresent* and calumniate him.

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G. W. Locke

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

CHAPTER I.

THE invention of printing, in 1436, prepared the way for the discovery of America in the same age, and made it a necessity. Why? Because it civilized and enlightened men; and when this was done they wanted more room; their commerce wanted more field; their kingdoms wanted more latitude; their navigation more scope; in fine, every faculty of man expanded, and with a double energy the great work of revolution had begun.

To obtain control over the commerce of the East has been the prize for which the ambition of nations had contended for ages; and to find an easier and more direct route to India was the cause which moved Columbus to set out on the discovery of a western continent. The commerce of the East

controlled the world. Its riches, transported over deserts by the Arab, furnished London, Liston, Amsterdam, &c., with their opulence and grandeur. When the Turks held power on the Bosphorus, this wealth went to Europe and Asia through the Black Sea. When the Venetians wrested that power from the Turks, the Mediterranean became the channel of this Eastern commerce. The attractions of the gold mines of Peru and Mexico, the wars of the Dutch, French, and Danes, did not divert public desire for a direct route from Europe to Asia, until England conquered and established her empire in India over one hundred and fifty millions of people. The French explorers sought this line in vain; and Lewis and Clark, under President Jefferson, of our own country, met with no better success. At last, however, the difficulty is solved! A railroad through this continent is the power which is to control the commerce of the world; and the United States alone affords such a route. The Pacific Ocean is then to be the centre of commerce for the world, and our country thus becomes the centre of civilization.

The moment this road is built, Asia, with its five hundred millions; Europe, with its two hun-

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dred and fifty millions; Africa, and all the islands of the ocean on either side, will seek this transit for their commerce. To go to India now, from the United States, is an undertaking which involves the risk of health and life, a voyage of five months, and of twice crossing the equator. With the railroad, twenty days would be the maximum time for penetrating the heart of India from the city of New York. There, we then shall exchange our products and spend our surplus in the riches of the East.

The trade of the East with Europe now is annually near four hundred millions, requiring three thousand vessels. With our railroad, the cost and time would be so reduced that it is fair to believe this commerce would be increased to seven or eight hundred millions. American vessels and American seamen will then go into the ports of Japan, now opened to us, and return freighted with the products of China and India.

With Asia on one side and Europe on the other, and our steam and sailing vessels at command, there can never be any competition while the nation endures.

The energy of the Anglo-Saxon has already

demonstrated a power which challenges the admiration of mankind. It has been by the Anglo-American that the oceanic currents have been defined, and the Gulf-Stream pointed out to navigators all over the world. It was by the Anglo-American that the Dead Sea was explored. The Anglo-American opened by treaty the ports of Japan, after being so long closed to all but the Dutch and Chinese. Americans have proved the existence of an open Polar Sea, and braved the perils of the Arctic Ocean for Sir John Franklin. What have they done within their own borders? They have taken the Mississippi valley, a wilderness thirty-five years ago, and settled it with upwards of twelve millions of souls. Twenty years ago, where not seven thousand people dwelt, north and north-west of Chicago, they have put upwards of a million. The queen city of the West, Cincinnati, which contains one hundred and sixty thousand people, only dug its cellars a few years ago.

In 1820, the first line of packet-ships sailed from the United States to Liverpool, and prudent men predicted them a failure. In 1835, the learned Dr. Lardner declared the navigation of the ocean by steam to be impracticable. Three

years after which, the Great Western and Sirius steamers came into the port of New York.

The first proposal for a railroad from Boston to Hudson was made thirty years ago, and pronounced an absurdity. Now we have, at least, *twenty thousand* miles of railway constructed in the United States, involving a capital of more than *five hundred millions* of dollars. In 1808, the general government refused assistance to the Hudson and Erie Canal, after New York had appropriated six hundred dollars for a survey. Mr. Jefferson, then president, said, it "might be feasible one hundred years to come"!

The first American who is known to have conceived the idea of railroads by steam was Oliver Evans, of Pennsylvania, who made known his plan in 1781 and 1789, after the adoption of the constitution.

Joel Barlow, in his "Visions of Columbus," in 1787, predicted the Erie Canal in New York, thirty years before it was begun, under De Witt Clinton, in 1817. At that time, political parties took ground against it; but the energies of Gov. Clinton prosecuted it to success. In ten years it had paid the cost of completion, while its present

annual receipts are half its original cost. Towns and villages immediately rose up by the Wabash and Erie Canal in like manner, and as railroads got on the line the banks of every navigable stream were covered by a population devoted to commercial enterprise.

The inhabitants of Portland, Maine, have embarked in the enterprise of building a railroad from there to Nova Scotia, which is now completed, and reduces the voyage of Europe to America two thousand miles. It is three thousand from New York to Liverpool. This effort found favor with European as well as American capitalists, and will tend rapidly to commercial prosperity

When we consider that England, to save a distance of only twelve miles between London and Dublin, built a bridge across the Straits of Menai at a cost of twelve millions of money, we can better understand the economy of expending money to shorten our route eleven thousand miles to Europe.

Everything, therefore, demands, on the same principle, that the Pacific Railroad should be made to shorten and cheapen the transit route for the commerce of Europe and Asia, which we shall

certainly command. Consider, Americans, how in a few years we have spread from a fragment to a continent! We have only one sixth less of territory than the fifty-nine states of Europe put together. We are ten times larger than Great Britain and France. We are one and a half times larger than Russia in Europe. And, when the Atlantic and Pacific states shall be united by the railroad, it is impossible to realize how vast and how grand the results will be to us.

In a philanthropic view, it is incomparable with any war, or revolution, or discovery, save that of our beloved country, and the national freedom secured by our Republican institutions. The railroad will at once become the strongest fortification for the country, and moving batteries of men would be its defence in time of war. The passive intellects of the East will soon feel the attrition of American energy and enterprise; the population that flows in from the Old World will thus be Americanized; and Protestant education, which is as the brain to the body of our institutions, will build up the American systems of free schools, which are the essential element of our liberties.

Liberty has expanded our resources on the

Atlantic, and will, in the same way, advance them on the Pacific, until the islands of the ocean, and the shores of Asia, shall feel the benign influence of American commerce and American laws. The West, then, demands the Pacific Railroad, to add to the prosperity of the country, to open new outlets for the distribution of commerce, and new sources for our national wealth and enterprise. Americans, it is the navigable rivers on the Atlantic which have populated your states. This made it easy to receive and send off the products of the land, and sent settlers first upon the water-courses. As these became populous, the settlers on them drove back into the interior the succeeding emigrants. The valley of the Mississippi was thus peopled. So the borders of the Hudson, Connecticut, and Penobscot Rivers, and Narragansett Bay. At the beginning there were no interior communications to protect the settlements on the rivers, and hence they were not populated so rapidly as the Mississippi valley. Steamers were coeval with that settlement, and this has caused its rapid increase of population.

During the early peopling of the country, and before the introduction of steam navigation, pack-horses were used to carry goods; but the danger and

expense rendered this mode of trade exceedingly limited. The usual time, then, was six months to make a journey from New Orleans to St. Louis by water, which is now performed in eight or twelve days. It was the steamboat, and that alone, which opened the commerce of the Mississippi valley. Corn, wheat, iron, hemp, coal, would all have been comparatively useless without this mode of transportation.

You see now, Americans, how and why the valleys and rivers of the Mississippi were penetrated. On the coast of the Pacific the case is altogether different. The states and territories we own there never can be settled as the Atlantic states have been. Why? Because neither steamers nor sail-boats can penetrate them. A land route is the only way this ever can be accomplished. But will an ordinary road do it? No, it could never be made to pay expenses of transportation. People would therefore refuse to dwell there, while they could seek the water-courses of the Atlantic and Pacific for settlement. The cause why individual enterprise entered into our favorite valleys, and occupied them, and grew wealthy, was owing to their access to

the sea, and other navigable waters, which penetrated the interior country.

Now, what has been done for the Atlantic states by steamboats must be done for the Pacific states by railroad. And let us be assured of one thing, that, with a railroad across the continent, the value of the whole country would be increased incalculably beyond what all our rivers have done, or possibly can do. No other inducement ever will carry settlers to the interior countries of the Pacific states. But, with a railroad, they would soon convert that whole country to a flower-garden. The entire year, at all seasons, would be open to the markets. The energy and enterprise of the settlers would increase with the means of transit at hand. The ice in the Atlantic states, in the cold season, has always been a bar to industry; but this would no longer interfere with progress.

The Pacific Railroad will, of necessity, do all the business of the waters in those territories; the Hudson, the Ohio, and Mississippi, would pour their commerce into that railroad passage. Thus this thoroughfare will extend our commerce and spread our population on the Pacific, as the steamboat

navigation has spread the plains of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

Look at California and Oregon, how within three years and a half they have gathered a population of at least a half a million! What has done this? The gold mines alone. If, then, with a land journey of three or four months, and a costly sea voyage of thirty or forty days, population has thus accumulated, what may be expected when the railroad shall have reduced the distance from San Francisco to Washington city to seven days, and the telegraph has brought us into communication in one single day? For such will actually be the case.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICANS, what has been the consequence of legislating for the states of the Pacific already, which cannot be reached under a six weeks' travel? Let the Indian massacres, and those of Panama, the dangers and sufferings of immigrants, the black catalogue of crime which has made almost a Sodom of California, the utter perversion of the rights of suffrage by the ballot-box, answer. The disorders which have been created there, the villanous practices of stuffing the ballot-box, the elevation of the scum of society and traitors to office, — all these, and other shocking spectacles, which, as a necessity, caused the Vigilance Committee to be appointed by the people for their own protection and safety against these ruffians and murderers, are greatly owing to their isolated condition.

For these causes, a separate republic on the Pacific must ever suffer the most serious dangers, and especially if there should be cause for foreign invasion. Nothing will remedy these evils in

due season but the establishment of a railroad to the Pacific. This would at once rectify all the present difficulties, and regenerate the condition of the people.

The idea of a Southern republic may at first seem absurd. But would the united interest of Lower California, the western coast of Mexico, a part of the British possessions opposite Vancouver's and Charlotte's Island, and removed from the evils of a French population, be of no account, joined to California? Would not the commerce and the gold, and its free soil, interfere with the harmony of the Southern States of this Union? Most undoubtedly. Why not, then, settle the question, not for a time, but forever, by putting a railway, that shall bind with a cord of iron the states of the Pacific and Atlantic?

Independent of the trade of the United States and Canada, this road would be the great forwarder of the staples of China and the East Indies. The reason is, that it would be the shortest, quickest, and least expensive route. The passage by this land route can be effected from three to five miles per hour quicker than by any sea or water route that could possibly be devised.

No one can compute the extent of trade from a railroad across the continent, connecting the Columbia and San Francisco Rivers with New York, China, Japan, Oregon, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, California, the seaports of Europe, United States, and Canada. Americans, these would all commercially centre on this road. The distance from New York to California is thirty-two hundred miles. Allowing the usual rates of railroad travel, with time to eat and to rest on the journey, it will require seven days. If in an emergency, and the usual delays were abandoned, the travel could be made with ease in four and a half days, at thirty miles an hour!

Until gold settled California, the merchants of our country had but a limited knowledge of the trade on the western coast of the Pacific, to China, Japan, and India. Consequently, it was the local traffic of California, Oregon, and Australia, that opened to view the fact that the commercial capabilities of the Pacific are really greater than the Atlantic. The tea trade and sperm whale are confined to the Pacific; while the great staples, sugar, tobacco, wheat, and corn, grow as well on the Pacific as on the Atlantic.

The Sandwich, Society, New Hebrides, Friendly, New Britain, Philippine, and Ladrone Islands, are all accessible, by steamboats, from California; and all their products, therefore, would be turned to use, if the railroad were there. China will unlock her doors as never before when this temptation to extend her commerce is presented. Australia will reap the benefit; while California, the great outpost of the Pacific, will not pause in the opportunity to show the world, and especially this beloved people, what industry will accomplish, in connection with gold, in which resource she is now only second to Great Britain.

How has England obtained ascendancy over the commerce of the world? By making it *free*. England, Holland, and the United States, which compose three fourths of the foreign commerce, acknowledge entire freedom in every commercial pursuit; and, now that we have entered the Pacific by right and title, with our steamships and our experience, what shall prevent us from acquiring a commercial ascendancy over England, Holland, and the world? We ask you, Americans, if anything shall do it? You say, No. Then get about your railroad, and you may say this in earnest.

By the improvement in steam and ship-building, our mariners perform the same voyage to-day in half the time they did fifty years ago. We have already made railroads on the two continents, and we are altogether a changed people since 1800. For twenty-five years after that, our commerce had no facility from steamboats or railways; and it has been but twenty years since we began to realize their full value. All the sources of commerce then were those tributary to the seaboard, while the wealth of the country was kept, from want of communication, beyond their reach. We had not then, either, the men of method and mind equal to the emergencies of trade, as we have now. We had not a monied capital then, as now, opened to all. When we compare ourselves with the past, and see what new facilities of greatness the nation has found out, we should be grateful, elated with our destiny, and ready for action.

And if, with our small means, we have attained such development on our Atlantic borders, what, with our ships, our steamboats, our capital, our experience, and our railroad, are we not destined to accomplish on the Pacific shores? The railroad will open new strength, and new channels of

thought, as well as action. It will make our country the agent and carrier of the commerce of the world; and it becomes all classes of our country — all who regard its prosperity, all who regard the benefit to their children and their children's children — to rally to the railroad as the great highway of our national prosperity and greatness.

While men are quibbling and blundering about the best route, Nicaragua might make a canal or railroad, and establish trading settlements, which would materially interfere with our prospects. Every day gives greater importance to the political, commercial, geographical, moral, and social reasons which show that we are risking much, losing much, by the delay.

The Atlantic was always more formidable to explorers than the Pacific; consequently the East, in the early ages, was more rapidly populated than the West. The oceans, we must remember, were as much ours by right, before we had a sail or harbor on our coast, as now. The Pacific territory was acquired by us through the Mexican war. It was purchased then by the sweat and blood of American men. It has been the means of increasing our commercial wealth and greatness. To occupy and enjoy

this, the railroad has been projected by the wisdom of men who, from the beginning, have seen that this territory, obtained at so dear a cost to the United States, must either be made subservient to the interests of the whole country, or be wrested from us for a new republic.

It cost just twenty thousand dollars to discover America; and for this small sum the Queen of Spain had to pledge her jewels, so great were the financial embarrassments of the government from the Moorish wars. It is true, Columbus never saw the United States in its present limits; but he was at Cuba, five degrees from Florida. Henry of England took six years to determine the proposal which Columbus made him for aid in this same discovery.

How incapable was the human mind at that period to comprehend the advantage of spending twenty thousand dollars, to see if there was any such place at all as this New World of ours! Just as incredulous are many to the prospective results of the Pacific Railroad. Yes, with all the light and knowledge, and the mathematical demonstrations of its effects upon our national destiny, the timid and circumscribed intellect is as hard to convince as the child is that there is not a man in the moon.

When America was discovered, England had not a greater population than we had when we declared independence. Printing had been but twenty-one years in use; the English language had not been spoken a century; there were but four merchant ships belonging to London, and the people were opposed to trade. Two centuries elapsed, after that, before England had dug a canal. Manufactures were almost unknown; and it was upwards of a century after the discovery of America before England built her first stage-coach.

And now, with a railroad access to the entire continent, the blessing of our unequalled government and wise and wholesome laws will make us felt and propitiated by the entire world. What makes England the first commercial power in the world, but the control she has over the markets of Asia and the continent of Europe? The possession of California has now added to the national wealth of America, by opening to us the same commerce of Asia.

Central as the United States are between the two continents of Europe and Asia, and producing the two great staples of tobacco and cotton, we need but a highway of steam from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and mail steamers from California to China, to over-

step England, and claim supremacy in commerce to her. Why has England, thus far, made us dependent upon her for commercial news? Because she has an overland route, which secures her mail facilities. The mails are taken from London to Canton, and *vice versa*, in sixty-five days; to us, in seventy-seven days. If we construct a railroad, now, to the Pacific, and connect California with China by mail steamers, the whole distance from New York to China will be accomplished in the incredibly short time of twenty-four days. England then would become dependent upon the United States, not only for mail facilities, but for the products of Asia, which would be made available through us.

England, by her Cape of Good Hope and overland routes, has obtained a monopoly over the East India trade and that of China. The government of the East Indies forces *opium* to be introduced, which is the important drug for the Chinese markets. The sale of opium amounts to thirty millions annually. Besides, the cotton and other fabrics which England sends to China bring back to Great Britain annually twenty millions of dollars. Nothing but the American trade has saved China from being exhausted in money. We deal with China to about

half the amount of England; for which we send specie, or bills drawn to our account, payable in London. Now, it needs but for us to establish more rapid communications, to enjoy all the advantages England now possesses. Our central position gives this natural facility. We have but to use the appliances of science and art which God has given us the intelligence to appreciate, to take the commercial balance into our own hands.

It is now reduced to a moral certainty that *cotton* cannot be grown to any extent in any soil yet found out but that of the United States. It is, therefore, the first staple of our trade. Tobacco is next in importance, as such. Its use is now becoming general throughout Europe and in some parts of Asia. It is only kept from China by England, who forces opium upon her people, and makes the difficulty of obtaining tobacco from us. We alone might substitute tobacco for opium, and thus rescue a people perishing so rapidly from the use of that poisonous drug; the Chinese greatly preferring tobacco, but the English, jealous of our staple, take care to throw every obstacle in the way of its introduction, well knowing that it would entirely supersede the use of the deadly narcotic in which they are so

deeply interested. We might receive, in return for our tobacco and cotton, the amount in tea and silk, for which we now pay twenty-five millions annually.

Look at the true state of the case. England has to buy of us the *raw* material, out of which she fabricates the basis of her foreign trade. She gets our wool and cotton, and makes muslins, cottons, calicoes, handkerchiefs, and cotton yarn, of *our cotton*, and broadcloth, cassimeres, blankets, camlets, of *our wool*. We also make the same articles. Both export to China; yet we find, by a comparison of one year, that ours reach scarcely *one twentieth* part of England's, for the reason given, — that she commands the market by her mail facilities of communication.

Take the trade in *tea*, and compare our commerce and England's with China, in the sixty years from the time we began to trade with China in that article, and look at it. The first voyage of commerce from the United States to China was in 1785; but the trade was not really opened until 1792. It has so increased that now our importation of *tea* amounts to sixteen millions of dollars annually. From the beginning of our trade with China, we have imported from that country to the value of upwards

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of two hundred and fifty-eight millions of dollars, while our exports have amounted to only a little over eighty-six millions. Thus we have paid China in precious metals upwards of one hundred and seventy-two millions of dollars!

From 1792, when our trade began with China, to 1827, silver to the amount of eighty-eight millions and upwards had been shipped direct from the United States to China. In 1827, China, owing to the opium trade, had become indebted to England very largely, and American bills, payable in England, began to be used in lieu of coin; and from 1834, these American bills on Chinese accounts amounted to about sixteen and a half millions, while the specie in that time sent from England was only between seven and eight millions!

So, since 1834, England has been steadily draining our coin to the amount of seventy-five millions seven hundred and fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, and settling with China by bills of credit, for which we have to pay specie to her.

CHAPTER III.

Now, this drain of England upon us is preposterous. Our own products are sufficient to pay for all we get from China; and it is *our* products which pay a premium to the labor of England, and cause a loss to our manufacturers and mechanics. It is the increase of *our* products by the art and value of British labor which actually pays for nearly the whole of the teas and raw silk England imports from China.

There are other advantages connected with the steamers to transpose the mart from China to the Pacific, meeting the railroad at that terminus. These steamers can be so constructed as to supersede the government force needed there, and save the treasury annually one million and a quarter of dollars. The extensive and unprotected coasts of California and Oregon render them liable to foreign aggression, and demand, in this point of view, the serious consideration of the people. Before the

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acquisition of California we had two hundred vessels employed in trade in the Pacific. Since then, there are, at least, six hundred and fifty American trading vessels. The amount of our property exposed there on the coast is nearly seventy millions. The whaling business alone is valued at thirty millions, with an employed force of eighteen thousand men in the North Pacific; and our annual revenue is estimated at ten millions.

Our acquisition on the Pacific at once inaugurated a new era in the industry, energy, and enterprise, of the American people. It was their voluntary labor which levelled mountains, felled forests, and swept the plains with a torrent of emigration, in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the basin of our lakes. And when the facilities of moving whole bodies of men are given to the people by the railroad, and time and space at once annihilated, the pulpit, the press, and institutions for education, will multiply, and thus expand and strengthen the bonds of our liberties.

The geographical, physical, and moral power of the United States constitute the basis of their greatness. Great Britain has thirty-four thousand square miles; Austria, Hungary, and Italy, three

hundred thousand ; France, less than two hundred thousand ; we, Americans, over three and a half millions ! Geographically, Russia compares as one to one hundred and twenty ; Austria, as one to nine ; France, as one to five and a half ; United States, as one to ninety-six ! While we have therefore a field to display our enterprise, all we want is avenues to exert it in its full vigor.

This railway will save ten or twelve days over the Panama route. It will transfer the capital of Europe to us, which is now used in monopolizing the trade of Asia. It will give to Americans the key of the West, and fix forever the channel of Asiatic commerce (which for centuries has been oscillating) upon the best, safest, and quickest route of transit through the heart of this nation. Safety, security, protection, advancement, all require the construction of this Pacific Railroad. The gold of California has now become the essential stimulant to all the industrial pursuits of the country. The destruction of the monthly shipment to New York would send a shiver through all the commerce, finance, and industry, of this country, that would be incredibly severe, in a single week.

Now, consider how easy foreign cruisers and

privateers could cut us off from this receipt of the essential element of our national vitality! The gold now comes to us over foreign seas, through foreign territory, and over a circuit of six thousand miles. In the event of war, whole fleets would interpose to take from us this arm of our strength. Ships, and troops, and missions, are now necessary to protect our national interest, and protect our commerce on the Pacific; the railway would then protect us, and save all our commerce and territory from foreign aggression.

Throughout the world's history, nations have been elevated or depressed as they advanced or lost commerce; and the changes for three thousand years in Asiatic commerce have settled the question, that the ocean is the obstacle to foreign trade. Land now has been found the facility, and the steam-car the only sure means to keep up distant communications. The United States have consequently the advantage over Europe. We have half the road to India on our own land, the rest on a peaceable sea which washes our shores, and with an impenetrable bar to Europe of the whole diameter of the earth.

This railroad, then, will exalt us to be mistress

of the commerce of the wide world. It will be at the same time the impregnable fortification to save us from the assault of vast armies, or from fierce and bloody battles within our own borders. Who would stop to count the cost of the mere construction, when every interest dear to the hope of citizen and Christian is staked upon the result?

Aside from the commercial and political necessity, the economy and convenience of the nation, the interests of all the people, demand this road now. Americans, take the whole history of the roads in this country in the past twenty-five years, and you will find every dollar invested in them has been worth ten to you.

The vast increase of the West in population and lands is only to be ascribed to its roads. In five years Illinois has doubled her population, and increased her lands five-fold. In these five years ten or twelve hundred miles of railway have been built.

In a moral and educational view, this road must have an immense value. The tendency of population is all west; the field for the growth and prosperity of the people is there. In a few years it will decide all our national measures in Congress;

it will control our national revenues ; and, as the agent for transportation of newspapers, cheap books, and all those methods which tend to enlighten and strengthen the Protestant power of our country, the value of the road cannot be computed. The loss to the country by omitting to build this road has been more already than would have^z supported the entire annual expenses of the government.

The American people now almost unanimously demand this railroad as the great necessity of our times, and they require it to be built in whatever latitude the great mass of the population mostly move ; — on whatever line is shortest, most expeditious in travel, and most convenient to the thirty millions of people who inhabit our thirty-one states and territories.

Three routes out of the eight surveyed at government expense have been pronounced feasible by the Secretary of War in his report to Congress. These are the northern, the central, and the southern lines. By all of them the harbor of San Francisco is acknowledged to be the essential terminus of the road on the west, as it is now the centre of all our commerce on the Pacific coast. The question, then, is, what point on the east as a terminus

will correspond with San Francisco, as the centre of the greatest amount of population and commercial enterprise on the west?

The distance on the southern line from San Francisco to New York is three thousand six hundred and forty-seven miles; on the northern line, including distance yet unsurveyed, three thousand six hundred and thirty-four; on the central line, three thousand two hundred and forty miles. This would give a distance of four hundred miles shorter to the central route. Texas has granted to any company that constructs the railroad on the southern route ten thousand two hundred and forty acres of land for every mile of road built. Now, these lands of Texas are the only unimproved lands on this continent where cotton can be cultivated. Cotton is the staple of our commerce; the rest of the world is depending on us for its growth, and we do not own now a single acre of government land favorable to its production. In this point of view, the grants of land Texas offers become incalculably valuable to our whole country.

The charge for transporting goods across the Panama Railroad is a tenth less than before its construction. Four or five hours now serve to carry

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passengers and freight across the isthmus, which formerly occupied three days of dangerous travel. Freight is now reduced to one hundred and twenty-five dollars the ton. But a railroad from the coast of Texas would not only save time, but reduce the tonnage to one half the amount it now costs from New York to California. The saving of freight, the saving of time, would at once induce every prudent and sagacious merchant to adopt the railroad across the continent, and thus gain thirty or forty days.

The central route starts from New York to the Pacific, and has already been completed to Iowa City. From New York city it follows the Hudson River, the Erie Canal, the great lakes, from Buffalo to Chicago, to Rock Island. The easy passage for a bridge which is placed across the Mississippi at Rock Island seems to have been marked out by Providence as the means to facilitate commerce across the river, and renders the route to San Francisco the most direct and advantageous in the judgment of many eminent men. Next year the route will have reached Council Bluff. All this by individual enterprise, without government aid ; and which

will make the next census count in Iowa over a million of inhabitants.

All that this route needs from the government to complete the road to San Francisco from Iowa City or Council Bluff is a grant of land, taking nothing from the treasury, but augmenting its revenues by bringing the lands into the market. This route is in the centre of about one half of the population of the whole country ; and it is fair to presume, from what has been achieved by the industry and enterprise of the West, that the road will be built on this route, whether favored by the general government or not.

It was the Erie Canal of New York that made the first great revolution in the trade of the country, and exalted that state in wealth and grandeur. Ohio succeeded with her canals between the lakes and the valley, and western trade at once went into New York.

The canals of Maryland and Pennsylvania had no *water communications* from the Atlantic to the Ohio, and failed for that reason ; while New York had a monopoly for thirty years, or until the railroad penetrated the entire West to the banks of the Mississippi. *Steam* conquers all other motors. The

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incredible revenues from the central road of Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio road, for the present year, show this result.

It is steam which has given England her power over the continent, by facilitating the transportation of her coal, iron, salt, and other bulky articles. Why do the inhabitants of cities and towns enjoy greater advantages than those who are settled over a sparse country? Because there is an ampler field for purchase, a greater variety of employments for industry to suit the ability and capacity of the laborer, and greater quickness in finishing work. Where population is collected the competition is greater.

Now, the Pacific Railroad will do for the people of our vast country just what the city or town now does. It will concentrate numbers from small and distant places in an incredibly short time. This will at once lead to prosperity. Greece arose to commercial greatness in this way. Towns in Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, for centuries prospered by these means. Switzerland thus holds intercourse by the Rhine with Holland. While those countries without roads, or canals, or other water facilities, have never risen intellectually or commercially.

We have already witnessed the effect of the railroad upon our vast West, which has conduced to individual comfort and prosperity wherever it has penetrated. There is yet another advantage to be attained by the road across the continent, not to be overlooked by Americans, and that is, its effect upon the diffusion of Protestant principles over our land.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE endless holidays of the Catholic church have always checked industry ; and it is a fact to be remembered, that, although the nominal Roman Catholics (but greater proportion infidels) are more numerous than Protestants in Europe, a much larger share of Europe's exports comes from the skill and ingenuity of Protestants than Catholics. In Ireland, linen-weaving, the only great branch of manufacture, is almost wholly in the hands of Protestants. In the vast margin of the West yet to be filled, it becomes a question of the first moment to the nation that it be occupied by Protestants, whose education tends to strengthen our liberties, while that of Romanism is designed to subvert them. The West will soon hold the balance in our national exchequer, and elect our chief ruler ; and it is impossible to be too vigilant in promoting and spreading Protestant education over all that portion of our people. The railroad, more

than soil, more than mines, will tend to this result, by bringing all sections of the Union together, and advancing knowledge to the remotest limits.

The revenue of our country arises chiefly by consumption ; and the wealth and power of our whole country would be increased and secured by the increase of a Protestant American population. The individual income of such a people would also be increased. Why? Because the reward of labor in all the manufacturing and mechanic arts would induce the individual to adopt a uniform pursuit ; while the father of a family would not be compelled, as now, often to sacrifice education and personal comfort for the mere sake of living.

Thus, Americans, as the commerce of the country expanded, so would all the arts and pursuits of industry expand, as it grew great and powerful. The Pacific Railroad must increase the medium which circulates and regulates commerce ; it must enlighten and expand the energies of men ; it must spread the influence of American institutions over mankind, and dissipate that very darkness, under which men have been deluded, and their means squandered, to grow rich without labor, or wise without learning. Foreign force and do

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mestic treachery have struck at the foundation of our political edifice. We need at once to balance the public mind by free Protestant culture, so that our people shall reason before they act.

Before the discovery of the mines of California and Australia, the coin came from Mexico and South America. Since the discovery of these, a new era has been inaugurated in our commerce with the world. In 1849 and '50, the first flood of gold came into the country; and in the three following years, '51, '52, and '53, the enormous sum of one hundred and sixty-six millions had been added to the circulation, including about thirty millions in the hands of individuals. This caused a change in the condition of the people, who, seeing the steady increase in three years, predicted a rise which would, at last, amount to one hundred millions annually. Then everything in speculation, expense, and importation, increased. Banks sprang up, and paper was used as gold; wages and work increased; railroad bonds were issued by the million; life and fire insurance companies multiplied. But on what was all this based? Was it upon the gold and silver in the bank vaults of the country? Not at all; but upon the *fiction*

which men without reasoning adopted, and the delusion under which they acted.

By the returns of the first six years subsequent to the discovery of gold in California, two hundred millions of that metal had been added to the circulation of the world. Australia, though not so long known, brought fifty millions more ; making two hundred and fifty millions more money in use than before the discovery of these mines.

By the official banking returns of the United States and Europe for that period, we find that there was no more money on hand then than before the discovery. Where, then, did this metallic currency go? Why, it went directly into the hands of the people. It, therefore, was not the instrument of the credit structure, which is the proper and only means for making paper the representative of gold and silver ; so that, while this increase of gold gave fancied security to the credit it induced, it had not really anything to do with it.

The mining districts, including all the valuable metals found on the Pacific, will, in themselves, make the railroad eminently desirable for the transportation of these metals. Consider, Americans, that, after eight years of constant mining, and *four*

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hundred millions of dollars obtained, they are still as luxurious as ever. Gold is seen embedded in every stream, mountain, and vale. The copper mines of Lake Superior and Eastern Tennessee have not made even the demand for this metal less profitable. Now, that obtained from the new copper mines of Ajo is wagoned all the way to San Diego, and thence to San Francisco; and still, with all that cost, a large profit is left to the transporter. The richest silver mines ever discovered are in Sonora, in Mexico, which now belong to us. Silver, perfectly pure, has been clipped by the sword of an officer, as a specimen. The Indians have deterred explorers, hitherto, from penetrating these mines; but, now that they have become American property, we shall find American enterprise entering them.

Americans, you perceive these rich mines of gold, iron, silver, and copper, will at once be made accessible by the railroad. Thus it will add to the capital of our country vastly more than it can possibly cost. This Pacific railway will be the harbinger of the future glory and aggrandizement of American institutions. In twenty days we shall be in the most populous cities of Europe

and Asia We have already consummated treaties which secure commerce and trade to Americans, and protect their lives, property, and religious liberty, in Siam and Japan, so long closed against the trade of the world ; and then we will command the accumulated wealth of seven hundred millions of people, and which has enriched every nation that has had any kind of control over it.

England, to maintain her ascendancy over this trade, has already three over-land mail routes, and is now engaged in devising three more, to carry this Eastern commerce to the British empire. But a railroad, to do this for England, would have to extend six thousand five hundred miles, and would take fourteen years to build it. Now, by the compromise of 1850, which Millard Fillmore signed, as President of the United States, we secured the ten leagues of country on the Pacific coast, which included California, and planted our flag there. And, by this means, — made our blessing, under God, — we can make our national road, which will convey us across the continent to the Bay of San Francisco in seven days ; and ten or twelve days from there, by steam, will land Americans in the populous countries of Eastern and Western Asia

and Western Europe. It will give them a hold on the wealth of China, which has been increasing for six thousand years, and bring them in contact with her seven hundred millions of inhabitants in twenty days from the day they leave New York.

This railroad, then, will put sectional agitation among our people at rest, and set them about these new channels of trade and commerce. We have now control of the *cotton* market of the world, and the certain prospect of having the same power over *wool*. Iron, also, in every state but one, is abundant enough to supply the whole American continent; and, in a few years, we shall likewise control the market of this great item in trade. Gold, too, will then be more rapidly diffused over the civilized world, and this will facilitate the activity of our commerce. A greater amount of labor will then be made available, to work the mines of California and Australia, than ever before.

The effect of the discovery of the precious metals in California has been to stimulate the latent energies of men to an extent never witnessed before, and has been the means of forcing the necessity of a railway upon the common sense of the American people. The poor man will be

more benefited than the rich by this road ; and the labor employed in the development of our new territory, and the exploration of its mines, will prevent any superabundance of laborers in the most thickly-settled parts of the country, and stop the poor man from working for the pittance he now does.

The manufacturer, also, by the increased freedom to commerce which the constant and rapid transportation of gold from California and Australia will then command, will find himself better able to cope with the manufacturers of Europe.

According to Professor Blake, the great gold field in California, notwithstanding the large increase to the circulation of the precious metals, has not yet been fully explored. There is a field seven hundred miles in length, and about fifty in breadth, containing thirty-five thousand square miles, eleven thousand of which are rich in gold, sometimes extending to the depth of six feet in the sands of the coast. This is repeatedly washed out of the black sand by the tides. The number of square miles worked, but imperfectly, we are assured by Dr. Trask, in his work on geology, never exceeds four hundred at a time ; and fewer persons were

engaged in mining in 1854 than in 1852, although the product of gold was in '52 forty-five millions of dollars, and in '54 sixty-one millions. This was owing to the increased advantages of working the mines by proper machinery.

Now, by the highest authorities we find that the amount of gold in the whole world, in 1848, was two billions nine hundred millions of dollars, or six hundred millions of pounds; while, by the increase from the mines of California and Australia since that time, at least four billions of dollars have been added to that amount, which would make now, in the whole world, six billions nine hundred millions of dollars of gold, beside what is worked into jewelry and plate. And, Americans, does it not cause a thrill of triumph in your hearts to know that, of this increase to the precious metals, your own State of California has contributed three hundred and thirteen millions two hundred and eighty-five thousand five hundred and two dollars and seventy-seven cents; and other parts of America, seventeen million seven hundred and sixty-six thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight dollars and fifty-seven cents?

CHAPTER V.

M. TEGOBORSKI, Counsel of the Empire of Russia, in writing of the influence of the gold fields of California and Australia, estimates that by them the amount of gold and silver in use in Europe will be doubled in thirteen years, and throughout the whole world in twenty-four years.

Beside, what is the effect of the discovery of the mines of California in Europe? Why, it has raised real estate four per cent. per annum, and advanced all kinds of produce in like manner. It has also advanced the wages of labor in like ratio. How? Because the poor working-man, before dependent on the employer for the mere sustenance of life, is now driven to another field of operation, and incited by the desire to accumulate, and thus changing often the state of things by making the rich man dependent on the laborer.

So those who remained as well as those who went to California were benefited. If that was so

in Europe, let us turn to our own country, — we, the possessors of California. We see how our commerce is extended; we see, day by day, how eagerly the accumulations of gold and silver in our bank-vaults are taken and transported into other countries, to bring back their merchandise to us. Why? Because its shipment to England, France, and Germany, equalizes the value of gold, and prevents the dangers to trade which result from keeping it under bars and bolts. The railroad to the Pacific has now become a necessity to the American people, that they may enjoy the free heritage God has given them, opening all the avenues to wealth and industry, and making their voice heard on the hills, in the valleys, the cities, and the plains, of the whole earth. This, Americans, will be the great triumph of the American States over commerce, mechanics, and manufactures, which nothing can impede beneath the stars.

The railway and the canal will be the true conquerors of the world. Around them will centre the industry and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race. There the Protestant emigrant will seek his new home. They will become the majority of the

population, and the consequent possessors of most of the property of the country.

The telegraph will then become the electric medium of exchange, which, without a visible chain, will link the American Union to the world. "Lo, what hath God wrought!" were the memorable words which passed over the wires of the first telegraph ever made in the United States, a few years since, between Baltimore and Washington, a distance of but forty miles. Now, Americans, we not only find it in the full exercise of its magic power in all the states of this mighty Union, but actually preparing to bring us in speaking distance of the other continent.

You all know that the Island of St. John's, Newfoundland, is the most eastern point of North America, and Valencia is the most western harbor of the British Isles. The waters of the St. Lawrence have long since cut Newfoundland from the continent. Now a submarine telegraph has been laid, which brings Newfoundland and the main land again in contact; and the distance from St. John's to New York, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty miles, can be reached by direct communication. But still the ocean was to be crossed to

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reach Europe, and the question arose how this could best be done. Some proposed extending the line to Labrador, Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands; but to this there were insurmountable objections, and, after the investigation of scientific men, it was decided that the line must also start from Newfoundland to Europe, a distance of nineteen hundred miles, on account of the depth of the water, essential to the success of the enterprise.

The plan devised, and about to be executed, is this: A line of wire three thousand miles long will be placed on two war-ships in mid-ocean, one belonging to the United States, the other to England. These will each take half the wire. The wire will be covered with gutta percha coatings, and will be made of the best conducting material, accompanied by a machine, invented for the express purpose, by Dr. Whitehouse, of England, in order to ascertain when the wire is broken or damaged, and the exact point of interruption.

Thus, Americans, by your inventive genius, you are with one grapple about to join Europe to this country by a telegraph, which will start at Newfoundland, and end at Valencia, in Ireland, with one thousand nine hundred miles of cable resting

in the Atlantic Ocean! This is not an ideal sketch, but a living reality, that in 1857, next year, the British Isles and the United States, though divided by a stormy ocean of three thousand miles, will by science and machinery *hold conversational intercourse* with each other; and, at the same time, the distance by railway between Nova Scotia and Portland, Maine, will have diminished our travelling distance from Europe eleven hundred miles!

These mighty works show the mutual benefit England and the United States are each to the other, while they continue as they are. While the energy of this great American people, too rapid for carrier pigeons, and even steam, and eager to extend and profit by every advantage in commerce, invention, finance, science, and arts, and to move in the rapid march of civilization over the whole globe, has already forged the chain which is to bind us to the three ancient continents of the Eastern world.

Well might Mr. Dallas, the American minister, declare that the great telegraph, now making, would afford Americans the opportunity soon to respond to the toast given to Americans in London

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before the dinner ended. "When famine distressed other lands, in the land of Egypt there was bread." So with our beloved country: from the diversity of its soil and climate, its power in raising subsistence will so increase as the humbler condition of society advances by intelligence, that it would be physically impossible to arrest the march of the American people in commerce, wealth, or mental activity.

Now we come to the great question, who is to make the road to the Pacific, — Congress, that is, the general government, or the people?

We say it cannot be built without the coöperation of the government, because there are fifteen hundred miles between Missouri and California, over which Congress alone has power to legislate. The constitution, which gives Congress the right to regulate commerce, allows the general government to build the road to California from New York, for a mail route, if it so decided. Congress can give or sell the public lands, as it pleases. Congress can appropriate money, if it pleases, to build a road or roads through the landed estate of the government for mail transportation, or military purposes. We do not advocate the especial claims of either of the three routes surveyed. Each has its advantages;

and all may be laterally connected, or ultimately and separately constructed. But, we say, had the present administration done its duty, and favored the building of the road to the Pacific three years ago, — instead of burning Greytown, making Ostend conferences to seize Cuba by “divine” right, and repealing the Missouri Compromise, which has brought upon us intestine war, — our country, instead of being divided, distracted, and agitated, would have been running a new race in dignity, and political and commercial greatness.

The administration, on the contrary, early receded from this national measure. The leading presses, which sustained it, followed in elaborate articles against the road. Senators of the same political school declared the measure would be worse than the alien and sedition laws of John Adams. They saw no power in the constitution, while grant after grant, in the last seven years, has been made by Congress to the Southern and Western States. The people saw nothing to prevent it, and with more energy than ever before renewed that demand.

When, therefore, the Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, it was necessary to appease popular

indignation on the administration's course upon the Pacific Railroad; and while there existed in the minds of the leaders of the party the same determination to persevere in their old policy, and prevent the building of a national road to the Pacific, they introduced a sham resolution in favor of that measure, which *ruse* not being fully understood, *the resolution was three times voted down in the convention*, and only passed finally *after* the members became initiated in the scheme to cheat the people, and understood its introduction was simply *to secure their votes*.

There is one fact about that proceeding which the American people should remember and consider in this connection, and that is, that the Pennsylvania delegation, the friends and neighbors of Mr. Buchanan, to the last, gave their vote against the sham pretence to favor the railroad. And what is still further to be borne in mind is the fact that the resolution pretending to favor the Pacific Railroad, *which was intended to secure the votes of the North and West*, was not introduced until *after* the platform containing a resolution *opposing* internal improvements of all kinds had been passed, and *after James Buchanan had been nomi-*

nated on it. So we find that not a single democratic paper at the South publishes that railroad resolution at all, as embodied in the platform.

The American party is fully committed to the fortunes of the Pacific Railroad, in its advocacy of internal improvements to promote the common interest and welfare of all the states; and, should it attain to power, it will as certainly secure coöperation from the executive of Millard Fillmore, as that water finds its level.* And the people will immediately perceive how favorably his action will compare with the present administration, commanding, by its precious and beneficent results, the gratitude and favor of the whole country. They know very well that Mr. Buchanan would not sanction the measure if elected to the presidency, as did the whole democratic party know it. But they knew the *pliancy* of their candidate, even better than his friends and neighbors; and that he would *appear* to be the warm advocate of the Pacific Railroad, or anything else, to secure the suffrages of enough of the American people to elect him, with the aid of the foreign vote. And it is only done in other places, where it is necessary to aid the democrats in their present struggle for a continuance of power under Bu-

* See Mr. Fillmore's Letter, in favor of the Pacific Railroad, page 451.

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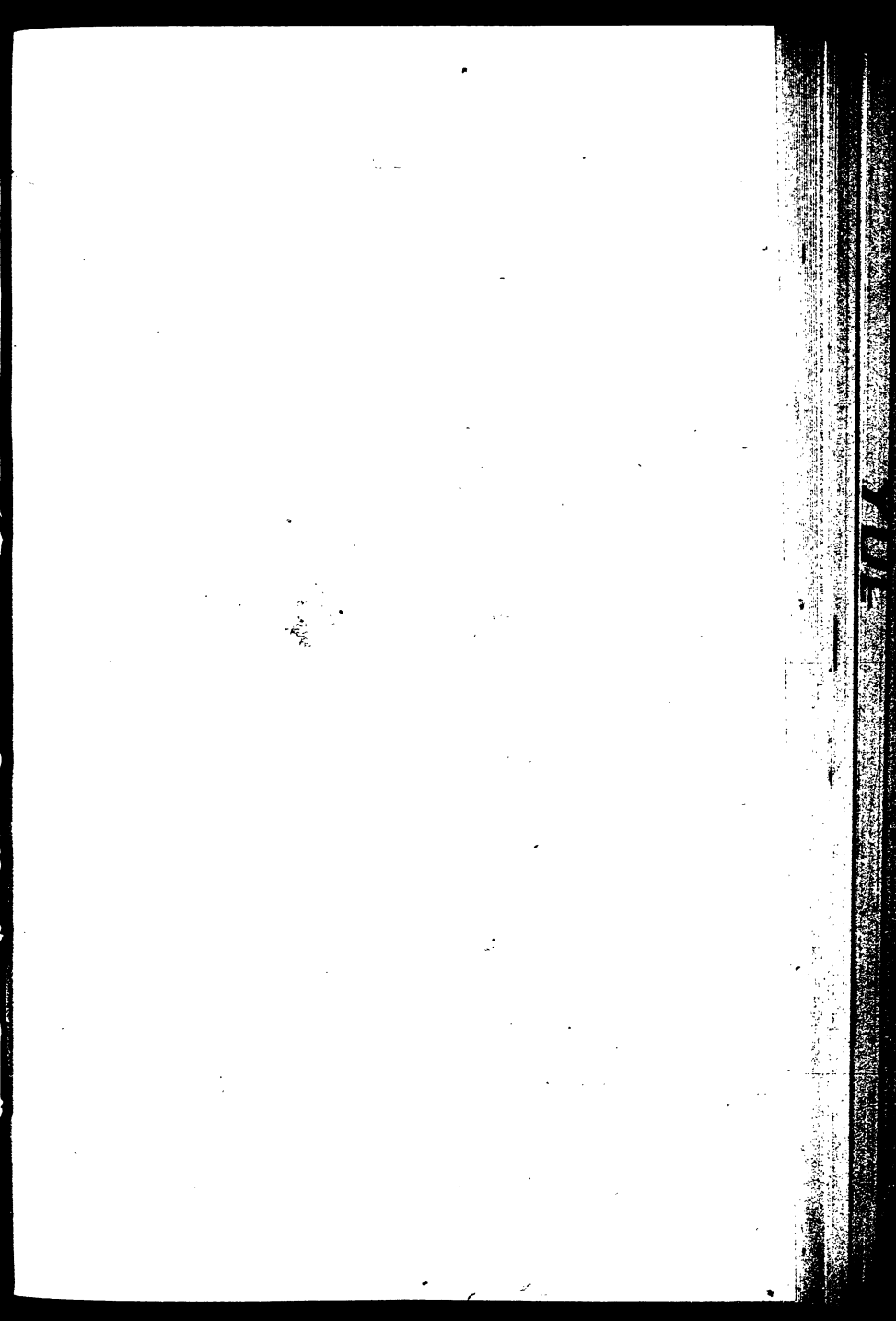
chanan. So that Americans can decide how much his enterprise has to expect in that quarter.

In view of the absolute fact that the *creed* of the democratic party, as embodied in the platform of the Cincinnati Convention, most explicitly *opposes* the railway to the Pacific, and that no *sectional* party can make this road, which needs the joint action of the whole thirty-one states, we can discover no possible hope in the next four years for the continental intercourse and commerce, the convenience and blessings which it will afford this whole people, but in the election of Millard Fillmore.

Americans must remember that the *only* appropriations for the improvements of our commercial channels, since the days of Gen. Jackson, 1837, have been made during the presidential term of Mr. Fillmore, with the exception of a trifling amount expended under Mr. Tyler. This being so, it becomes now of infinite moment, when this road is needed to preserve the *integrity of the Union*, as well as *to save our Pacific states from a separation from the Atlantic states*, that we should have immediate legislative and executive *action* on the subject. California was brought into this

Union by the compromise of 1850, and by the tried statesman, Millard Fillmore, who, in his first message to Congress after he became President of the United States, expressed his executive recommendation in this strong and explicit language :

“The unprecedented growth of our territories on the Pacific in wealth and population, and the consequent increase of their social and commercial relations with the Atlantic states, seems to render it the duty of the government to USE ALL ITS CONSTITUTIONAL POWER to improve the means of intercourse with them. The importance of opening a line of communication, the best and most expeditious of which the nature of the country will admit, between the valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific, was brought to your notice by my predecessor, in his annual message ; and as the reasons which he presented in favor of the measure still exist in full force, I beg leave to call your attention to them, and to repeat the recommendations then made by him.”





A. B. Ely.

ROMANISM OPPOSED TO OUR LIBERTIES.

CHAPTER I.

A RECOGNITION of the Protestant religion as the support of this government has been made by all who have administered it in the true spirit of republican freedom. Washington, Madison, Monroe, Adams, Jackson, and Harrison, offered supplications to God "to make our country continue the object of his divine care and gracious benediction." So do the principles of the American party date their origin with Luther, and were witnessed in the flames which made martyrs of Cranmer and Latimer. These principles came to our shores with the Protestant Huguenots of Florida, who were there murdered by the Spanish Inquisition for "seeking freedom to worship God." They afterwards passed over with the Mayflower, when the Pilgrims landed

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on Plymouth Rock. They appeared prominently in all the Revolutionary battles; they were embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which our fathers signed, and then sealed with their blood.

When it was resolved, in the second session of the Continental Congress, 1774, "to open to-morrow with prayer at the Carpenters' Hall," Rev. Mr. Duché, whom Mr. Adams called the *most* eloquent man in America, made the first prayer, in these precise words :

"O Lord, our Heavenly Father, high and mighty King of kings and Lord of lords, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers on earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires, and governments, look down in mercy, we beseech thee, on these American States, who have fled to thee from the rod of the oppressor, and thrown themselves on thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on thee. To thee have they appealed for the righteousness of their cause; to thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, heavenly Father, under thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council, and valor in the field; defeat the malicious

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designs of our cruel adversaries ; convince *them* of the unrighteousness of their cause ; and if they will still persist in their sanguinary purpose, O, let the voice of thine own unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle. Be thou present, O God of wisdom, and direct the councils of this honorable assembly ; enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundation, that the scene of blood may be speedily closed, that order, harmony, and peace, may be effectually restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish amongst thy people. Preserve the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds ; shower down on *them* and the *millions* they here represent such temporal blessings as thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, thy Son and our Saviour. Amen !”

At the close of the Revolution, 26th of August, 1783, Washington's first words, when he appeared before Congress, were a grateful acknowledgment to God, who had guided the Americans to battle and victory. And so he subsequently expressed himself,

when he resigned as commander in chief of the army, 23d of December, that same year. Upon the memorable event of his inaugural as President of the nation, he said :

“ In this first official act, my fervent supplication is to that Almighty Being, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the *invisible* hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States ; and the destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as deeply, perhaps *finally*, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.”

When the convention sat to frame our constitution, and when all the governments of modern Europe had been examined without finding one suited to the condition of the American people, Dr. Franklin arose and addressed the president upon the importance of prayer ; that, as “ God governs the affairs of men,” no blessing could be expected upon their deliberations without it ; and that the constitution was the result of the infinite wisdom of the Almighty, and beyond the powers of any mortal

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assembly of men, is the indubitable conviction of the American people.

Thirteen years before the Declaration of Independence, Pownal, who had been Governor of three of the colonies, made this prophecy of America's destiny :

“A nation to whom all nations will come ; a power whom all powers of Europe will court to civil and commercial alliances ; a people to whom the remnants of all ruined people will fly ; whom the oppressed and injured of every nation will seek for refuge,” he exclaims, “ACTUATE YOUR SOVEREIGNTY, EXERCISE THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF YOUR THRONE.”

And, now, without a monarch, an army, or an aristocracy, it will defy every Judas and Cain, foreign or native, who interposes between the rights, the honor, and the religion, of the American branch of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Our national interest and Christianity are inseparable ; and as the people of the land of Bunker Hill, who built and paid for their churches, resisted the right of a foreign Andros to ring their bells, so will Americans, who claim the Protestant as their religion, resist the further aggression upon their

schools, their property, and their institutions, by the political Romanism, of which they justly complain. At a recent meeting in Hope Chapel, New York city, Dr. O. A. Brownson, editor of the *Roman Catholic Review*, said: "We Catholics are here a missionary people. We are here to *Catholicize* the country. It remains for *us* Catholics to make it morally, intellectually, spiritually great. We are here God's chosen instruments for that purpose." Mr. McMasters, another fierce Romish editor, said: "Catholics were here not only to contribute to support their religion, and thereby their priests, but to make the people understand it. If they did not do so, they would be wiped out from the land in a sea of blood." How are the poor papists to understand it, Americans, when the priests keep them in ignorance, by shutting out the light of truth from their minds? The leading French journal of the 3rd of April, this year, speaking for the Romish church, says: "Railroads are not a progress; telegraphs are an analogous invention; the freedom of industry is not progress; machines derange all agricultural labor; industrial discoveries are a sign of abasement, not of grandeur." The following is from the *Univers*, their most influential paper in all

Europe: — “To make Rome the District of Columbia for the whole world, and the Pope the interpreter of the constitution of the United States.” This declaration of the above journal expresses, of course, the avowed sentiments of the papists now in our republic.

Is it not time, Americans, to expose this worn-out foolery, when the great aim of this foreign concern is to say mass over our nation's soul? With *papal* baptism, *papal* matrimony, and *papal* rulers, what is to be the effect on our country, unless Protestantism counteract such teaching over the minds of the *papal* masses?

We have shown, in another chapter, that their device of baptism is a most entangling scheme to proselyte and extort money, and make its votaries slaves. That confession to the priests, in order to salvation, is an *invasion* upon personal liberty, and all sorts of human liberty. That the Church of Rome does interfere with *liberty of thought*, by denying the right to *read, buy, or circulate* books. And by its decrees in council it has taken the *Word of God out of its system*, and made it a criminal offence for any subject of their church to have *anything to do* with that holy book! By

their Catechism of the Council of Trent, p. 313 this Romish system says, "*Without the presence of the parish priest, or some other priest commissioned by him, or by the ordinary, and two or three witnesses, there can be no marriage.*" They thereby declare that *none but Catholic priests can perform the marriage ceremony.* They have made this *civil rite, then, a sacrament.* They can dispense with prohibitions, or make them to suit all circumstances; and have, for political purposes, removed the impediment, and married brothers and sisters! The Church of Rome, therefore, begins with a *rite* to make *subjects, at birth*; to *secure* them through *marriage*; to *rule* them through life; and by indulgences and absolution in the *Confessional* to license practices of all iniquity; and sends them to Paradise, or denies it, in proportion to the amount of money paid.

We contend, as a Protestant people, that no power but the Word of God, or argument, and human persuasion, can be lawfully used to influence the conscience of any man. The constitution regards the *religion* of men so far as to require men to believe in God, and in the existence of future punishment and reward. Without this

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belief there is no sanctity to oaths. But the Romish confessional can absolve oaths, and render any law of our country a nullity which is opposed by the priest; and, consequently, the priest wields a secret power above our government and the laws of the land. There is not a thief, there is not a murderer, or a perjurer, or an incendiary, or a traitor, if he is a papist, but can go the very next day, or within a week, after the committal of the crime, and get absolution of the priest. If a papist swears in a court of justice on our Protestant Bible, he regards it as having no binding force on his conscience. Is not, then, the confessional a most dangerous and anti-republican power? The idea that religious opinions and secular trusts have no connection, and do not interfere with the discharge of public or official duty, has been a sad mistake with Protestants long enough; and to this mistake or error the rapid advancement of Romanism may partly be ascribed. Take *marriage* as an illustration. Protestants hold it in the light of a *civil* contract, of divine institution, *but not peculiar to any church*. Catholics make it a *sacrament*. The people, at first, look at this papal rite and obligation as of very small consequence, and would not regard it in connection with a man's fitness for office, whether

connection with a man's fitness for office, whether his *opinion* was for or against it, as a sacrament. But, when it is understood that the descendants from every Protestant marriage in this country are pronounced by that church *illegitimate*, it becomes a matter of immense consequence to look at the effect of the system in connection with liberty.

By a treaty, or concordat, of the French government and the Pope, Pius VII., under Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1802, it was agreed to reestablish the cures and sees, under certain conditions. The Pope declared himself very grateful, and publicly said he owed more to Napoleon than any other, next to God. But the laws of the French government in regard to marriage were distressing him, and in 1807 he sent a cardinal from Rome to Paris to negotiate the difficulty. Afterwards the discussion opened at Rome, when the doctrine that *no marriage was real or valid without the intervention of a priest* was decided. But, finding the French code was extending through Europe, he despatched instructions to his church to counteract the immoral doctrine of marriage as a civil right. The accompanying are extracts of the Pope's letter to Poland, in 1808, where an attempt was made by law to con-

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form to this dogma. "Such a transaction," says the Pope (in this letter), "proposed by a Catholic prelate to a royal minister, upon a subject so sacred, considered in its consequences, in its whole tenor leads directly to consequences which sectaries have proposed to themselves, namely, to make Catholics and bishops, *and even* the Pope himself, confess that the power of governing men is indivisible.

. . . . For a Catholic bishop to acknowledge in Catholic marriages, civil publications, civil contracts, civil divorces, civil judgments, is to grant the prince power over the sacraments and discipline. It is to admit he can alter the forms and the rites; can derogate from the canons; can violate ecclesiastical liberty; can trouble conscience; that he has, by consequence, power over things ecclesiastical, essentially privileged, and dependent on the power of the Keys; which is as much as to say, he can put his hand in the censer, and make his laws prevail over the laws of the church. The bishop should either have *dissembled*, and *tolerated* a disorder imposed by irresistible force, or he should have informed the royal minister that the code, so far as respects marriage, cannot be applied to Catholic marriages in Catholic countries."

CHAPTER II.

THEN the Pope goes on to say: "If we examine the history of nations, we shall not find a Catholic prince suffering to be imposed on his subjects the obligation to publish their marriage, or discuss its validity or nullity before a judge of the district. If pastoral remonstrances proved useless, the bishop should still have continued to teach well the flock committed to his care, —

"1st. That there is no marriage if it is not contracted in the form which the church has established to render it valid.

"2d. That marriage once contracted according to its forms, no power on earth can sunder it.

"3d. That it remains indissoluble under all acts and circumstances.

"4th. In case of doubtful marriage, the church alone decides the validity or invalidity.

"5th. Marriage, without canonical impediment, is indissoluble, *whatever impediment the lay power*

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may impose, without the consent of the Universal Church, or of its Supreme Head, the Roman Pontiff.

“6th. That every marriage contracted, notwithstanding a canonical impediment, though abrogated by the sovereign, ought to be holden null and of no effect ; *and that every Catholic is bound in conscience to regard such a marriage as void until made valid by a lawful dispensation of the church, if, indeed, the impediment which renders it null may be removed by a dispensation.*”

Americans, you all allow that marriage constitutes and *perpetuates* society ; that it commends itself, as of the first importance, to the civil power. Are you willing, then, to surrender duties so momentous to the order and peace of families and our country, and enacted and sanctioned by our legislatures, to *foreign* priests, or to any priesthood whatever ? The Romish system, by the Council of Trent, says : “ Marriage contracted without the solemn forms of the church is void, which this council could not have done if it depended on the nature of two contracts, which depend on two distinct powers, — the one, civil, and dependent on civil laws ; the other, religious, and dependent

on the laws of the church." The belief that it is *necessary to go to the Pope of Rome to get a dispensation from a canonical impediment*, because a man regards marriage as a sacrament, and not a civil contract, and that his union by the civil law would be void, and his children illegitimate, without it, is a sufficient cause, we say, to disqualify any Romanist from holding a civil trust under our Protestant government, and cannot exist without affecting his conduct as a public officer, no matter what may be said or affirmed to the contrary. The system that blesses *horses and dogs* for money, in the name of the Holy Trinity, may well afford to curse American Protestant liberty. This law of Romish marriage, therefore, is most pernicious and anti-republican.

In 1654, after the final rising of the Council of Trent, Pius the Fourth issued a *creed*, which is received universally by the Roman Catholic Church, and is by a bull enforced upon the profession of *every doctor, teacher, and head of a university*. No election or promotion is valid without it. Another papal law requires the same profession of the heads of cathedrals, monastic institutions, and the military order, which law directly interferes with

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liberty. Milner, a popish writer, in his "End of Controversy," chap. xiv., says: "The same creed, namely, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV., DRAWN UP IN CONFORMITY *with the Holy Council of Trent*, and EVERYWHERE RECITED AND PROFFESSED TO THE STRICT LETTER," &c. In addition to a *profession of faith*, twelve NEW ARTICLES, as foreign to the Christian creed as light from darkness, are subjoined. The following are extracts from each of these articles:

1. "I admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical *traditions*."

2. "I admit the Sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the Holy Mother Church held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; *nor will I ever interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers*."

The first binds the soul to pagan traditions; the second, to the impossibility of *thinking* or *acting* as a responsible being!

3. "I profess that they are truly seven sacraments, instituted by Jesus Christ, for salvation, namely, *baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance,*

extreme unction, orders, and matrimony; and that they confer grace."

4. "*Without the sacrament of baptism, which is the sacrament of faith, no one can ever obtain justification.*"

That is, without the priest blesses the soul!

5. "*That in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.*"

Every priest by this act is made to offer up a sacrifice of our blessed Saviour, directly violating that passage which says, "Christ was *once* offered up." If Christ was only *once* offered up (not by the priest, but by himself), how can he be offered up *again*, and that, too, by a priest? But this "sacrifice of the mass" is not Christianity: it is papal mystification and paganism, — an absurdity. None but a Catholic priest can offer up the sacrifice of the "mass," and turn a wafer into a God!!! Who can think of such blasphemy without a shudder? But this is not the worst of this turning a "wafer" into God. Rome *compels* physically all persons, whoever they be, to bow to, and worship, this wafer-God!!! Is not this *compulsory law* anti-republican?

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6. This article speaks of *Purgatory*, — that is, a temporary punishment for the faithful on their way to heaven. “The souls therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.” Prayers, well paid for, are one of the most *successful* of Rome’s deceptions to enrich her treasury. The father, for the soul of his child or wife, employs *the official services of the priest, to deliver that soul* from the horrors of purgatorial torment! It makes slaves of the poor laity, whose hard earnings and scanty wages are exacted and given to this end; while the priests extort and secure *endowments* from the deceased wealthy, to save them from punishment!!

We find a church in Venice, in 1743, was in arrears for sixteen thousand four hundred masses; and Florentine tells of a Spanish priest who was paid for eleven thousand eight hundred masses which he never said! Thus do the priesthood of Rome traffic in souls; cheat the people of liberty; cheat them of their money; cheat them of their hopes; cheat them of their salvation! And this purgatorial lying, extortion, and compulsion, are anti-republican.

7 and 8. These articles profess belief in the doctrine of heathen worship of *saints*, and *images*, and

relics — “the *image of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God,*” and of other saints. This belief is binding on all.

This is anti-Christian, and tends to make the people heathenish ; and this pagan ignorance is inimical to the whole genius of our republican system.

9. Professes *faith in the power of indulgences*, which directly promotes and gives license for crimes. “I also *affirm that the power of indulgence was left by Christ in the church*, and that the use of them is most wholesome to a Christian people.” They are very “wholesome” for the Pope and priests to fill their coffers with money, and to multiply crimes all over the land. They are sometimes called “*bills of exchange on purgatory.*”

These indulgences are dispensed by the Pope *through the priests*. They are a bundle of licenses to commit all manner of iniquities. There is always a great *demand* for these little packages ; and, depending on the *foreign will* of the Pope, they bring a fine price, and give the hierarchy an unbounded power over their people of the whole earth.

10. “*I acknowledge the Holy Catholic, Apostolic Roman Church for the Mother and Mistress of all churches ; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop*

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of Rome, successor to St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, Vicar of Christ," "THE MISTRESS OF ALL CHURCHES."

Is there anything to surpass this arrogant assumption of priestly power,—*this direct allegiance to the Pope?* What is it but a slavery, which our free spirits should denounce, and at which we should revolt? Is our country safe with such a decree?

11th. "I likewise, undoubtedly, receive and profess all other things, delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons of the General Council." This is adopting all the *persecuting, immoral* legislation of the "Council of Trent," the "worst of all." Yet, every priest and every papist in our land is bound by *oath* to receive "all things defined, delivered, and declared," by that Council. "And I condemn, reject, and anathematize, all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized." Here at one sweep they curse all *heretics*, or *Protestants*, wherever they are found.

12th. "This true Catholic faith, without which, no man can be saved, which I at present freely profess, and truly hold, the same I will take care of as far

as in ~~the~~ lies, and shall be most constantly held and confessed by me, whole and unviolated, with God's assistance, to the last breath of my life ; and by all my subjects, or these, the care of whom, in my office, belongs to me, shall be held, taught, and preached." "I THE SAME, N, PROMISE, VOW, AND SWEAR, SO HELP ME GOD AND THESE HOLY GOSPELS." *This is the priest's article especially. He is a slave to the Pope, and is himself a PARISH POPE TO THE PEOPLE.*

Mark this, Americans: the Romish priest swears by an oath that there is no salvation to those who do not believe this creed ; that is, who do not believe in the supremacy of the Pope, indulgences, transubstantiation, purgatory, image worship, saint worship, persecution against Protestants, traditions, &c. He swears also to spread these anti-Christian and persecuting doctrines among those under his care, and to do all he can to enforce them, without reference to right or liberty, to his life's end ; to suppress freedom of thought and speech, and to make subjects for the Pope of Rome ! Now, Protestants, all this is subversive of our free institutions. If the priests and the papists do not oppose, denounce,

and persecute to death (whenever they can and dare), all Protestants, they swear *to a lie*.

We repeat, they are *bound*, by their *oath* to the Pope of Rome, to receive all the persecuting and tyrannical decrees of the general councils of that church. We say, they are *bound* to teach and diffuse principles utterly opposed to all the dear and cherished rights of American liberty to your children; and they ought not to be intrusted with the education of freemen, if you wish to preserve the precious and glorious privileges of our land. The whole body of papists, by the creed of Pius IV., is fastened and indissolubly *bound* up with the hierarchy of Rome! And how dangerous and inimical is it to the liberties of this republic!

CHAPTER III.

WE will now give you the *precise* oath which binds every Roman Catholic bishop in the United States of America, and in the whole world, to the Pope of Rome and his throne. It is taken from Barrow's *unanswered* "Treatise on *Supremacy*," and is a COMPLETE FEUDAL OATH. Here it is :

"I, N, elect of the church of N, will henceforward be faithful *and obedient* to St. Peter, the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to *our Lord*, the Lord N, Pope N, and to his successors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, *consent, or do anything*, that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or *hands any wise laid upon them, under any pretence whatever*. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their *messengers*, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. *I will keep them to defend and keep the holy papacy*, and the ROYALTIES OF ST. PETER, saving my order,

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against all men. The legate of the apostolical see, going and coming, I will honorably treat, and help in his necessities. THE RIGHTS, HONORS, PRIVILEGES, AND AUTHORITY, OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH OF OUR LORD THE POPE, and *his foresaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any council, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the Romish church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state, or power ; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power, and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge.*

“ The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, 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, OR HIS FORESAID SUCCESSORS, I WILL TO MY POWER PERSECUTE AND OPPOSE. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I am hindered by a canonical impediment. I WILL BY MYSELF IN PERSON VISIT THE THRESHOLD OF THE APOSTLES EVERY THREE

YEARS, AND GIVE AN ACCOUNT TO OUR LORD AND HIS FORESAID SUCCESSORS OF ALL MY PASTORAL OFFICE, and of all things any wise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and, lastly, of the salvation of souls committed to my trust ; and will, in like manner, humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands.

“ And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all things aforesaid by a certain messenger, hereto especially empowered a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage ; or, in default of these, by a priest of the diocese ; or, in default of one of the clergy (of the diocese), by some other secular or regular priest, of improved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs, to be transmitted by the aforesaid messenger to the Cardinal proponent of the Holy Roman Church, in the congregation of the sacred council.

“ The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, — no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, — without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any

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alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. SO HELP ME GOD, AND THESE HOLY GOSPELS."

Such is that servile and persecuting oath. This doctrine of the *supremacy* of the Pope and the *priesthood* makes *bond-slaves of all people who belong to them*. It makes a *God on earth* of the Pope at Rome. He is an ambitious *tyrant* over the *PIESTHOOD*, and the priests are *tyrants* over the people.

No man can take this oath to the Pope, and be a *faithful* or *true* citizen of the United States, or a safe and *consistent* citizen of any country. No *Catholic bishop*, then, is an *honest* citizen of the United States ; if he were, he would be a *perjurer*. In another chapter, we have shown, in the memorable contest between the Pope and the *republic of Venice*, that *the Jesuits all turned traitors, and fled from Venice, and went over to the Pope!* *The Jesuits, who are the Pope's greatest propagandists*, never did, according to all history and the authority of the *French Parliament*, dwell in any country, without destroying its *liberties* and its *morals*. The foreign hierarchy who control the Roman Catholic church in the United States to-day are Jesuits,

from the leading bishops spread over the states, to the Irish priest who came by the last emigrant arrival.

It is in accordance with the American principle to examine everything presented to us. We are carrying forward the glorious emancipation Luther began. The liberty, *civil* and *religious*, we so earnestly cherish and develop, is Bible liberty, and its home is on American ground. Without note or comment, we send that blessed book abroad over the world, the emblem of this ennobling, sublime liberty, and the guardian evidence to all who breathe American air to stand erect as freemen, and to bow, unmolested by papal curses and bulls, in the worship of our God. This blessed volume has been translated into more than one hundred and sixty languages of the earth; and, without the cost of a single mass or prayer for a soul in purgatory, it is, through American means and Protestant teaching, enlightening, and comforting, and instructing, millions of the human family.

Two years ago, there was a consecration in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, of Bishops Bailey, McLaughlin, and Dr. Goesbriand, by the papal Nuncio, Monsignor *Bedini*. The Jesuits then took that

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oath in Latin, as we have given it in correct English ; but the priests published a version in *English*, for the newspapers, and little pamphlets containing an account of the ceremonies ; one of which pamphlets is now before us, and it contains a complete and wilful *forgery*. It omitted all the *persecuting* and *political* part, which the *oath* we give contains, and which is the *exact* one used here and at Rome this very day. They always *deny* this gross deception to Americans, and three fourths of the American Roman Catholic laity also deny it. Why? Because these Jesuits find it expedient to *cheat* and *deceive* Protestants and their own papist subjects in this American land.

Cruelty is a *central principle* in the Church of Rome, and, therefore, anti-republican. It is very common, at present, with Roman Catholics, to deny that their church approves religious persecution, and in this assertion they are backed up by ignorant or designing Protestants, for political purposes solely. But there is no fact more clearly proved, both by history and the dogmas of their church everywhere contained in their canons and bulls, and carried out in practice to the present day. The prisons of Rome, and all the Italian prisons under

the influence of the Pope, are, at this moment, filled with victims groaning under these horrid cruelties. The Inquisition, in some form, and every priest and his devotees, are agents to execute this intolerance.

The commentary of Menochius, which is a text-book at all Catholic colleges and seminaries of learning, declares, in connection with the parable of the wheat and the tares, that the Saviour "does not forbid heretics (or Protestants) to be taken away and put to death," and refers to Meldonatus on this special article of their belief. And these are the words of the authority alluded to: "They who deny that heretics are to be put to death ought much rather to deny that *thieves*, much rather than *murderers*, ought to be put to death; for heretics are the more pernicious than thieves or murderers, as it is a greater crime to steal and slay the souls of men than their bodies."

Bellarmino, the papal authority constantly appealed to, says: "Experience teaches us that there is no other remedy (than death); for the church has advanced by degrees, and tried every remedy. At first she only *excommunicated*, then *finned*, then *exiled*; at last she was compelled to have recourse to *death*."

* * * * * If you throw them (Protestants) into prison, or send them into exile, they corrupt their neighbors by their *language*, and those who are at a distance by their *books*; therefore, *the only remedy is, to send them speedily to their proper place.*"

The following is the curse of Pope Benedict VIII. :

"May they suffer the curse of God and of the world; may they suffer it in their body, may their mind become stupefied, may they meet with all bodily pains, and end in perdition.

"May they be damned with the cursed ones, and perish with the wicked.

"May they be cursed with the Jews, who did not believe in our Lord, and crucified him.

"May they be cursed with the heretics, Protestants, who attempt to overthrow the Holy Mother Church.

"May they be damned in the four parts of the world: cursed in the east, abandoned in the west, interdicted in the north, excommunicated in the south.

"May they be cursed in the day, excommunicated in the night.

“May they be damned in heaven, on earth, and in the regions below:”

Says the historian Bruys: “Secular powers, if need be, may be compelled by church censures to *destroy all heretics (Protestants) marked by the church, out of the lands of their jurisdiction.*” — Labb., Tom. 13, p. 934. Bruys’ Hist. of the Papacy, Tom. iii., p. 148.

The Council of Constance, 1414, in which Pope Martin presided, not only condemned and burned alive Huss and Jerome of Prague, but issued their terrific anathema against the millions of heretics all over Europe, and *commanded* all kings, emperors, and princes, forthwith to exterminate by fire and sword.

This dogma of persecution is introduced into the class-book at Maynooth Jesuit College, for which England contributes annually thirty thousand pounds sterling.—See Delahogue’s Tract. Theolog., cap. 8. De Membris, p. 404, Dublin edit., 1795.

The oath which every Roman bishop swears contains this central principle of persecution.

The following propositions are taken from Dr. Den’s System of Theology, a text-book for every papal theological seminary in the land:

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."

A converted Popish priest, in a late work, says :

"During the last three years I discharged the duty of a Romish clergyman, my heart often shuddered at the idea of entering the confessional. The recitals of the murderous acts I had often heard through this iniquitous tribunal had cost me many a restless night, and are still fixed with horror upon my memory. But the most awful of all considerations is this, — that through the confessional I have been *frequently apprised of intended assassinations*, and most diabolical conspiracies; and, still, from the ungodly injunctions of secrecy in the Romish creed, lest, as Peter Dens says, 'the confessional

should become odious,' I dared not give the slightest intimation to the marked-out victims of slaughter."

Pope Urban II. says :

" We do not consider those as homicides who, burning with zeal for the Catholic church against excommunicated persons, happen to have killed any of them."

Pope Sixtus V., in a public address, applauded the assassination of Henry III. of France.

The Rhemish translators of the New Testament, on Rev. 17 : 6, " Drunken with the blood of the saints," say :

- " Protestants foolishly expound it of Rome, for that they put heretics to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries ; but their blood is not called the blood of saints no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer."

Bellarmino and Maldonatus, two of the highest authorities at Maynooth, teach the same doctrines. The proceedings at Rome in regard to the massacre of St. Bartholemew prove that Rome would have equally gloated over the Gunpowder Plot, if it had

only been successful. She has never disavowed any of her atrocious principles, whilst the recent avowals of Dr. Cahill, the *Rambler*, and the *Shepherd of the Valley*, demonstrate that modern Papists are quite as bloodthirsty as their ancestors.

“The Inquisition was first established at Toulouse, in 1233. It subsequently spread in Spain, Portugal, and other countries, increasing in power and cruelty. The managers of the inquisitional courts were men of low origin and brutal nature, who had unlimited power from the Pope to put to death any person suspected of heresy ; and heresy, in the Church of Rome, means nothing but opposing the pretensions of the Papacy. Under the tryannical sway of the Inquisition, parents were required to stifle all their natural affections, and children forgot their reverence, gratitude, and love. The immense power of the Inquisitor General we refer to. Among other practices of the Inquisition, it was common for persons to be seized and murdered in order to get possession of their property. It was in vain to search the world for an institution to compare with this in atrocity and merciless barbarity. ‘Deliver yourself up a prisoner to the Inquisition,’ filled the soul with horror, and made

the frame motionless, for it was the prelude to the dungeon and death. The infamous practices of the inquisitional courts were made up of cruelty, blood, death!

“Romanism has not changed by the light and progress of civilization. In 1825, under Pope Leo XII., the work of the Inquisition was recommenced with great vigor. It was as dark, baneful, and bloody, as ever. From that period until the late revolution in Italy, scenes of horror transpired, the details of which are known only to their atrocious authors. In 1849, the Constituent Assembly determined that the tribunal should be abolished, and the building appropriated to some military purpose. In the buildings were the bones of human beings without number, thrown together in a manner to shock the feelings. There are to-day a thousand patriots suffering, in gloomy and filthy dungeons, all the horrors that the victims of the Inquisition endured. The truth is, that the spirit of deadly persecution is inherent in Romanism. It is one of its vital forces. While Romanism prides itself upon its immovability, progress is an integral part of Protestantism; and its onward march, however slow, is steady and direct.”

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To those who think that this spirit of intolerance is relaxed in our day, either in the United States or in other lands, we could present a volume of convincing and overwhelming facts to prove the contrary. But the following specimens will be sufficient :

A few years ago, a Protestant minister in the West, after preaching to his own congregation on the subject of Popery, was met by the priest of the town at the church door, and told by him that, "were it not for the laws of the country, he would cut his throat." "Yes," said the minister, "I know that already."

The Rev. Mr. Nast, of Cincinnati, who has been instrumental in the conversion of many German papists, by preaching, lecturing, and publishing a German paper, received a letter a few months since, stating that if he did not stop his efforts, they would do with their fists what their priests cannot do with their pens, "*knock your eyes out.*"

An Episcopal clergyman in the West stated that a member of his church married a Roman Catholic lady, who, by his influence, was converted to the Protestant faith. The father of the young lady called to inquire if it was so. "Yes," said the

daughter, "it is." On leaving the house, he said to his son-in-law, "Sir, I will never be satisfied till I have washed my hands in your heart's blood."

Who was it, a few years since, that drove six hundred families from the Austrian empire into the Prussian territory, because they would not renounce the reformed religion? It was popish priests.

Who was it that drove the Rev. Mr. Rule from Cadiz? Papal authorities, directed to do so by the archbishop of the see.

Who flogged a man nearly to death for renouncing Popery, in the State of Pennsylvania? It was a popish priest. In the neighborhood of Doylestown, a German Catholic attended a funeral sermon of a Protestant minister, after which a priest called and asked him if he had become a Protestant. "If you have," said he, "you have committed a mortal sin; confess your sin to me." "I have confessed my sin to Christ," said the sick man, "and obtained absolution." The priest urged him with increasing warmth to confess; he declined. The priest then seized a chair, jumped on the bed, and pounded him with it till he broke it in pieces; he then took from his pocket a raw-hide, and began

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to scourge him, to compel him to confess. A stranger, passing by, hearing the noise, entered the house, and, finding the priest in the act of scourging the sick man, he seized him by the collar, and dragged him down stairs. Soon after, the man died. The priest was arrested and tried in Doylestown court-house, and fined fifty dollars and costs, and left the country.

Who was it that threatened the city of Boston? It was the lady superior of the convent, who, after that unclean and anti-republican cage had been attacked by rioters, said: "The bishop has more than twenty thousand Irishmen at his command, who will tear your houses over your heads, and you may read your riot-acts till your throats are sore!" We condemn the riot, but did that justify this diabolical and bloody threat of this female Jesuit?

Who was it that persecuted recently four hundred Madeira Protestants, and forced them to flee from their native country? The priests of the island.

A convert to Protestantism, travelling along the road leading to Scariff, Ireland, in the county of Clare, was accosted by some laborers in the field. After threatening him several times, they at length

suffered him to pass, saying, "If you dare to come this way again, you bloody Sassenah rascal, we'll blow your brains out!" — *Limerick Standard*.

A savage-looking ruffian violently attacked the Rev. Mr. Marks, a Protestant clergyman, late of the Molyneux Asylum, in the public streets of Dublin, and, without provocation, knocked the reverend gentleman down. What next? — *Warder*.

On the evening of Wednesday last, 13th inst., as John Honner, a respectable Protestant, was returning home from the Macroon Sessions, he was savagely assaulted midway between Castletown and Enniskeane, by some person at present unknown; no less than sixteen wounds having been inflicted on his head and face, besides several others on his body and limbs; his skull was severely fractured. — *Cork Standard*.

The names of nearly one hundred persecuted Protestant clergymen are given in the Tipperary *Constitution*. The manner in which they were treated is thus marked: stoned to death; murdered; stoned; fired at; dangerously assaulted; abused and persecuted; plundered; interrupted and assaulted in the performance of duty; house

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attacked, demolished, or burned down; driven from his home, or his country.

Some time ago, M. Maurette, a French Roman priest, was brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and, in consequence, abandoned the pale of the idolatrous and apostate church in which he had been brought up. Having convinced himself of the danger of continuing in Babylon, he wished to induce as many as possible of his countrymen to flee out of her infected communion. With this view, he published a statement of the reasons that had led him to adopt the Protestant faith, and plainly and forcibly exposed the superstition of Rome, by the usual arguments employed by the divines of the French Protestant church. For this he was condemned, on the 17th of May, 1844, by the Court of Assizes of L'Ariege, to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of six hundred francs!

You have all heard of the brutish papal persecutions at Damascus, where two or three of the unprotected sons of Abraham were recently flogged, soaked in large vessels of water, their eyes pressed out of their sockets with a machine, dragged about by the ears till the blood gushed out, thorns driven

in between the nails and flesh of their fingers and toes, and candles put under their noses, burning their nostrils. This is Popery! After hearing of this act of persecution, and hundreds of others constantly taking place in papal countries, and our own country, who will believe that this unchangeable church has changed her system of butchery? What she has been she is now; and you, my Protestant brethren, would feel it if she had the power.

Now, with the fact of the presence of this mighty enemy in our beloved land, what more astonishing than the apathy and blindness of our statesmen, and the slumbering security in which our patriotic citizens, to whom liberty is so sweet and dear, fold their arms, and never dream of papal danger? Do they imagine that our country is too great, our resources too vast, our numbers too overwhelming, to feel the slightest apprehension on this subject? What was it but a spark that kindled up the conflagration of Rome, and that was to blow up the Parliament of England? What was it but a Guy Fawkes, employed by the Jesuit priests to make that fatal arrangement, to overturn Protestantism in England? What was it but one gilded bauble from the Pope that corrupted the royal monarch,

Henry II., to submit himself and kingdom to the dictation of the Vatican? What is it but Puseyism, now in the hands of the subtle and scheming Nuncio of Rome, aided by the University of Oxford, and the crafty spies and emissaries of Rome, that is undermining the foundation of Protestantism, and shaking the fancied stability of the throne of the Stuarts, in that land of the early Reformation, and heroic defenders of the bulwarks of liberty?

Do our listless Galbas imagine that the *two thousand papal bishops, priests, and Jesuits*, with their millions of obedient subjects, and multitudes of endowed nunneries, seminaries, and colleges, planted over our land like so many batteries, with their guns and ammunition ready for action, are sent here and put in operation merely for the idle amusement of that foreign potentate? Is the prize less tempting, by its surpassing beauty and magnificence, than other territories and states, at which its policy has been directed, and over which its skilful and deep-laid plots have triumphed? There are but a few of our people, comparatively, who are aware of the secret and mighty springs which are at work in the wheels within the wheels of this spiritual and political machine. Its central power

is at Rome ; but its army of chameleon and vigilant spies are everywhere. Our people may despise its intrigues, and laugh at the warnings of more reflecting patriots, who stand like sentinels on the watch-towers of liberty ; but-so reasoned the inhabitants of Troy, when the treacherous wooden horse entered within its gates and took the city.



Erasmus Brooks

HON. ERASTUS BROOKS.

ERASTUS BROOKS was born in Portland, Maine, January 31, 1815. His mother descended from a family for many generations belonging to New England, and noted for their active participation in our Revolutionary battles. His father, also, rendered efficient service in the ocean scenes of the war of 1812-15. He was the brave, skilful, and successful commander of the "Yankee," and was lost at sea near the close of the year 1814, while in the public service. Mr. Brooks' mother was left without the aid of fortune. Her son was obliged, therefore, when a boy of only eight years of age, to begin to make his own way in the world. When just large enough to run upon errands, but with the spirit of a man in his child's heart, he directed his course to Boston, and there entered a store, and weighed out sugar and tea and coffee for the customers of his employer. He next sought independence by a trade of his own, and endeavored to obtain the rudiments of an education by attending an evening school. The subject of our sketch, who is now eminent as an editor of marked ability, commenced his printer's career as the "Printer's Devil," and arose gradually to the position of printer, publisher, and proprietor of a paper, at Wiscasset, Maine, which bore, in honor of his father's sea efforts, the significant title of "THE YANKEE." Here his habits of industry were displayed in a manner that

won for him the respect and admiration of all who witnessed his career. He set the types of his paper, worked the press with his own hands, by the aid of a boy, and distributed the copies among the subscribers himself, at day dawn! All the work in and out of doors was performed without any other assistance than that of a small boy hired for the purpose,—as a “roller-boy,” &c. Young Brooks, now becoming more ambitious, thought he could edit as well as print a paper; and without the usual manuscript before him, he composed as he worked, setting in type his own editorials, and many miscellaneous articles and stories. These first lessons in the editorial profession made it apparent that he needed a better education than he had thus far acquired; and, without considering the hard struggle he would be obliged to make, with his extremely limited means, he at once resolved to possess a knowledge of books as well as men.

Without any pecuniary assistance from others, he commenced to prepare himself for college at Waterville, Maine. He studied the “*Liber Primus*,” Sallust, the Greek Grammar, &c., aided in these exercises by a few friends who were students at the college, and by resident gentlemen who felt an interest in one so well worthy of their friendship. His plans were now somewhat altered. He taught school one half of his time, to pay the expenses incidental upon his own education. His board he paid by setting types in a printing-office. By the greatest diligence in the pursuit of his studies, Mr. Brooks was soon qualified to enter Brown University, at Providence, Rhode Island. He passed through the sophomore and junior classes, took rank with the latter, and was equal in point of attainments to those who had reached the senior class; but that stern necessity, which had so oppressed him previously, again interposed a barrier to his onward course. With others partially dependent upon

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him, and no moneyed means of his own, he was obliged to relinquish his scholastic designs; but, like a philosopher, he submitted with a good grace to this second disappointment, and returned cheerfully and happily to his types in the printing-office, and his school-teaching. Soon after this, the committee of Haverhill, Mass., pronounced him to be competent to conduct one of the old-fashioned "Grammar Schools" of the state; which was a compliment well deserved by Mr. Brooks, and proved highly gratifying to him. The happiest day of his life, he has often said, was when he passed muster as a school-teacher in the State of Massachusetts, where he was born, before Maine became a state, and where he was pronounced entitled to four hundred and eighty dollars a year, as the per annum pay of one who was compelled to teach boys and girls at least eight hours a day.

His taste for literary pursuits still governing him in the choice of a profession, Mr. Brooks became the editor and part owner of the *Haverhill Gazette*. This position he relinquished in 1836, and repaired to Washington, D. C., and became the correspondent of the New York *Daily Advertiser*, afterwards merged in the New York *Express*, and of several New England papers. While in this capacity, Mr. Brooks had ample opportunity for the study of men and events; and, with his usual diligence, he employed all his spare time in the investigation of all the prominent measures of the day, and the political history of the country. While at Washington, he enjoyed the personal confidence of such men as CLAY, WEBSTER, ADAMS, and FILLMORE, and with them he both sympathized and acted, politically. At this time Mr. Brooks obtained an interest in the New York *Express*, which had started in July, 1836, in behalf of Gen. Harrison, and is continued up to the present time, Mr. Brooks continuing as one of its editors and proprietors. This

excellent newspaper is now in a most prosperous condition and is the principal organ, in the State of New York, of the American party. For sixteen consecutive sessions of Congress, Mr. Brooks remained in Washington, conducting his paper there, in part, as the Washington editor.

In 1843, Mr. Brooks visited Europe, and travelled as far north as Norway, and as far south as Naples and the Lower Danube. In fact, he passed over Europe generally, and penetrated to the heart of Russia. His letters from Europe over the signature of "E. B." are remembered as affording, perhaps, the most graphic account ever written by an American traveller of scenes and incidents in the Old World.

In 1853, Mr. Brooks was elected to the Senate of the State of New York, by a plurality vote, and distinguished himself by his unequalled energy, and his attention to all the wants of his constituency, and also by his able advocacy of the "Church Property Bill," which was intended to secure to the American Catholics a more equitable disposition of their church property, by transferring it from the hands of the bishops individually, to those of the lay trustees, whose province it properly is to manage the temporal concerns of the congregations. The wise provisions of this celebrated bill were heartily approved of by the trustees of the Catholic Church of St. Louis, at Buffalo, N. Y. Indeed, none felt aggrieved at the passage of this salutary law, but the bishops, who wished to hold and possess in their individual right all the property belonging to their congregations. The great danger of a perversion of so great a trust and power by any one man, so circumstanced, must be acknowledged by all rational men. Of course, the bishops were enraged against those who had participated in the enactment of a law which took from their possession millions of dollars, and Archbishop Hughes, of New York, testified his anger by

the publication of a spiteful letter, in which he charged the Hon. Erastus Brooks with the utterance of a falsehood concerning the amount of property held by him (Archbishop Hughes). This commenced a controversy, with which the world is now acquainted. On the part of Archbishop Hughes, it was conducted with the view solely to bear down, by the weight of his own great name, and by the force of hard charges, false accusations, and browbeating, the American senator who had dared to *do right*, and confront, in the act of doing so, the powerful Archbishop of New York. Hoping to crush out of sight and out of mind the ugly facts which the honorable senator had dragged into the light of day, and appearing to believe that he could frighten the senator from his position, the archbishop threw, with a desperate energy, all the weight of his position, his power, and his pen, into the controversy. But he had a man to deal with who was schooled in the republican belief, and in the Protestant faith; one who feared no man, and one, too, who, as a polemical writer, was the archbishop's superior, — superior, because honest, truthful, and straightforward.

That Mr. Brooks proved the victor in this renowned controversy, was, at its close, conceded by the press and the people throughout this country and Europe. Here is the principle involved: The Pope of Rome is the supreme head and front of the Romish church, throughout the world; his bishops in America are his personal agents; these agents, acting by his orders, held in their hands, for the Pope, millions of dollars' worth of property; so that the Pope of Rome was the director and controller of these millions, for good or evil, in the United States. Now, we, as an individual and distinct nation, could not with safety allow the temporal and spiritual monarch of a foreign country to wield, through his agents in this country, a power great

enough to control our elections. Therefore, and because it was anti-republican in every respect, our faithful, fearless, and honest legislator, Hon. Erastus Brooks, wrested this fearful power out of the hands of the Pope of Rome, by wresting it from the hands of Archbishop Hughes, that monarch's agent in New York. This is the true issue, in a few words. It is difficult to realize the weight of obligation under which, as a people, we labor, to Mr. Brooks, for the incalculable services he has rendered us in freeing us from the terrible power of that immense amount of wealth, which could have been used in the formation of armies of foreigners in our midst; which could have been employed in the perversion of the legitimate purposes of the ballot-box; which could have bought up thousands of those corrupt demagogues with whom all countries are cursed. Indeed, there is no end to the evil uses to which money may be applied, in the hands of individual men, who are better politicians than priests, better temporal commanders than spiritual advisers. But this important event in the history of our state and nation is well understood, and we have only dwelt upon it at this point, in our brief biography of Mr. Brooks, because it merits, whenever mentioned, more than ordinary attention.

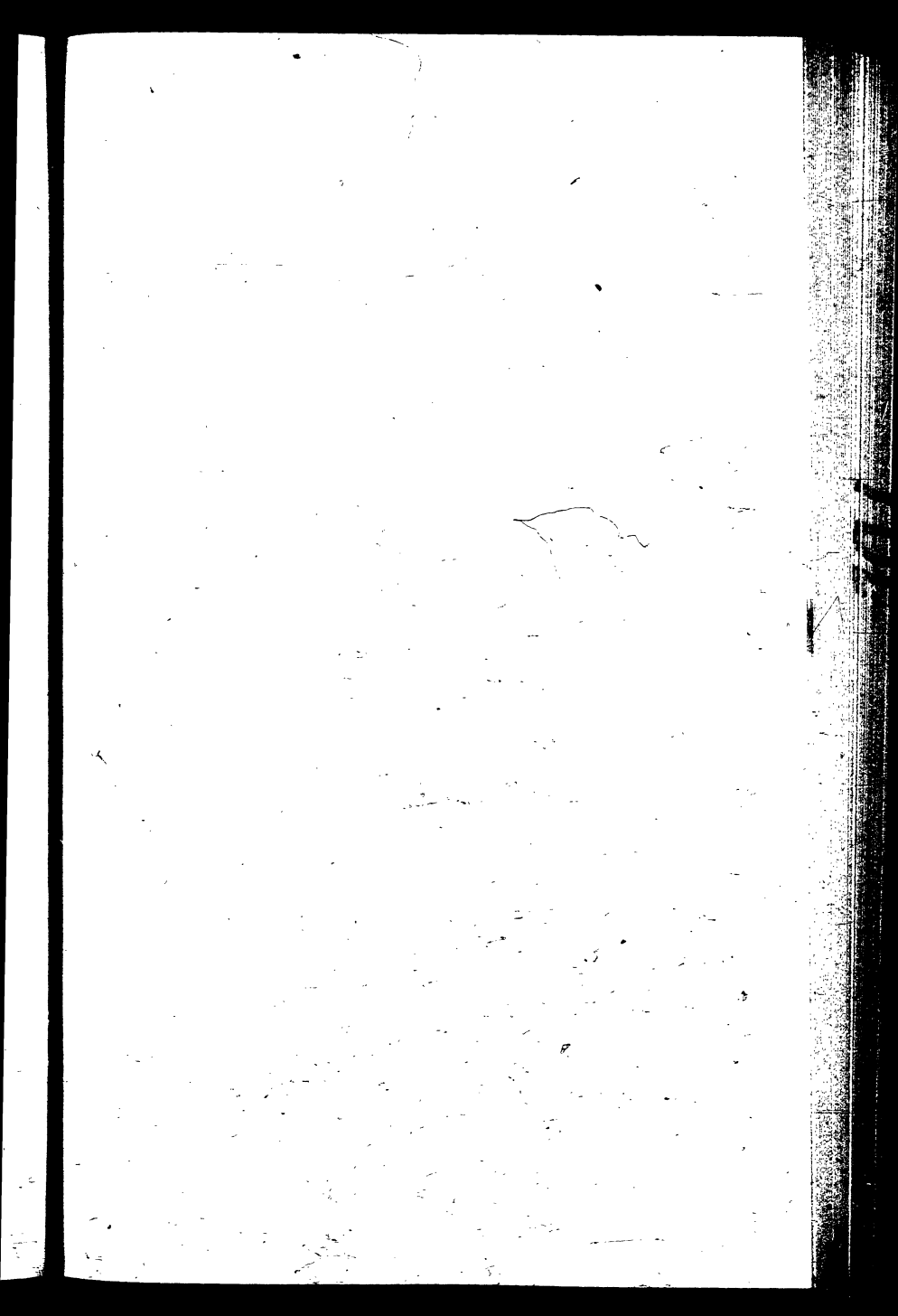
The controversy ended, and the archbishop, completely foiled, concluded that the next best thing to be done was to defeat Mr. Brooks, who was now renominated for the senatorship of his district. Accordingly, a Roman Catholic was nominated by the Hughes party to oppose Mr. Brooks, and every scheme and device that the Jesuits and their coadjutors could bring to bear upon the election were used, without a thought of their character, and with a total disregard as to the cost they imposed. But the people, who had sanctioned the acts of Mr. Brooks, and gloried in the defeat of a cor-

rupt priesthood, sustained the champion of their rights by returning him to the senate chamber of the State of New York, — whence his priestly antagonist had endeavored to exclude him, — by a majority of over four thousand, and an increased vote of seven thousand over his first election. More than a thousand of the most prominent citizens of New York, of all ranks and professions, united in the request to have Mr. Brooks continue to represent them; because no servant of the public had ever shown more deference to the will of his constituents, or been more indefatigable in his efforts to advance the moral, social, commercial, mechanical, and industrial interests of that city. Mr. Brooks is now the nominee of the American party for the governorship of the State of New York, having received in convention the unanimous vote, by acclamation, of eleven hundred and sixty-nine delegates, who met in Rochester as a nominating convention, on the 24th of September last, and who arose to their feet as one man, and shouted the name of Erastus Brooks, — a thing unheard of in the political history of the state or country.

This brief sketch of Erastus Brooks may serve to emulate American youth, and teach them that the only true way to reach preferment, under our republican institutions, is by pursuing a course of moral rectitude, energy, and industry, in whatever sphere of duty they may be engaged. By just such a course Mr. Brooks has arisen, in rapid gradations, from the errand-boy of Boston to the senatorship of his adopted state, where he has represented about three hundred thousand people. During the present political campaign, Mr. Brooks has exhibited that untiring industry and energy for which he is remarkable. In addition to his editorial duties, he has spoken at almost every important town in the State of New York, and in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and in

four of the New England States. Nor has he ever failed to respond, promptly and cheerfully, to the calls of the Americans of other states; but is ever ready to labor in the cause of his country, and of the Union and its supporters. Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson, for whose nomination he labored in the National Convention, as one of the delegates at large from the Empire State. He never spares himself, night or day, when he has a duty to perform, and it excites the wonder of all to behold the work he does with the rather delicate frame he has; but there is an iron will, an indomitable spirit, and a valiant heart within, that sustain him through all.

We leave him at this period of his history, as the nominee of the American people, and of *all Protestants*, for the governorship of the State of New York. We leave him as the tried and true man, in the hands of those who know how to appreciate and reward the truly meritorious.





J. K. Murray

CENTRAL AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

It was our fathers' wish to keep the administration of this government in an American sphere. They wanted no colonial or territorial dependence. They wanted to maintain the Union, and therefore asserted the right of the American people to the exclusive control of their own matters. They said, in the constitution they left us, that Congress could sell the public lands, that it could admit new states, but not a word was mentioned about organizing any government without the rights of a state.

Under this constitution we Americans have signally prospered, while our influence has exerted a mighty power over all the civilized states of the world. There is not a nation with which we have not a commercial and political relation. There is not a country in which our enterprise has not

entered, nor an ocean on which our ships do not float. American genius is more or less impressed upon every people and clime, and mutual interest and sympathy bind us to mankind. We have no need now, Americans, to fear to assume the principles which have guided us thus triumphantly; nor can we limit those principles within our own borders. Our example, our ideas, our discoveries, our inventions, our habits of life, our social, political, and religious institutions, must ultimately extend our form of government. And to see our maxims securely applied to other people; to see our laws, the settled principles of equality and justice, administered throughout Christendom; to see our industry and enterprise exacting equality everywhere, could not but create an honest exultation within the breast of every true American.

We, then, my countrymen, have a mission to perform, out of our country; we have to throw our weight, in behalf of equality and justice, over the countries of the world, and to guard with a vigilant eye the principles of Protestantism and Americanism, that our own strength shall increase, our own resources expand, and an additional im-

petus be given to our moral, commercial, and political greatness.

On the 1st of July, 1823, Central America formed a federal republic, called the "United Provinces of Central America," doubtless designed to accord with our system of government, and adopting our constitution as its guide. The succeeding year, they emancipated all the slaves in the republic, amounting to about one thousand, and indemnified the owners for the pecuniary loss. The constitution of this republic was ratified in November of that year, and the first federal congress was convened the 1st of September, 1825. But this union did not bind the states together like those of the United States of North America. It did not prevent the effusion of blood. And their constitution was but "a passive instrument, powerless for good, and only active for unimportant or pernicious purposes." The unchecked force of numbers, influenced by bad, designing men, soon annihilated the union, by making the small states tributary to the larger; a fate, Americans, we shall surely feel, if ever our own beloved Union shall be cursed by separation.

On the 20th of July, 1838, in the thirteenth

year of the Central American republic, Congress met for the last time under the constitution, and the states returned to their former political system. In 1840, General Francisco Morazan, "the Washington of Central America," made an effort to restore the union of these states; but the Jesuit priesthood united with the Indians, under Carrera, in opposing the liberties of the people, and expelled the "father of his country" from his native soil. Morazan subsequently returned, in 1842, to Costa Rica, where he was murdered; and this consummated the destruction of that unfortunate republic in Central America. And, Americans, mark the fate of that country, and you will see, in its feebleness, suffering, and horror, but a faint picture of what these United States will encounter, if ever the traitors within our borders shall sever the bonds which now hold us as one people.

A light from heaven has now guided a son of our American republic, to open the way for the beautiful flag of the free, to deliver that misguided people, and bring them out of the humiliating condition to which tyranny and priestcraft have subjected them. Gen. William Walker, now President of Nicaragua, a citizen of the United States, has commenced, and

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we trust will not fail, to renovate that land. He was born in Nashville, Tennessee, and his age does not exceed thirty-three years. His personal appearance is not commanding, by any means; being of small stature, without the prepossession of address or manner. But there is an expression of meekness, accompanied by a nasal tone and sluggish utterance, which would arrest attention in any assembly; and these peculiarities made young Walker a subject of interest at a very early age.

He was remarkable, as a boy, for the ardor of his friendships, the amiability of his disposition, and his obliging character towards his companions. If a "hard sum," or an "awful lesson," was exciting his young friends, Walker was eagerly sought to remove the difficulty. He was never known to be at recitation unprepared, and was so sensitive of his reputation at school, that the slightest mistake or blunder he might make would affect him to tears. He rarely then was known to laugh, although he often participated in the amusements of his companions.

But, to give the secret of Walker's rise from the modest school-boy of Nashville to the presidency of Nicaragua, we must tell you he had a *good*

mother, an American woman, who loved God and her country, and by gentleness, affection, and purity, exemplified and inculcated into the mind of her son the faith and doctrine of our Protestant Bible. He thus, as the eldest of four children, became the reliance of his widowed mother, and by the amiability of his disposition, and the sweetness of his temper, supplied the place of a daughter to her as a companion.

Walker was educated a Christian youth, and made a proficient in Christian law. This stimulated him to spread American principles, and enlisted the sympathy of his fellow-men in his new and important mission of introducing a new administration and laws, exciting enterprise, and proclaiming human rights and freedom in that darkened land. He was originally intended for the ministry, but a visit to Europe interposed, and he remained in Paris two years to prosecute the studies of law and physics. He returned home, and connected himself with the editorial corps of his country, first at New Orleans, where he was connected with the *Crescent*, and then with the *Herald*, at San Francisco, California.

His independence, as well as ability, soon made

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him a terror to evil doers; and an article reflecting upon the judiciary in California caused him to be arraigned for contempt of court. He was condemned, and made to pay a fine of five hundred dollars, and suffer incarceration.

This tyranny excited the just indignation of even that community, and every public demonstration was made to encourage Walker in his advocacy of the liberties of the people. When he afterwards appeared before the legislature to demand the removal of this unjust judge, he awakened the confidence and respect of the assembly, although he failed to secure the expulsion of his enemy.

Gen. Walker's first military effort was directed to conquer Sonora, in northern Mexico. But the brig was seized in which his party were to embark, by the interference of the government. This momentary detention was followed by greater success on the part of Walker; and, landing in Lower California, in October, 1853, he was soon declared president of that country.

The motive which influenced Walker was frankly exposed, namely, to take possession of Mexico, by first securing the provinces of the north. The invasion of Sonora was then made. His numbers

became reduced by desertion and starvation, and he and his surviving men, clothed in tattered garments, were compelled to retreat. This expedition occupied seven months, when Walker returned to California, and resumed his occupation of editor.

In August, 1854, a company, formed for commercial purposes, organized in California, and set sail for the gold regions of Central America. After an absence of some months, it was proposed to augment their forces, and send for Walker, to enlist in negotiations with the Spanish American republics. A grant of twenty-one thousand acres of land was offered this party to enlist in the democratic cause, and the siege of Granada. Walker demanded fifty-two thousand acres, and would consent to nothing less. This proposition was accepted, and after five months of preparation, attended by formidable opposition on the part of capitalists, he embarked early in May, 1855, upon the enterprise of colonizing these states by American means, and on American principles. Sixty-two persons composed this entire expedition, armed each with a rifle, revolvers, and knives.

The scenes of massacre and carnage which followed the dissolution of the union in Central

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America, demonstrated that these people were unfit for self-government. In Nicaragua and Guatemala, particularly, the strife had become most fearful with the Indian and negro, in opposition to the old Spanish races.

Two years ago, Castellan, a republican democrat, without the support of wealth or power, attempted to redeem his oppressed countrymen, by introducing the principles of freedom. He was opposed by Chamorro, a haughty aristocrat, who, by intrigue and wealth, secured his reelection, against the will of the people. Castellan and other political opponents were then thrown into prison. The Supreme Court was abolished, and these men finally banished from the country.

Castellan fled to Honduras, where, under the protection of President Cabanos, the friend and patron of human rights, they conceived the idea of revolutionizing Nicaragua for the sake of liberty. Castellan and his associates returned and triumphed. He became Provisional Director, which office he held until his death, September, 1855.

The priesthood, the most powerful enemy to the rights of the people in Central America, as everywhere else where they prevail, now united with the

autocrat Chamorra, to defeat the liberals ; and this proud demagogue obtained almost the entire state of Nicaragua. At this crisis Chamorra died, and, amidst the savage ferocity which followed among his chiefs, who assumed the quarrel, General Walker entered, and arrested the career of bloodshed by the immediate restoration of peace and order.

Gen. Walker repaired to Leon, the capital of the state, exhibited his contract, and reported himself ready for action.

The ministry had steadily opposed the coming of the Americans ; and Walker, disgusted by their delay to give him a formal recognition, was about embarking for Honduras to aid the patriot Cabānos against Guatemala, when a courier was despatched entreating him to stop, and the next day the Americans enlisted in the cause of Nicaragua.

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CHAPTER II.

THE battle of Rivas was the first to engage the fifty-eight Americans who were then under Walker. He added to that number one hundred natives, who fled at the first fire, leaving the Americans to encounter five hundred of the enemy alone. The fight continued several hours, and while the Americans left double their own number of the enemy dead on the field, they remained without the loss of a hair of their heads. Walker, seeing the odds of *eight to one* was too great an exposure, made for a house where the enemy was sheltered, and drove them out and occupied it. These *Chamorrins* then held a council, and decided to dislodge them; but every attempt was made futile by American shot, which was poured into each as he attempted to approach. At night, however, the Americans fought their way out, and retreated to Virgin Bay.

This Rivas battle inspired the Nicaraguans with such awe of American arms, that they

regarded it certain death to go within three hundred yards of their rifles. Gen. Bocha *owned* one hundred and eighty killed in that fight, and the conduct which the Americans displayed under such fearful odds soon encouraged the democratic party to hope for success under the intrepid Walker.

The battle of Virgin Bay followed next. Here, again, the fifty-eight Americans, with one hundred and twenty natives, were all Walker's force, while the servile party had five hundred and forty. Beside, they had cannon, and were protected by timber, while the Walker party were exposed in the streets. But these enemies to freedom were again routed. Gen. Walker was struck by a spent ball in this battle, and other Americans escaped in a no less remarkable manner.

The Americans, after making a good impression at Virgin Bay, proceeded to San Juan, where, with death meeting them at every turn by cholera, this little American band remained, encouraged by the example of their brave commander. From San Juan del Sur, Walker, with his troops, proceeded in October to Granada, where some fighting was done, fifteen of the enemy being killed, and seven taken prisoners. The Americans were fired upon

from the Romish church ; and, on approaching it, found men, women, and children, to the number of eighty souls, chained, in abject misery, whom the Americans instantly released.

Lieut. Col. Gilman, and twenty-five Americans, were now detailed to obtain the fort, a mile east of the city, which was armed by forty men ; and on the morning of the 13th October, 1855, the battle of Granada was fought. Gen. Walker, discarding the natives, had but one hundred and ten men, with whom he took the Grand Plaza, captured all their artillery, and, after killing but ten men, from three hundred to four hundred surrendered as prisoners. In this engagement, but *one* American was slightly wounded.

Walker's power was now *felt*, and he was then military commander in the vanquished Sebastopol of Nicaragua. On the day succeeding the battle of Granada, the native citizens met, and adopted resolutions offering Walker the Presidency of Nicaragua. This he declined in favor of Gen. Corral.

Col. Wheeler, the American Minister, was then consulted, and requested to take to Gen. Corral, at Leon, a proposition of peace. Wheeler at first declined, under the fear that it might compromise

his government ; but, becoming satisfied that it did not, he proceeded at once to Rivas. Corral was absent ; and, after a few hours, Wheeler ordered his horses, to return, when he was told he could not leave, and armed soldiers were placed at his door. Thus detained for two days, his friends became alarmed at his absence, and sent a special messenger to Rivas, who, unable to enter, was informed by a native woman, true to the instincts of humanity, that the American Minister was a prisoner.

The steamer *Virgin* immediately proceeded to Rivas by the quickest water course, and fired four heavily-loaded cannon on Saint George, the nearest point to the town. Col. Wheeler then informed the governor, through the Minister of War, that, if he was detained another day, his friends would attack Rivas, and exterminate its population. This produced the desired effect, and Wheeler obtained his passports, and an escort of one hundred men to the ship.

Reinforcements now began to pour into Nicaragua from California. Col. Fry and Mr. Parker H. French arrived in October, accompanied by brave and spirited men. They were too late to partici-

pate in the conquest of Granada, but there were still enough to engage them in Nicaragua. Col. Fry and Mr. French took passage in the Virgin, at Virgin Bay; and, determined to take San Carlos by surprise, sent the captain and two men ashore, requesting the immediate surrender of the fort.

They were seized and made prisoners, and the steamer was fired into by twelve-pound shot five times. The American riflemen, detached from Walker, under Capt. Turnbull, were then sent ashore, to take the fort; but their ammunition got wet by the rain, and they were obliged to retreat to Virgin Bay. About an hour after these men left, the New York steamer *San Carlos* arrived, and was hailed from the fort before reaching it; and an eighteen-pounder was fired into her, instantly killing a mother and child, residents of California, and otherwise committing serious outrages upon the ship.

A few days later, while these passengers were waiting for transit at Virgin Bay, a troop of horsemen surprised them, and fired seventy shots over their heads. The excitement now was appalling, and passengers fled in all directions, while many were subsequently caught, and deprived of their

revolvers. These two steamers, *Virgin* and *San Carlos*, then made for Granada, and placed their passengers under the protection of Col. Wheeler, the American Minister.

While this outrage was being perpetrated on passengers at Virgin Bay, Gen. Walker was in Granada, organizing the army, of which he was made general; and in sixteen days from his entrance into that city, peace had been made, and a new government organized.

Why did Walker thus become the liberator of Nicaragua? We answer, because his integrity inspired confidence with friends and enemies; and when he refused the Presidency, it carried conviction to the minds of the people that he would not deceive them to glorify himself.

On the 19th of October, Gen. Corral was inaugurated President of the country. A public thanksgiving was made for peace, and oaths taken to perpetuate it. "Look at that man Walker, sent by Providence to bring peace, prosperity, and happiness, to this blood-stained, unhappy country," was the language of Padre Vijil, who subsequently was sent on a mission to the United States, for the recognition of Nicaragua's independence. Walker

and Corral reviewed the army on that day ; and it certainly must have gratified any American to behold the promising prospect of that country, in an American citizen claiming to teach the people the rights and the benefits of democratic freedom.

By every monthly steamer from California, adventurers flocked to Central America ; and from both sides of the continent Walker's forces were steadily augmented, until they had grown from fifty-eight to upwards of one thousand men. Nor were these emigrants confined to mere adventurers, without education or fortune. On the contrary, men imbued with the true spirit of American progress, who could look to the future, and see America's magnificent destiny, were found identified with the "Nicaragua Expedition."

The devastation of war was sadly visible over all Central America. Granada, upon whom a new era had then dawned, was reduced from thirty thousand to about eight thousand. Walker was soon placed in emergencies which prove the real character of men, and settle the question of fitness for mental and moral responsibility. A man named Jordan had fired at a native when intoxicated ; and, under the belief that the man would recover, Jordan was

sentenced by court martial to leave the country. Subsequently, the man, however, died, and Walker ordered Jordan to be shot, next morning, by a file of twelve rifles. The mother of the boy went down upon her knees, and implored Walker's clemency. Padre Vijil and others also begged the same, on their knees. But Walker was inexorable. He had made this stern decree to satisfy justice, and no power could dissuade him from its execution.

Treason was now discovered in the President of the country, and he too was made to pay the penalty of the traitor. Gen. Corral, to whom Walker yielded the chief magistracy, and who, with the Bible in one hand and the treaty in the other, had promised to sustain and respect the government, was proved to have been plotting its entire destruction. Treasonable design on the part of Corral was proved by a fair trial, and he was sentenced to be shot. Walker approved the finding of the court and sentence; and, on November the 8th, at two o'clock, he ordered Corral to be led to the great square, in the presence of the garrison, and die the death all traitors should die. Rivas then was made President of the country.

At this time, new reinforcements came to Walker's aid; and a letter to him from Col. Kinney, proposing to recognize Gen. Walker as commander-in-chief of the army of Nicaragua, provided Walker would recognize him as Governor of Mosquito Territory. Walker thus characteristically replied: "Tell Mr. Kinney, or Col. Kinney, or Gov. Kinney, or by whatever name he styles himself, that, if he interferes with the territory of Nicaragua, and I can lay my hands on him, I will most assuredly hang him."

The American minister, Mr. J. H. Wheeler, officially recognized the new government of Nicaragua, and he was officially received by President Rivas on the 10th of October. On the 17th of November, the *Nicaraguese* newspaper was started; and, with an independent press, and a free constitutional government, it became at once an important object to have it recognized by all the states of the world, but, above all others, by that of these United States. Col. Parker H. French was consequently sent as minister plenipotentiary to this government. This placed the administration in its usual attitude of weakness before the world; and, the authorities at Washington becoming alarmed about Central

American matters, the District Attorney of New York, Mr. McKeon, was directed to guard us against filibusteros with a vigilant eye. Here, Americans, with the Cuban affairs and the burning of Greytown staring us in the face, the administration suddenly becomes frightened at a very harmless fact!

In the mean while the government of Nicaragua, learning the treatment awarded to its accredited minister, immediately dismissed or suspended all official communication with Mr. Wheeler, the American minister, and revoked the appointment of Mr. French, that he might return to Nicaragua. The refusal of Mr. Pierce's administration to recognize this ambassador was based upon the unwarranted conclusion, in view of the facts, that Walker's government had not been acknowledged by the people of that republic. Col. French, instead of a reception befitting his mission, was arrested on the charge of enlisting soldiers, and the steamer *North-ern Light* detained from her regular trip, and passengers taken from her. But American acumen was quick to discern the utility of Walker's government, and the people, undaunted by the petty refusal of Mr. Pierce to sanction American rule,—

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which promised reform in a foreign land,—pressed on with alacrity to Nicaragua, under those inalienable rights which are the heritage of American men.

The early explorations in the gold regions of Nicaragua were made under the temporary establishment of peace, and satisfactorily demonstrated that, with the advantage of such machinery as is used in California, the product from them would be infinitely greater. With the common rocker, from five to ten dollars a day were at once realized. The climate of Nicaragua, too, is inviting to settlers; the fevers do not prevail there, as in California; the air is cool and salubrious, and labor is rarely impeded at any season of the year.

Nothing can surpass the beauty of the natural scenery of Nicaragua. Its plains, valleys, and volcanoes, the plumage of its birds, its beautiful verdure, and the ever-varying hues of its mountain ranges, present attractions for habitation rarely pointed out to man. Then the richness and variety of the products of its soil are not less noted; and, with the exception of *cotton*, there is not a vegetable growth in the United States of America that does not flourish in Nicaragua.

What is there, then, Americans, to arrest or check

the advancement of this new republic under American men? Nothing but interior impediments, arising from the want of education among the people. Labor is cheap. It is on the very road of commercial travel, and between our Pacific and Atlantic states. In point of geographical locality, with an ocean each side, in the great centre of trade, Nicaragua must become a great "highway" of commerce throughout the world. Now, what she needs is the right kind of population. To obtain this, Americans must have the *bona fide* evidences of *interest*. With its auspicious position, its gold, and its American protection, we shall see American settlers increasing from year to year.

The government of Honduras has made grants already to the Honduras mining and trading company, of New York. The daily discoveries prove the universal presence of this metal.

After California was discovered, England became alarmed at the travel across the Central American isthmus, and thought there would be another effort to get a ship canal between the oceans; and, to arrest Americans in taking exclusive advantage of this central route, England brought about the unique treaty of 1850, made by Mr. Bulwer on

the part of Great Britain, and Mr. Clayton in behalf of the government at Washington. This "Clayton-Bulwer Treaty" ostensibly settled this disputed region; and, under this idea, it was confirmed and ratified. The states of Central America supposed it was a full redress for their past grievances; but too soon they discovered the whole affair was a failure, England asserting her claim to the "Ruatan Islands" and the "Mosquito coast." It is useless here to inquire into the fallacy of this claim. It is clearly proven she never did of right possess it; and recent negotiations at London have resulted in the entire withdrawal from this pretension.

The effect of our government's refusal to recognize the independence of Nicaragua through Mr. French was very disastrous. Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica, immediately followed the example, and refused all correspondence with Walker's government. Col. Schlessenger was sent as commissioner to Costa Rica, to inquire into the reasons of its refusal to recognize, stating that Nicaragua desired peace with all the neighboring states. He was treated with scorn, and driven from the country. Gen. Walker instantly declared war

against Costa Rica, and the most energetic measures were taken to avenge the insult. The Costa Rican government then authorized its president alone, or in union with other states, to take up arms against Nicaragua; and "*drive the foreign invaders from the soil.*" The militia of Costa Rica, amounting to nine thousand, were called into action, and one hundred thousand dollars were immediately raised for their support. The army commenced its march to Nicaragua before the design was known to Gen. Walker. A printing press was taken along, and daily bulletins issued of their progress.

Schlessenger, an unprincipled German, was selected by Walker, more from the spirit of retaliation than personal regard, to head the forces sent against Costa Rica. This force amounted to two hundred and seven in number, commanded by Schlessenger, when he left Virgin Bay for Costa Rica. These were composed of two American companies from New York and New Orleans, and two other companies of Germans and Frenchmen.

The guides left this little band on reaching Costa Rica; and the brutal conduct of Schlessenger to the troops, requiring them to march under a torrid sun and lie by under a cool moonlight, and innumerable

acts of cruelty and cowardice, soon disgusted the Americans, and inspired their deepest resentment. He showed, besides, marked difference in his treatment towards Americans and the other troops. A German, for example, who had committed an act which in military law merited death, was scarcely reprimanded ; while a New Yorker came near being shot for picking up a piece of bread as he was walking. The fear of American fire only prevented that act of the ignominious coward.

CHAPTER III.

THE battle of Santa Rosa is in all respects the most disreputable engagement which ever occurred upon this continent, or was associated with the American name. Santa Rosa was the hacienda occupied by Schlessenger and his forces when they fired upon the enemy. The Americans took their position in the front ranks, and while the battle was raging, Schlessenger appeared at the corner of the house behind the New York troops, and, in utter consternation, cried out, "There they are, boys! there they are!" Then, retreating, exclaimed, "Campaigne, Francaise!" and ran with his best speed, followed by the Frenchmen. The Germans caught the influence, and, dashing their weapons on the ground, fled likewise. The American party remained unmoved and undaunted, and as soon as the real intentions of the enemy were discovered, Lieut. Higgins gave the order to fire,

and never did an angry volley of shot go out with a greater *will*, or do more effective execution.

The enemy fell back, but, on reloading, pressed nearer to the gates of the hacienda, when the brave Parker, engaged in checking them, was shot to the heart. Cahart, another brave American, now took his position on the plaza, and shot the enemies' leader as he rode up and down their *lines*, and who three times before had fired his rifle into the American ranks. By this time, Major O'Neill, who had gone after Schlessenger, returned, saying "he wanted to be with the company who would fight;" and the New York company then, seeing the enemy approaching with such fearful odds, withdrew, under O'Neill's sanction.

Here note the fact that this New York company was the only one which fired a volley in that action! These forty-four men were reduced to twenty-two by the action, and were the last to leave the spot. The enemy, too, on this occasion, beside being double Schlessenger's force, were picked and tried soldiers, who had before fought the Americans at the bloody battle of Rivas. The troops in the American camp were entirely unprepared for this engagement. And it was not

remarkable that rowdies and raw recruits should run, when their leader took them by surprise and set the example.

The whole management of this expedition to invade Costa Rica was defective, and served to warn Americans from taking arms again under an incompetent leader, like Schlessenger, or relying for coöperation upon men without principle, experience, or patriotism. Schlessenger was caught, and tried by court-martial on two indictments. One was, that he had acted the traitor when Walker sent him as minister to Costa Rica, and that he betrayed his country to that government. The other was, cowardice in deserting the American army in that country. Before the court, however, had consummated the trial, Schlessenger suddenly disappeared, and joined the ranks of the enemy.

After Schlessenger's defeat by the Costa Ricans, no effort was made to impede their invasion of Nicaragua, and about three thousand concentrated at Granada. The havoc of property, and the murder of wounded American citizens residing at Virgin Bay and San Juan del Sur, are among the acts of the most atrocious barbarity on record. The Americans, however, found some little redress for

these outrages, a few days later, when Col. Green, with but fifteen men, met two hundred Costa Ricans, killed twenty-seven and dispersed the remainder, only losing one man and wounding two others of that little party of Americans.

We next find the Costa Ricans entering the city of Rivas, on the 7th of April, to take possession. Gen. Walker, on hearing this at Granada, determined to expel the enemy from Rivas; and, with only five hundred men, including one hundred natives, he made preparations, in a *single day*, to attack the enemy in their stronghold, with a practised force of two thousand seven hundred men. With this democratic party, Walker surprised the enemy by coming in by a route which they had never suspected. But when the troops were seen, as they ascended the eminence to approach the city, the enemy poured down their batteries with tremendous violence, which the American forces returned with such fierce energy and rapidity, that in five minutes they had the entire possession of the plaza. The Costa Ricans fled to their barricades, and, concealing themselves for protection, continued to fire. Then, too, they had the advantage of a cannon, which made them more formidable. The

Americans, having none, determined to seize it. The design was no sooner formed than Lieut. Col. Sanders gave the order to fire on the Costa Ricans, and, regardless of danger, he and his brave followers rushed in and captured this fatal weapon of war. They took it to the corner of the plaza, and placed it under the management of Capt. McArdle, a ready and accomplished artillerist; and in a few minutes that engine, which was destined to destroy Walker's forces, was playing fatally over the enemy.

Infuriated to madness, the Costa Ricans tried to recover their gun, but the Mississippi rifles drove them back to concealment. A body of these riflemen now stationed themselves on a house-top, and during the engagement killed, at least, one hundred of the enemy. Seeing the American party invincible, the Costa Ricans, with three hundred remaining, retreated towards San Juan del Sur, where they were met with a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty from Virgin Bay. As soon as Gen. Walker was notified of their approach to San Juan del Sur, he sent a body of men to protect that part of the town in which the American rangers were stationed; and after signal execution on their part, the Costa Ricans again were repulsed, with

slaughter. More than one hundred dead bodies of the enemy were left to tell the story, while *two* of the noblest of the democratic party became victims in this action, — Lieut. Morgan, of Gen. Walker's staff, and Lieut. Doyle, of the army.

This fighting was excessive, and showed the determined spirit by which the Americans were actuated. They fought from morning to night, and when the enemy ceased hostilities it was soon discovered to be a *ruse* to reinforce themselves. Lieut. Gay, who subsequently died from excessive exertion and useless exposure to danger, was the man to detect the trick; and it was decided to rout the Costa Ricans from the place they so much coveted.

Ten officers, beside three privates, armed with rifles and Colt's revolvers, equipped themselves for the expedition, and entered the building of the foe to determine on a plan of operation. As soon as they did, they gave the signal and fired, and drove the enemy to the fence without any loss, except a single wound upon one gallant officer, Capt. Breckenridge. The opposition was at least one hundred, but these thirteen Americans, with bullets flying all over them, persisted, and accomplished their

purpose of dislodging the enemy, without the loss of a single man, killed or wounded.

The enemy still obstinately attempted to maintain their ground, and in the continued action Capt. Hueston was killed. Thirty of the enemy now paid the atoning penalty for this brave American spirit who had fallen, and the remaining twelve carried such havoc into the Costa Rican ranks that they once more desisted, and sought safer quarters.

Retreating and assailing continued, until, after a loss of ten more of their number, the Costa Ricans again reached the old cathedral, from behind where they renewed the assault on the Americans. Lieut. Gay, who was in the first battle of Rivas, and in all the future engagements of Nicaragua, was now compelled to lay down his life. He who projected the engagement died in its triumph.

The English and Germans held Minié rifles, which they used dexterously; and it was by those foreign jacobins, who had joined the despot's party in Central America to put down liberty and trample upon human rights, that most of our American citizens were killed.

The Walker party, in this second Rivas engagement, was not one fourth as great in number as the

Costa Ricans. Beside, all the barricades and fortresses were with the enemy. Gen. Walker, for hours, in this battle, moved about on horseback, unmoved and undismayed, reposing confidently upon the justice of his cause, and sustained continually by the sublimity of his victories. The staff of Gen. Walker demonstrated extraordinary courage and daring, and, with the exception of the brave Capt. Sutter, they all died gallantly and desperately asserting the rights of human freedom. Col. Kenew, also the volunteer aid of Gen. Walker, was not less noted for his prowess in arms; while the native force in this battle, under their distinguished leader, Col. Machado, who fell in the engagement, certainly deserved the highest commendation for their eminent courage.

This engagement of the 11th of April, 1856, is one of the most remarkable in the history of Central America. The Costa Ricans had actually killed at least six hundred of their number; how many wounded and deserted was never ascertained. Their quick retreat and abandonment of Rivas tell the unfortunate result to them. And now look at the disparity again. The Americans came off with

fresh laurels, having had but thirty killed, and the same number wounded.

By this time recruits came in numbers from New Orleans, New York, and California, to reinforce the Americans by joining the Nicaraguan army, while public meetings in the United States, and the voice of the press, united in pæans of praise for the brave deeds of Americans on foreign soil. Hostilities now seemed to cease towards Gen. Walker by the northern states of Central America, and the proclamation of President Rivas was accepted by San Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, in the most amicable spirit. The enlistment of soldiers was therefore stopped in these states, and the new levy ceased; and, the Rivas government of Nicaragua being acknowledged, the surrender of that country to Anglo-Saxon liberty seemed to have been made.

There are those, unquestionably, among us, who censure the idea of American expansion, and would squeeze the very thought from the minds of the people. But, Americans, you may search the records of history, in vain, to find that any people were ever condemned or defamed for their conquests. Why have Cæsar, Alexander, Charles the Fifth, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, been held in

admiration by the human race? Simply because they extended their conquests into foreign territories. And while American youth will study the histories of those heroes with interest and pleasure, they will never be inspired with enthusiasm for the opposite class of men. And this sympathy, instinctive with Americans, for any people struggling to be *free*, carried brave men to the Mexican army, to the Russian army in the Crimea, as well as to Nicaragua, when they beheld their own countrymen, imbued with the true spirit of liberty, and nerved with Anglo-American energy, unsheathing the sword upon that soil to accomplish what years of bloodshed might not otherwise have done for that people. Walker has done for Nicaraguan liberty what Lafayette, De Kalb, Pulaski, Kosciusko, had done for American liberty, and for such considerations. Who, then, can repress patriotic emotion, or deep sympathy for his triumph?

When the people of Nashville, Tennessee, the place of Walker's birth, heard of his brave deeds, they met to testify their joy, and bore witness to the singular purity of his character, and his high mental and moral endowments. They had watched his movements with filial solicitude, from the Che-

mora and Castellon revolutions to the battle of Rivas, which secured to Nicaragua independence ; and when it was demonstrated that Walker had covered himself with glory, there was no measure to their generous admiration.

After the battle of Costa Rica, on the 11th of April, to which the friends of liberty in the United States looked with so much apprehension, Gen. Walker, without ammunition, remained on the spot until next day, and then marched with music to Granada unmolested, leaving the Costa Ricans to evacuate the town.

And now, my countrymen, you may inquire whence the determined hostility of the Costa Ricans to the government of Nicaragua. It was the result of British instigation to drive out the Americans, which English and French agents encouraged, after the government at Washington refused to accept Mr. French. When, then, the fortunes of Gen. Walker seemed about to end, England made offers of thousands of her arms to prejudice the natives against Americans, and, if possible, to get the control of Central America. The conduct of the President of Costa Rica was unparalleled, in denying Americans the right to engage in foreign

service, and ordering them when taken prisoners in all cases to be shot. The attempt, then, of Costa Rica to control and prescribe the action of Americans, was enough to call upon every citizen of the land to bid our people "God speed" in Nicaragua

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CHAPTER IV.

Is it nothing, Americans, to see a son of this soil opening two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land to the agricultural pursuits and industry of freemen who may choose to go there and occupy it? Is it nothing to see two millions of people being regenerated from papal ignorance and degradation? Is it nothing to see this portion of the Western world affording its facilities for commerce, by bringing together the extrêmes of trade, which will benefit mankind?

When we consider that British power nerved the Costa Ricans with twenty-five hundred fighting men, to punish Americans for bringing Nicaragua to the desire for independence, and that France and Spain aided the effort, what American would hesitate to give every proper encouragement to Walker? From the moment we acquired California, too, the isthmuses of Nicaragua and Panama have been important to us.

In 1811, Congress declared the Territory of Florida to be necessary to the United States, and passed a resolution to keep it out of the hands of foreign powers. On the 15th of January, the same day the President approved the act, Congress authorized Mr. Madison to take possession of that territory, and, if required, to use the army and navy of the country to defend it; and such civil and judicial power was given as would protect Americans in all their rights of person, property, and religion.

My countrymen, no effort was withheld by England to deprive this Union of Texas; and, to prevent the acquisition of California, which she wanted to colonize, her squadron followed ours with a vigilant eye. When, then, she saw Nicaragua almost in American arms, she set about aiding the Costaricans to put Americans down. Can we ever forget how England treated our fathers in their colonial independence? And yet, what has added so much to her greatness as our nationality? Had we never possessed California, England could never have penetrated the gold mines of Australia. What right, then, had she to interfere, because an American hero appeared by invitation in Nicaragua, to fix a higher glory upon his own glorious institu-

tions, which open the main chance alike to all the sons of the soil?

It was England's interference that dissolved the union of the Central American states in 1838, just as she is now attempting to separate these United States to-day by intrigue and treachery on the question of slavery, about which she cares nothing, but to use as an instrument of discord to destroy our beautiful system of government. England bound herself by treaty to abandon Central America; and yet, in the face of her solemn engagement, she has maintained ascendancy over the Mosquito territory, held on to the Bay Islands, and encroached on Honduras; and, two years after the Clayton and Bulwer treaty was ratified, we find the queen issuing a warrant to erect these islands into a British colony!

Now, Americans, do you not consider it right to extend the protection of your laws to a people who invite you to take up their cause? Do you not, in the self-relying, self-denying spirit of your ancestors, wish to see the principles of self-government, upon which they planted this confederacy, made impregnable to tyrants in other lands? In this sense, every American is a pillar to support the

edifice of freedom, and to prepare this people for the perpetuity of Protestant liberty. Look at the length and breadth of our country, beginning with a slip upon the Atlantic, and moving on until it has met the roar of the Pacific. We have Mexico, nearly equal to our original dimensions. We have secured the territory of the West. And when we see what American energy and American principles have already done in Central America, and consider how our own territory is to be defended, we have no reason to doubt that our stars and stripes will yet float over the Pacific gate of the Nicaragua transit; because we cannot believe that Americans, now, will ever allow the key of the Gulf of Mexico to fall into the hands of savages. They will not consent that the Central American states, essential to the commerce of the United States, shall ever be owned by their enemies. They will not allow any foreign power to arm Spanish colonists to murder their kinsmen; which has been the work of European despotisms, who hate our interests, and tremble at the consequences of seeing Central America yield to Anglo-American intelligence, liberty, and laws. And, sooner than witness the unprovoked assault our people have

sustained at Nicaragua and Panama, it would be better far to repeal the neutrality laws, and let Americans defend their own personal rights.

Gen. Walker intercepted the letters intended for the Consul General of Costa Rica in London, proving that England furnished arms to the enemies of Americans. Beside, the whole British West India squadron went to the San Juan del Norte to testify that government's sympathy, and is there still, because Americans struck down the foe in Nicaragua, and defended the people who were panting for freedom. The route to California was also endangered by the English squadron at the mouth of the river.

Now, my countrymen, mark the Jesuit trick! These bloody Costa Ricans never declared war at all against Nicaragua, but against the Americans in that state, thereby denying them the power to defend the rights of human freedom. Americans, then, were shot when taken, their houses burned, their bodies consumed to ashes; and still, as citizens of the United States, claiming protection from no other government. Think you that our Washington, could he rise from the deep slumber

of the grave, would refuse his sympathy to the heroic Walker and his adherents? Read his words!

On the 1st day of January, 1796, in reply to the minister of the French Republic, on the latter presenting the colors of France to the United States, George Washington pronounced these noble words: "Born, sir, in a land of liberty; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country, — my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whenever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom."

Had Gen. Walker taken possession of Nicaragua merely to keep the peace, he would have been justified by the precedent and practice of other nations. At least three countries in Europe are now occupied by the foreign troops of England, France, and Austria. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the people, as the stars and stripes were raised at the American legation; and all the subsequent acts of Gen. Walker, after the establishment of the Rivas government, and the acknowl-

edgment by the natives that he was their deliverer, confirms the prophecy of Padre Vijil, a few days before Walker entered Granada, when he said, "Our only hope now is in Heaven and Gen. Walker."

Walker has been censured for the execution of Corral, most unjustly. Did not Corral himself select the Americans to try him, having no faith in his own countrymen? And the two most intimate associates of Corral, who attended him to execution, are now the warmest friends of Walker.

When the presidential election again came around, the candidates all sympathized with democratic freedom; but Walker was called, in preference to all others, to the presidency; and, from the day of his inauguration, Nicaragua acquired a position, from which, we believe, she will never willingly recede. After the defection of Rivas, who, it is remembered, absconded with his cabinet on the 21st of June, Gen. Walker, in virtue of the authority placed in him by the treaty, appointed Fermin Ferrer president pro tempore; and he, Rivas, and Salizar, all were candidates for the suffrages of the people, as well as Walker. But, while Walker was elected by nearly sixteen thousand

votes, the aggregate vote of the other three did not much exceed seven thousand.

This election occurred the 10th of last July ; and, on the 12th, Walker took the oath of office. The ceremonies were very imposing. The American flag and those of Nicaragua and France were in front of the stage, an open Bible and crucifix placed on it, and a cushion laid upon the floor, on which President Walker knelt reverently, and took the oath of office. On the platform sat the provisional President, Ferrer, the bishop, Col. Wheeler, and some of the field officers and their staffs. An appropriate valedictory was delivered to the people by President Ferrer, and an inaugural by President Walker which would have honored any President of our own country, divested, as it was, of all useless verbiage, all specious professions, but carrying an intuitive conviction into the minds of the people that they had at last found a man in whose integrity and honor they could confide.

The assembly then proceeded to the church, according to their old custom, where the Te Deum was performed, with the usual ceremony of blessing the President, to which Walker submitted. Some may say, " Why did he do this, being a genuine

Protestant?" We answer, because reason and the Word of God justified the necessity of temporarily tolerating useless rites, which ignorance and papal prejudice had fastened upon the people. In this way he might hope to enlist their good-will, and gradually develop the benign influences of light and liberty, and prepare that down-trodden race to discard the infatuation of Jesuit priests, and the consequent degradation to which they are subjected. And until the population of Central America, or anywhere else, shall have become *Americanized* by *Protestant faith*, they are unfitted to tread the American soil as citizens; and we earnestly deplore the idea of the annexation to our own territory of a race of savage idolaters, as the greatest national calamity that could befall us.

In all subsequent difficulties by which the safety of the government of Nicaragua and President Walker has been perilled, the same determined courage has signalized the man. He executed Salizar when he was proved a traitor, and issued an exequator to the British consul when he detected his complicity. The want of resources, and the consequent desertion of American troops, have at times since looked fatal to republican hopes; but, whatever may be the result, it is glorious to recount

the brave deeds of Americans upon that foreign soil ; and it will ever invest it with interest, to know that it is enriched by the blood of American martyrs, which, ultimately, must germinate the eternal principles of truth and freedom.

And, while we are astonished at the unequalled valor of our brave men in a foreign land, we find in their gallant and patriotic doings fresh evidences of the spirit with which they would meet the enemy on their own soil, if called to defend the national honor of their country, her rights, her altars, her homes, and her liberties.

We deprecate war, and believe it is opposed to the benevolent principles of Christianity, and we trust no occasion shall ever arise to plunge us into its cruelties ; but, if this inevitable necessity should come, it is a blessing to feel that we are armed with brave defenders, millions of freemen, ready to repel the invader, and triumph mightily over the foe. Central America is yet in the mists of papal ignorance and delusion, through the influence and tyranny of a heartless, domineering priesthood, which must first be put down, and their power annihilated, before any free government can hope for permanent endurance, and the true sun of liberty rise to bless and gild the horizon of her hopes.

THE ROMISH SYSTEM A POLITICAL CORPORATION.

CHAPTER I.

By the Declaration of our Independence there are certain inprescriptible rights, derived from God, and of which man cannot be deprived by a majority, or have weakened by any conditions imposed by society. These are rights everywhere. They are necessary elements of free agency, and without them God is not worshipped at all. God has given to man the Bible, and the possession and use of this are man's inalienable privileges. The Romish church has, in its general councils, restrained the printing, translation, and circulation, of the Bible ; and, by this restriction, has invaded the natural and infeasible rights of man.

The American constitution, which guarantees these religious principles, and the state constitu-



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tions formed since its adoption, have reaffirmed this safeguard in these words: "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences." "No man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support, any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and no preference shall be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship." This is the *constitutional* definition of religious liberty.

The constitution, then, is republican, and, by these prescriptions, Protestant; and hence the liberty, the intelligence, and the unequalled blessings, of the people of the United States, over the down-trodden, priest-ridden populations of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, and of South America and Mexico. Romanism is an arbitrary and irresistible power over its subjects; and the man or woman who becomes its voluntary devotee renounces the most precious rights of freedom, and cannot be otherwise than mentally debased. So, whoever thus surrenders these constitutional rights into the hands of the priest cannot be a good American citizen,

nor free in any true sense. The "indelible brand of slavery" is put upon every child who is born under the dominion of the Romish church, by its sacrament of *baptism*. And the fourteenth canon on baptism is thus: "Whoever shall affirm that, when these baptized children *grow up*, they are to be asked whether they will confirm the promises made by their god-fathers in their name, at their baptism; and that if they say they *will not*, they are to be left to their own *choice*, and not to be *compelled* in the mean time to lead a Christian life by *any other punishment* than exclusion from the eucharist and other sacraments, until they repent, — let him be *accursed*."

It is by *force*, then, not by *moral* means, that this obedience is enjoined; and the promises made by the godfathers are to be obeyed, or the subject is to be forever "excluded from the eucharist and other sacraments." It is made not only the seal of bondage, but also the seal of salvation. And nurses and physicians, and the laity at large, are authorized to administer baptism to the dying infant, while the priest, in order to enforce these shocking popish rites, often leaves the mother suspended between life and death, to save her babe from the fate

of a heretic ! This is the first delusion practised upon an individual, as it is also the death-blow to the first principles of liberty.

The next device to destroy the liberty of the individual and of nations is *auricular confession*. This papal injunction is so called because the *priest alone*, without any authority from heaven or natural right, puts forth a claim to know all the secrets of all the people. This is the most dangerous feature of the Romish church to the liberties of our country, and plainly proves it to be a mere political corporation to advance its power. This invasion of the primordial rights of man, and his responsibility to God only, is an alarming violation of human agency, as a free citizen, and the safety of the states. It is putting the people and their rulers under the priesthood. This confers an omnipresent espionage, by which the Pope of Rome can gain the secrets and control the *votes* of every Papist elector, and becomes a priestly political power over the millions of his subjects in all parts of the United States. This secret power of the confessional has enabled the priesthood, wherever it has prevailed, to extort legacies from wealthy individuals, to dictate wills, to subsidize the wealth of provinces, as well as to

govern magistrates and monarchs ; and is the means by which that ambitious hierarchy has always ruled the countries and states in which it got a foothold. The dogmas for self-examination in the Book of Devotion, by the authority of the Roman Catholic priesthood in the United States, and in use all over our land, are enough to destroy all kinds of liberty God ever gave to the mind of man.

The power of the confessional, too, over morals, is incredible and astounding. The "Christian's Guide to Heaven," issued under the sanction of Archbishop Kendrick, of Baltimore, is so vile, so shocking an outrage upon decency and morals, that none other than a Romish Jesuit could conceive it ; and even the men who print and circulate it have desired its suppression. This book says : "If you have anything upon your conscience which you have *a particular difficulty in confessing, cease not, with prayers and tears, to importune your heavenly Father to assist you in this regard, until He gives you grace to overcome the difficulty.* Let your confession be *entire as to the number of your sins*, and such circumstances as quite change the nature of your sins, or notoriously aggravate them." The fifth chapter of the Council of Trent, on Confession, commands the

most secret kind of "mortal sins" to be confessed, as indispensable to forgiveness. Can Americans need more than this to open their eyes, and see the ruin of the *heart*, the ruin of conscience, the ruin of female virtue and modesty; the ruin of the sanctity of the family, by invading its privacies, and creating, whenever it pleases, discords; the ruin of liberty, and the subjugation and final ruin of the country? Hence we see how that hierarchy has jesuitically contrived to pry into the secrets of the people, to know their thoughts, feelings, acts, intentions, and desires.

One question, among others in their odious books, asks a woman if she loves any of the priests. How does she answer her good confessor? Tell Americans, ye holy fathers! In the fourteenth session of the Council of Trent, it is written in the decree of penance thus: "It is plain the priest cannot sustain the *office of judge* if the cause be *unknown* to them, nor inflict equitable *punishments* if the sins are only confessed in *general*, and not *minutely* and *individually* described. Those who do otherwise, and knowingly conceal any sins, present *nothing* to the divine goodness to be *forgiven by the priest.*" Again, the sixth canon is as follows: "Whoever

shall deny the sacramental confession was instituted by the divine command, or that it is necessary to salvation ; or shall affirm that the practice of confessing to the priest alone, as it has ever been observed from the beginning of the Catholic Church, and is still observed, is foreign to the institution and command of Christ, and is a human invention, — let him be accursed.”

Now, Americans, what is this but putting the priest, as judge, in God's place? It is forcing a man or woman to unveil the inmost secrets to a mere creature, which act of confession belongs and is due to God alone. Here, in our beloved country, there are upwards of two thousand priestly confessors to-day, into whose ears are poured the *entire* secrets of the wife, and sister, and daughter, who have breathed, not only their words and actions, but the very thoughts, feelings, and desires, when *alone*, to the celibate confessor!!! Blush, husbands, brothers! Be amazed at this extorted confession and intrusion into your family privacies and secrets, under the garb of religion, and which not even a Gabriel, much less mortal authority, has a right to assume or exercise! Do we wonder, are we startled, at the depth of depravity which flows

like a polluted stream out of the confessional? Here, too, into the ear of this same confessor, are poured the secrets of all the villains connected with that church, who have incited mobs, stolen their neighbors' goods, oppressed the poor, cheated and lied at the ballot-box; and then to return, the very next day, to act over again the same guilty practices, because, the priest having given absolution, the white-washed culprits can take a fresh start on the march to crime, until the "bag of sins" is filled again, for the priest in the confessional to cast into the reservoir of oblivion, and, by absolution, give another new start. And so, in alternate repetition, the confessional, by the united action of the priest and the guilty culprit, aids the police, multiplies subjects in courts of justice, the penitentiary, and prisons, and, like Othello, does the state some service.

In all the devices of human ingenuity, none has ever been found so effective, on this earth, to advance the crafty schemes of a potentate, and to entrap and fasten the will, and control the interests, temporal and spiritual, of mankind, as this masterpiece of Satan, the invention of the confessional.

But, however dangerous the *confessional* is, it is only one part of the machinery employed by the political corporation of Rome in effecting its designs to bring the world to its feet.

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CHAPTER II.

THE suppression of the freedom of the press is another. When, in 1460, the art of printing, through the genius of Faust, was invented, it was like an angel of light suddenly bursting through the mists of darkness which had so long covered the earth. The first fruit of this sublime invention was the printing of the Bible. This immediately awakened the alarm of the papal hierarchy; for it was a sign of a successful invasion upon the fortress of imposture, more mighty and portentous than the attack of all the irresistible hordes of Attila upon the city of Rome. A struggle at once commenced with this light of genius and liberty against despotism; and, from that time to the present, the apocalyptic despot, in league with the other despots of Europe, has shown his determined antipathy to the freedom of the press.

Milton represents Satan in his passage over

chaos, looking toward paradise, and spying the sun in his "meridian tower," and makes him exclaim,

" To thee,
O sun ! but with no friendly voice, I call,
To tell thee how I hate thy beams."

With the same instinctive aversion and irreconcilable hatred, this hierarchy of Rome exclaims against the press ; and whenever he has occasion, and revolutionary symptoms appear, he thunders from the Vatican his bulls. In this act, he only imitates his inexorable predecessors, and carries out the decrees of Romish councils.

We will here present the canons upon which the decrees against the press are based.

The great Council of Lateran, held at Rome A. D. 1515, under Leo X., session tenth, enacted thus : " We ordain and decree *that no person shall presume to print, or cause to be printed, any book or other writing whatsoever, either in our city [Rome] or in any other city, unless it shall first have been carefully examined, if in this city, by our vicar and the masters of the holy palace, or, if in other cities and dioceses, by the bishop or his deputy, with the inquisitor of heretical pravity for the dio-*

case in which the impression is about to be made ; and unless, also, it shall have received, under our hands, their written approval, given without price and without delay. Whosoever shall ever presume to do otherwise, beside the loss of the books, which shall be publicly burned, shall be bound by the sentence of excommunication." And, in another part of this decree, they further say, "that the transgressing printer was to pay two hundred ducats, to help to build St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome," and "to be suspended for a year from his trade," &c.

The Council of Trent affirmed this decretal, and enacted, Rule 1st : "All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs or general councils before the year 1515, and not comprised in the present index, are nevertheless to be considered as condemned." The *creed*, as adopted by every Roman Catholic, requires all "to receive undoubtedly all things delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent."

Here, then, is the destruction of all liberty to print, read, or think, enforced and sealed by that council. "Concerning the index of books, the

most holy council, in its second session, under our most holy lord, Pius IV., intrusted it to certain select fathers to consider what was needful to be done in case of divers censures, *and books either suspected or pernicious*, and then report to the holy council; and, having heard now that their labors are completed, but yet seeing, on account of the variety and number of said books, the council cannot minutely judge in the case, therefore it is decreed that whatever is determined by them shall be laid before the most holy Pope of Rome, so that it may be completed and published according to his judgment and authority."

This is the authority or decree in council to sanction the act of the Pope and the committee. So the "committee on the index" went to work to draw up a list of "prohibited books." It is a very large volume, and the book can be had but in few of the libraries of America. In this book, ten "rules" are added, which the Pope approved and the church receives. Every succeeding Pope, to Pius IX., has ratified it. The second of these rules will show something of this tyranny: "The books of heresiarchs, whether year above mentioned, or those who have been or are heads or

leaders of hereties, as Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, Balthaser, Pacimontanus, Luenchfeld, and other similar ones, are *altogether forbidden*, whatever be their names, titles, or subjects."

The fourth rule is this: "Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that, if the Holy Bible, translated in the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is on this point referred to the judgment of bishops and inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the *priest* or *confessor*, permit the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, by *Catholic authors*, to those whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, not injured, by it; and this permission they must have in *writing*; but, if any one shall have the *presumption* to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, or any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some *pious* use, and be subjected by the bishop to such other penalties as the bishop

shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall never read nor purchase such Bibles without license from their superiors."

The fifth rule allows "books of heretics, containing but little of their own, to be used by Catholics, *after having been corrected by their divines.*"

The sixth rule says: "*Books of controversy between Catholics and heretics of the present time, written in the vulgar tongue, are not to be indiscriminately allowed, but are to be subject to the same regulations as the Bible in the vulgar tongue.*"

The tenth rule is thus: "*In the printing of books, or rather the writings, the rules shall be observed which were ordained in the tenth session of the Council of Lateran, under Leo X. Therefore, if any book is to be printed in the city of Rome, it shall be first examined by the Pope's vicar, and the master of the sacred palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose. In other places, any book or manuscript intended to be printed shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person whom he shall nominate, and the inquisitors of heretical pravity*

of the city or diocese in which the impression is executed."

"Moreover, *in every city and diocese*, the house or place where the art of printing is exercised, and also shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the inquisitors, *so that nothing that is prohibited may be kept or sold."*

"If any persons shall *import* foreign books into the city, they shall be obliged to renounce them to the deputies. *Heirs*, or executors, shall make no use of the books of the deceased, nor in any way *transfer* them to others, until a catalogue is presented to the deputies, and obtained *their license*, under pain of confiscation of the books."

"Finally, it is enjoined on all the faithful, that no one keep or pretend to read any books contrary to these rules, or the prohibited index." "But, if any one shall keep or read the works of a heretic, *he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication*, and those who keep works interdicted on *another account*, beside the mortal sin committed, shall be severely punished at the will of the bishops."

Thus are the consciences, the intellects, tram-

melled, and the access to knowledge shut out from the sight of Americans, who are subjects of the Romish church. Think of this, O, my countrymen, think, and protect *your* schools for the education of your children!

What says the decree of the Holy Council of Trent, on the mere edition of God's Holy Word? Why, plainly this: "That considering no small advantage may accrue to the Church of God, of all the Latin editions in circulation, some one should be *regarded* as authentic, doth ordain and declare, that *the same old and vulgate edition*, which has been approved by its use in the church for ages, shall be held authentic in lectures, sermons, expositions, and disputations, and that *no one shall dare or presume to reject it, under any pretence whatever.*" And further, "That in matters of *faith and morals*, no one, confiding in his own judgment, *shall dare* to wrest the Sacred Scriptures *to his own sense of them, contrary to that which hath been held, and still is held, by Holy Mother Church, whose right it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the Sacred Word*, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers, even though such consent has never been published."

Now, Americans, do not forget to note this solemn fact, that what this Romish system styles the "vulgate," or "old *Latin* version of the Bible," is filled with interpolations, additions, and subtractions, and the falsehoods of the Apocrypha, and treats with entire contempt the original Greek language of that blessed book, which alone is able to make us "wise unto salvation."

This Roman policy *forces* upon its church a spurious Bible, and ordains it a *standard* opposed to God's Word, and makes it also *exclusive*, in order to carry out its own accursed purposes. It *forbids* men and women to *think* for themselves. You will further find, on the thirtieth page of their index of "prohibited books," that they actually *forbid the reading of any Bible in any translation*. Not merely the *Protestant*, but the *Roman Bible*, and this only under the sanction of their church, thus: "*Biblia Vulgari quocunque Idiomate conscripta*," which means, *the Bible, in whatever idiom written, is prohibited*.

CHAPTER III.

Now, let the hierarchy of Rome, in the United States, to-day, rise up, if they dare, and deny that the decrees and rules which we quote here from their councils and papal authorities are not true; are not rigidly enforced by them upon every subject of their priestly influence! Let any lover of his country deny that this power tramples liberty in the dust! Pope Gregory XVI., in his encyclical letter addressed to the faithful of the world, August 5th, 1832, at the time of his coronation, wrote thus :

“Towards this point tends the most vile, detestable, and never to be sufficiently execrated liberty of booksellers, namely, of publishing writings of whatever kind they please; a liberty which some persons dare with such violence of language to denounce and promote.” “The Apostles,” he continues, “publicly burned a vast quantity of books.” “This matter occupied,” says he, “the attention of the

fathers, who applied a remedy to so great an evil by publishing a salutary decree for compiling an index of books in which improper doctrines were contained. We must exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books ; for the matter of guilty error will never be effectually removed unless the guilty elements of depravity be consumed in the flames." "The Holy See has striven throughout all ages to condemn suspected and noxious books, and wrest them out of men's hands. It is clear how false, and rash, and fruitful of enormous evil to the Apostolic See, is the doctrine of those who not only reject the censorship of books as too severe and burdensome, but proceed to that length of wickedness as to assert that it is contrary to equal justice, and dare to deny to the church the right of enacting and employing it."

It needs no telescope, Americans, to discover now why Pope Pius the Ninth, the successor of Gregory, has had his foreign hierarchy at work, to get the Bible out of your public and free schools, and to expunge passages from school-books, which treat of the Reformation, and rights of men to be free to worship God as they choose. It is no wonder, now, why they dare to commit the blasphemy, and insult the Christian community, in publicly

burning the Bible in New York, and other places in our country.

The right to worship God, Americans contend, none can take away, unless it interferes or involves the rights of other men. This religious right is spoken of in the constitution as a *civil* right, which it neither gave nor can take away. The constitution protects this right of free worship; and declares, in direct terms, that, "when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, the *people have the right* to alter and abolish it." It asserts the necessity of *revolution*, if these rights are undermined. The tyranny of forcing men to accept, without choice, the doctrine and faith of the Romish church, submitting to the tyranny of the confessional, making a Romish priest the judge and lord of conscience, is an invasion upon the just political exercise of American men. The Romish catechism says, that "the priests hold the place, the power, and authority, of God on earth." The practical effect of the confessional is to put all men who confess to them in their power, and at their disposal. Hence the danger to American liberty. Out of the Romish church, they teach,

there is no salvation. In it, remember, Americans, there is no liberty.

Jesuitism, says De Pradt, embarrasses itself very little about means,—scruples are trifles. The decisions of the Council of Trent *are laws* with all the Roman Catholics. The broad seal is set by this last great council, and over the whole earth every Romanist is under the following obligation: “I also profess, and undoubtedly receive, all other things delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons, the general councils, and particularly the holy Council of Trent.” The hierarchy impose on the civil power, by this oath, to punish heretics; to exterminate them, in order to give their lands to Catholics; while, in return, great indulgences are given to their persecutors.

Baptism, by their catechism and theology, makes subjects of the church; and, being so, the church has ordained means to punish them.

No Protestant in our land would dare to refuse his son or daughter the right to unite with Papists, although they knew it would shut the Bible from their sight, make the *pardon of the priest their means of salvation*, require them to *confess* their inmost secret sins to wicked men, and send them

into "voluntary slavery" of the most abject and degraded character. Why? Because the system is beguiled under the name of *religion*. And it is an invasion on Protestant liberty, on our constitutional republican rights, to abridge personal choice.

The political system of Rome is subject here, as in all other countries, to the Roman *head* of the church, whom the foreign hierarchy are *sworn* to support and obey by the most solemn oath, in things temporal and spiritual. They are even bound to put to death, when ordered, any heretic in a Catholic family, and deny them the right to lie down in the same family grave-yard.

History, as well as the evidence of the present day, is full of these facts. De Pradt says: "*Catholicism is not organized like other worships*. The latter have no *common centre*; no exclusive source from whence flows power in every religious society. They have no Rome, nor precedents of Rome, nor pretensions of Rome. The exaltation or depression of *these worships is of no importance* in the political order of states. *It is not so with Rome*; everything in Catholicism tends to Rome. - The Pope is chief of one hundred and twenty millions of followers.

Catholicism cannot have less than four hundred thousand priests. The idolatrous worship of that church and its priests is spread everywhere. The Irish *priests* in America are more obsequious to Rome than the German or French priests, who are placed nearest to her. *Reverence is increased with distance.* Rome, viewed at a distance, is a colossus. *The Pope counts more subjects than a sovereign; more even than many sovereigns together. These have subjects only on THEIR OWN TERRITORY. The Pope counts SUBJECTS ON THE TERRITORY OF ALL SOVEREIGNS. These command only the exterior. The Pope penetrates deeper. He commands the interior. The seat of his empire is placed in the conscience itself. If the whole world were Roman Catholics, then the Pope would command the world. What a power! What would it leave to others? In a word, he would shake the world, and shroud it in midnight darkness. He did it, for ages, in respect to Europe. Not to know how to foresee, is not to know how to govern or judge the world."*

The writer who gave this graphic description of the political system of Popery was an *Abbe* of the Pope, and knew the exact meaning of all he said.

If ever Rome has the power in this country,

which she is striving, by the aid of all Catholic Europe, and certain blind, selfish American politicians, to attain, the treasonable war will be waged under the name of religion. Rome knows her political men, and her zealous agents in the United States, almost to a unit; and she knows her resources, also, to a dollar. She waits only for strength to her increasing resources, and the multiplication of her numbers, for her successful aggression on the ballot-box, and her acquisition of the civil power. When ripe, eventually, and in successful domination, she will confiscate our lands. She will pay her devoted political aspirants, as the *price of their treason*, in *papal votes*. She will enlist the zealous devotion of all the Catholic Irish, and priest-ridden foreign Papists; through the dangerous and unlimited power of priestly absolution in the confessional, and the dispensation of indulgences by the Pope.

The bull is published, and is irrepealable, in America, to-day, in which "the great hunter of men" raves through the earth, and lays his *curse* and his *claim* on all the civil and religious rights of man, not even leaving a *grave* for a *heretic*. He claims jurisdiction over armies, navies, seas,

lands, treasures, coasts, &c. The Pope could order the extermination, by a crusade, of heretics within any province under his undisputed control. What hinders him but the iron will and the majority of Americans, from putting in operation the persecuting principle inherent in the very system of Popery?

Has not the Pope palsied and ruined every country where his power could be felt? Look at the kingdoms and states of Italy,—Lombardy, Florence, Tuscany, Genoa, Naples,—so flourishing, once, in maritime prosperity, and all the arts of genius! Look at Spain, Portugal, France, Austria, Mexico, the states of South America!

Why that tyrannical oppression of the beautiful valleys of Piedmont? Why that bloody triumph of the Vatican over the martyred Waldenses and Albigenses? Why has this spirit of persecution extinguished every rising effort for liberty, trodden crowns in the dust, and drenched Europe and the earth in blood? If the Pope, at any time, relaxed his grasp of empires, and his tortures of the Inquisition,—if, at any time, the fires at the stake have been put out, and the groans of slaugh-

tered victims have ceased to fall on the ear,—to what is it to be ascribed but to the want of unrestrained power, and the energies of some Luther, some Elector of Saxony, some conquering arm of Marlborough, Charles XII., or a Napoleon? Did the Pope attempt to tread on the liberties of Venice in the seventeenth century, and is he a lamb to-day? If he spared not Venice then, why does he spare the United States to-day? For this simple reason, the want of strength and a majority. For it is the boast of the hierarchy, that its principles and character never change.

Du Pin, the papal historian, furnishes the most striking picture of the Papacy in the seventeenth century :

THE HISTORY OF THE INTERDICT OF VENICE, FULMINATED BY POPE PAUL V.*

“The difference of the Republic of Venice with Paul V. is one of the most important points of the ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century; not only by reason on the subject of the dispute, but also much more on account of the great number of questions which were agitated on occasion of that difference, by the most able divines and lawyers of that time. The Senate of Venice made two decrees in the beginning of that century; by the first of which

* From Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. viii. Book ii. Chap. 1. Century 17th.

it was forbidden, under severe penalties, to build hospitals or monasteries, or to establish new convents or societies, in the state of Venice, without the permission of the senate. By the other, which was made the 26th of March, 1605, a law made in 1536 was renewed, confirmed, and extended over all parts of the state, forbidding all the subjects of the republic to sell, alienate, or dispose in any manner whatsoever, of immovable goods in perpetuity, in favor of ecclesiastical persons, without the consent of the senate; upon condition, nevertheless, that if any legacies of immovable goods were bequeathed, those goods should be sold within 40 years after, and the purchase given to discharge those legacies. There happened at the same time two criminal affairs, which concerned the ecclesiastics. *Scipion Sarrafin*, canon of Vicenza, who had taken off the seal of the magistrates; affixed to the Episcopal chancery, at the request of the chancellor, the see being vacant, was seized by the senate, and put into prison, for having insulted one of his kinswomen, whom he intended to debauch; and some time after, Count Baldolin Valde-marino, Abbot Feveza, being accused of many enormous crimes, was imprisoned by order of the senate. The Pope, Paul V., being persuaded that the decrees and enterprises against the clergy encroached upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction, complained of them to the ambassador of Venice, and demanded of the senate, by his nuncio, that the decrees should be revoked immediately, and the ecclesiastics imprisoned by the authority of the senate delivered into the hands of his nuncio, to be tried by ecclesiastical judges; threatening to interdict the republic, if he was not obeyed immediately. The senate answered, the 1st of December, 1605, that they could not release prisoners accused of crime which belong to the

recognizance of the secular judges, nor revoke the laws which they had a right to make, and which they believed necessary for the good of the state. The Pope, having received this answer by letters from his nuncio, and by word of mouth from the ambassador of Venice, despatched on the 10th of December two briefs; the one addressed to Marin Grimani, Doge of Venice, and the other to the republic, by way of monitory, exhorting the state to revoke their decrees, which he thought contrary to the canons, and prejudicial to the liberties of the church; declaring that they who made these laws, or caused them to be executed, had incurred ecclesiastical censures, from which they could not be freed but by revoking those statutes, and reëstablishing affairs in their former state. He commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication, *lata Sententiæ*, to revoke them, which, if they refused, he protested that he should be obliged to put in execution the penalties annexed to such offences, without any other citation; being not willing that God should call him to account one day for having thus failed in his duty, and not being able to dissemble, when he saw the authority of the holy Apostolic See infringed, the ecclesiastical immunities trampled under foot, the canons and holy decrees neglected, and the rights and privileges of the church subverted."

The Pope sent these briefs to his nuncio at Venice. with orders "to present and publish them; and acquainted the cardinals, in a consistory held the 12th of that month, with the subject of complaint he had against the republic of Venice, and with what he had done thereupon. Nevertheless, the republic appointed Leonardo Donato, procurator of St. Mark, to go express, and treat of this affair in the quality of ambassador at Rome. The nuncio, not having received those briefs till the day after Donato had been

chosen ambassador, thought he ought to put off the publication of them, and wrote to the Pope, who ordered him to present them. The nuncio received this order on Christmas eve, and presented, the day following, the briefs to the counsellors assembled to assist at a solemn mass, in the absence of the Doge Grimani, who was extremely ill, and died the day following. His death was the reason why the briefs were not opened, the senate having ordered that no affair should be transacted, but that of the election of a doge. The Pope, on his side, wrote to the nuncio to protest to the senate that they ought not to proceed to a new election, because it would be null, as made by excommunicated persons. The nuncio pressingly demanded audience to make this declaration; but the senate would not give it him, it being not customary to receive any memorials from the ministers of foreign princes during the interregnum, but compliments of condolence. The electors were not a long time in choosing a new doge. The 10th of January, 1606, Leonardo Donato was advanced to that high dignity. All the ambassadors went immediately, according to custom, to visit the new doge, and pay him their compliments. But the nuncio would not visit him. The doge did not omit writing to the Pope, according to custom, to notify his election to him; and the Pope received his letter. The first affair which was transacted at Venice, after the election of the doge, was the difference of the republic with the Pope: It began with nominating the Chevalier Duolo in the place of Leonardo Donato (who was elected doge), ambassador at Rome. After this the briefs were opened; and when the senate saw what they contained, before they returned an answer to the Pope they determined to have the advice of some divines and lawyers. The lawyers whom they principally considered were Erasmus Gratian, of Udina, and Mark

Antonio Pellegrin, of Padua; and the famous Fra-Paolo Sarpi, of the order of the Servites, was appointed the divine of the republic. It was also resolved not only to consult the doctors of the university of Padua and of Venice, but also the most able lawyers of Italy and Europe, who sent them their opinions, with the laws of the other kingdoms and churches of Christendom, which had any relation to the affair in question. Then the senate, after having understood the opinion of the doctors, returned this answer to the Pope, the 28th of January: 'That they heard, with a great deal of grief and astonishment, by letters from his holiness, that he had condemned the laws of the republic (observed with success for many ages, and with which his predecessors had found no fault), as contrary to the authority of the holy Apostolic See; and that he regarded those who had made them (who were men of piety, and had well deserved of the see of Rome) as persons who broke the ecclesiastical immunities; that, according to the admonition of his holiness, they had caused to be examined their ancient and modern laws, and that they had found nothing in them which could not be ordained by the authority of a sovereign prince, or which infringed on the power of the Pope; because it is certain that it belongs to a secular prince to take cognizance of all societies which are founded within his own jurisdiction, and to take care that no edifices may be raised which may prejudice the public safety, when there are in a state as great a number of churches and places of devotion as is sufficient. That they never refused giving leave to build them; the republic even contributing thereto very liberally on her part. That the law prohibiting the alienation of the goods of the laity forever in favor of the ecclesiastics regarding nothing but temporal affairs, it cannot be pretended that they have done anything by that against the canons.

That if the Popes had power to forbid the ecclesiastics to alienate in favor of secular persons the goods of the church without her consent, it might be lawful for princes to prohibit seculars also to alienate theirs in favor of the ecclesiastics without their permission. That the ecclesiastics lose nothing by their decrees, because they receive the value of the immovable goods which are given or bequeathed to them. That this alienation, weakening the state, is not less prejudicial in spiritual than temporal concernments. That the senate cannot believe they have incurred any censure by making these laws, since princes have by a divine law, from which no human authority can derogate, the power of making laws in temporal affairs. That the admonitions of his holiness have no effect but in matters that are purely spiritual, and not in a temporal affair, which is in all things separate, and wholly exempt from the pontifical authority. That the senate does not believe his holiness, who is full of piety and religion, will persevere, without knowledge of the cause, in his menaces. That these were an abridgment of the senate's reasons, which their extraordinary ambassador would give him to understand more largely.'

"The Pope, having received this answer of the senate, declared to the ambassador that he could not relax his severity if they did not revoke their laws, and deliver into the hands of his nuncio the prisoners. He complained still more of another decree they had made upon the emphytheoses,* and caused his complaints to be delivered by his nuncio to the senate. As he knew they would give him no satisfaction thereupon, he gave orders for another brief to be presented, the 10th of December, to the senate, whereby he required that the two prisoners should be delivered to his nuncio, under the penalty of excommunication. The

* A term of law for a long lease, from ten to a hundred years.

senate answered that they would not divest themselves of the right which they had to punish the crimes of their subjects, which they had always enjoyed from the establishment of their state, with the consent of the sovereign pontiffs. The extraordinary ambassador of the republic came to Rome, and represented to the Pope the reasons of their proceedings; but nothing was able to move his holiness. He caused a monitory to be drawn up against the republic of Venice, and having communicated it to the cardinals in consistory, the 15th of April, he ordered it to be published and fixed up in the public places at Rome. This monitory imported that the senate of Venice being not willing to revoke the laws which they had made in prejudice of the ecclesiastical authority, nor to deliver their prisoners, he declared these laws to be null, and pronounced the doge and republic of Venice excommunicated, if, within the space of twenty-four days, to begin from the day of the publication, they did not revoke, break, and annul, the aforesaid laws, and actually deliver the canon and the abbot into the hands of his nuncio. That till such time as they should pay obedience to this order, he forbade them to bury in consecrated ground those who happened to die; and that if, within three days after the twenty-four were expired, they did not comply, he laid the whole state under an interdict; and forbade all masses and divine offices to be celebrated, except in such cases and places as were privileged by common law. And that he deprived the doge and senate of all the goods which they possessed in the Roman church, or in other churches, and of all the privileges or indultos which they had obtained from the holy see, and especially from those which they had to proceed against clerks in certain cases. The monitory was addressed to the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, their vicar-generals, and to all the clergy, secular and regu-

lar, having ecclesiastical dignity in the state of the republic of Venice.

“The senate, being informed that the monitorial bull was published, recalled their extraordinary ambassador, forbade all ecclesiastical prelates to publish or set up the bull of the Pope, and commanded that all they who had copies of it should carry them to the magistrates of Venice. The Pope, on his side, recalled the nuncio who was at Venice, and dismissed the ordinary ambassador of the republic. At the same time the chiefs of the council of ten sent for the superiors of monasteries, and of the other churches of Venice, and declared the intention of their sovereign to be that they should continue to perform the divine offices, and that no one should leave the ecclesiastic state without leave, assuring those who staid of protection; and declaring that they who departed should not carry with them any of the goods and ornaments of the churches. They commanded them, in case any brief was sent to them from Rome, or order from their superiors, to send it to the magistrates before they read it. And the governors of all the cities of the state were enjoined to give the same orders in the places of their jurisdiction. The superiors immediately all promised to obey the orders that had been given them, and to perform divine service as before. A council was held upon what was proper to be done concerning the monitory of the Pope. Some gave their advice to appeal from it, as many princes, and the republic itself, had done on the like occasion. But others believed there was no occasion for having recourse to this remedy, pretending that the briefs were notoriously null of themselves. This opinion was followed, and nothing was done, but a mandate made in the name of the doge, addressed to all the ecclesiastics of the republic, wherein he declared that, having received advice of the publication,

April 17th, at Rome of a certain brief fulminated against him, and the senate, and sovereignty of Venice, he thought himself obliged to employ his cares in maintaining the public tranquillity, and supporting the authority of the prince. That he protested before God he had not omitted any means of informing and laying before the Pope the strong and convincing reasons of the republic. But that having found his ears closed, and seen the brief he had published against all kind of reason and justice in opposition to the doctrine of the Holy Scripture, the fathers and canons, and to the prejudice of the secular authority which God has bestowed upon sovereign princes, the *liberty of the state* and the public repose, and to the great scandal and offence of the whole Christian world; he held that brief to be not only unjust, but also null, unlawfully fulminated in fact, and contrary to the rules of law, and that he would use the same remedies which his predecessors and other princes have used against the Popes, who abused the authority which God had given them to edification, and passed the bounds of their power. And this he was the more inclined to do, forasmuch as he was certain that this brief would be looked upon in the same light, not only by all the subjects of the republic, but also by the whole Christian world. That he was persuaded they would continue, as before, to take care of the souls of the faithful, and to perform the divine offices, being fully resolved to persevere in the Catholic and apostolic faith, and the respect which is due to the holy Roman church. This mandate, dated the 6th of May, 1606, was immediately published and set up at Venice, and in all the cities of the state.

“As the term of twenty-four days allowed by the briefs approached, and the *Jesuits*, who had received particular orders from the Pope, showed plainly that they were in-

clined to observe the interdict, and would at least abstain from saying of mass, they were commanded, on the 10th of May, to give an express declaration of the measures they designed to take. They acknowledged then that they could not celebrate mass during the interdict, and that if the senate obliged them to do it, they chose rather to retire from Venice. Upon this answer, the senate resolved to send them away, and appointed the grand Vicar of the Patriarch to receive the ornaments of their churches, and gave them order to depart immediately. They went out that evening, carrying each of them a consecrated host about their necks; and being put into two barks, retired to Ferrara. The Jesuits in the convents which were in the other cities of the republic departed also. As it was manifest that the Capuchins, Theatins, and other regulars, after the example of the Jesuits, were resolved to observe the interdict, the senate published a decree, the last day of the term, by which all those who refused to celebrate the divine offices, in the accustomed manner, were enjoined to retire out of the jurisdiction of the republic; upon which the Capuchins and Theatins departed also, and the other religions were placed in the government of their churches. The Capuchins of the territories of Brescia and Bergamo stayed, and continued to perform divine offices, like the other ecclesiastics, secular and regular, of the republic,

“The nuncios of the Pope, who were in the courts of Catholic princes of Europe, endeavored to exclude from divine service the ambassadors and envoys of Venice; but their attempts were fruitless. They continued to be treated as they used to be, and were admitted to prayers, assemblies, and the ecclesiastic ceremonies, as heretofore, in France, Spain, Italy, and Poland. The ambassador of the republic assisted in person at Vienna, in the first solemn

procession of the Holy Sacrament, which was made by the Jesuits. But the nuncio, who was not present for fear of meeting the ambassador, gave out such menaces, that the ambassador did not think fit to be present at the two following ones. Though the interdict was not observed in the states of Venice, it occasioned *tumults* and *seditions* in several places, which the senate, having attributed to the suggestions of the Jesuits, made a decree, the 14th of June, whereby they declared that the Jesuits should never more be received for the future in any place of the state of Venice, and that this decree should never be revoked, before there had been first read the whole process in presence of all the senate, which should be composed at least of a hundred and four score senators, and unless there were five for one who voted for the revocation.

“Nevertheless, the Christian princes interposed to accommodate the difference betwixt the Pope and the Venetians. But these would not hear any proposition of accommodation before the Pope had taken away the interdict, and the Pope demanded before all things the revocation of the decrees. The ambassador of the most Christian king exerted himself more strongly and efficaciously than any one else in bringing matters to an accommodation, and at length effected it. The *King of Spain* assured the Pope that he *would assist him* with all his forces, and that he had given orders for that purpose to his ministers in Italy. But these promises had no other effect than to retard the accommodation, and had like to have kindled a war in Italy. Some unknown persons having set up in the state of Venice a placard by which the republic was exhorted to separate herself from the Roman Church, the senate commanded that search should be made after the author of it, and protested that their intention was never to depart from the Catholic reli-

gion, nor the obedience due to the Holy See. They published afterwards several orders to maintain a war, in case they should be attacked. The Pope, on his side, solicited the princes of Italy to put *himself* into a condition to *attack* the Venetians, or to defend himself, if he should be attacked by them. On each side preparations of war were made, but the dispute never came to an open rupture. It was not so in the war which was carried on by the pen; for a very great number of writings were published on both sides, with heat, vivacity, and learning. Though the affair had a lowering aspect, and all things threatened a rupture, the ambassadors of France did not cease, nevertheless, to negotiate an accommodation."

CHAPTER IV.

WE learn from his history that the Pope, only two centuries ago, excommunicated a whole people for exercising the right to punish, by civil jurisdiction, two ecclesiastics, for drunkenness, murder, and other crimes, and for prohibiting the erection of monasteries and nunneries. These matters belonged to the state government alone. The courts of the church had no right to try civil cases, or inflict temporal punishment, without infringing on the liberties of the people, and violating the laws of God. The Pope demanded that these criminals of the republic of Venice should be tried by *him* in his ecclesiastical court, and threatened an instant interdict if prompt obedience did not ensue. The monasteries were polluting and ruining their country; and the senate passed salutary laws prohibiting their future erection, without the consent of the legislature, and regulating the bestowment of property on the clergy, who were securing the



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treasure and soil of the country in their own hands. The Pope would not *allow* the state to *govern* his subjects, though they resided in it.

The Jesuits—observe, Americans!—left Venice to espouse publicly the cause of the Pope as a military foe to Venice; and the oath of allegiance to the Pope, by every Jesuit bishop and priest, will lead to the same results in this country whenever the blow is struck openly for Popery.

“The Pope,” says Du Pin, “solicited the powers of Italy to put him in a condition to attack the Venetians, or defend himself if attacked by them.” Thus the Pope, the head of the church, placed himself at the head of the army, to crush the republic of Venice for punishing two priests who had been found guilty of incest and murder.

The Jesuits then were the *soldiery* of the Pope, and left their country to join him in arms. But, to the glory and praise of Jehovah, there were some patriotic spirits in Venice who stood up for liberty, and who showed their love for the rights of the people by punishing their priestly persecutors, and annihilating their convents and monasteries, as Spain and Portugal had done before them.

All men, if their minds are not demented, love

freedom ; and when Roman Catholics have become sufficiently enlightened and caught the true spirit of liberty, they have burst their chains of bondage, and risen up in Romish countries, as they did in the Reformation of Luther, and recently have done in Sardinia, New Granada, and partially in Mexico. It is by the spread of knowledge and the influence of true liberty that the hierarchy of Rome will, at last, fall. A system so false and pernicious, a power so grasping, a despotism so at war with human rights, so bloody and insufferable, cannot last forever. The people of the earth will, in the fulfilment of scriptural prophecy, comprehend that God has given them the *will* to be free.

The Church of Rome claims to be infallible, and that it has an unquestioned right to enforce all its rules and tyrannical oaths upon its subjects. It declares damnation on all out of its visible communion. It dares to claim universal spiritual and temporal dominion, — a more arrogant and impious pretence than ever Zenghis-Khan or the most wicked or victorious tyrant ever claimed. In the decretals by Pope Gelasius to the Emperor Aurelius, it is written thus :

“ O, august emperor, there are two by whom the

world is chiefly ruled, — the sacred authority of the Popes, and the kingly power ; in the which, that of the *priests* preponderates, inasmuch as in the divine examination they will have to answer to the kings of men." "Be well aware, therefore, that in these matters you depend upon their judgment, and they cannot be subservient to your will ; *forasmuch as you see that the necks of kings and princës are put under the knees of priests ;* and that, when they have kissed their right hands, they believe themselves to be partakers of their prayers." The heading of the chapter is in these words : "*It is necessary to the salvation of all the faithful in Christ, that they be subject to the Pope of Rome, who has the power of both swords, and who judges all, but is judged by none.*" "Moreover we declare, assert, *define*, and pronounce, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Pope of Rome."

What a preposterous decree ! What arrogant blasphemy ! The Pope pronounces himself to be God's vicegerent on earth ; to dispose of church and state, heaven and hell ; to determine the eternal salvation or damnation of the souls of men ! In perfect consistency, he gave a grant to Spain

of America, even before its discovery. This grant, never having been revoked, is in full force; and Mr. O. A. Brownson, his Corypheus in America, says that the Pope holds it as his possession! And, with the Pope's increasing millions of subjects, his accumulating revenues, his subtle secret and open emissaries, his numerous and constantly multiplying papal schools, seminaries, colleges, nunneries, and monastic establishments, and all his swarming priests and Jesuits, is there not, my countrymen, ground for apprehension and serious alarm? No matter whether our politicians and unsuspecting and busy people see this danger; no matter whether the hope of accomplishing a particular end be fulfilled now or centuries to come; the springs and ramifications of this system, often concealed, and wholly unlike all other human inventions, are in powerful operation, and its agents labor assiduously to effect this end.

Pope Pius V., in his bull to Queen Elizabeth, in which he deprives her of her kingdom, and releases her subjects from allegiance to her government, said: "He who reigns on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, *out of*

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which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff, successor to Peter, to be governed in the fulness of power. This one man he hath appointed prince over ALL NATIONS AND ALL KINGDOMS, that he may pluck up, destroy, scatter, ruin, plant, build."

The bull against Henry of Navarre and Prince of Condé, by Sixtus V., says: "The power of the Roman Pontiff passes an uncontrolled sentence on all; casts down the most powerful from their thrones, tumbles them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as ministers of the proud Lucifer."

Among the *definitions of papal power received* and in use in the Romish system, we find the twenty-seven sentences or dictates of Pope Gregory VII.

8. The Pope alone can use imperial ensigns.

9. All princes must kiss the feet of the Pope only.

12. That it is lawful for him to depose emperors.

17. That no chapter or book is canonical without his authority.

19. That he himself ought to be judged by no man.

27. That he may absolve the subjects of unjust men from fidelity to their princes."

Pope Leo III. says, "That the church, his spouse, had given him the *mitre* in token of things spiritual; the crown, in token of things *temporal*: the mitre for the priesthood, the crown for the kingdom, making me a *lieutenant* of Him, who hath written upon his thigh and his vesture, King of kings and Lord of lords; *I enjoy alone the plenitude of power, that others may say of me, next to God, and out of his fulness we have received.*"

These doctrines are brought to America, and, although not written in our statute-books, nor proclaimed from the top of the capitol, yet every "cross" on the splendid cathedrals and popish chapels in this country; every elevation of the "host" by the bishops and priests before the eyes of the crowding multitudes which throng them; every sermon on the Sabbath which teaches implicit obedience to the Pope; every oath of every Jesuit and prelate, and all the solemn binding vows of the millions of their adherents, proclaim, as with the voice of a trumpet, these dangerous and unchangeable edicts.

In the book called "*Three Books of the Sacred*

Ceremonies of the Holy Roman Church," printed at Cologne, 1571, it is seen how the Pope reigned in his days of greatest temporal splendor. These were his orders :

1. The Emperor shall hold the Pope's stirrup.
2. The Emperor shall lead the Pope's horse.
3. The Emperor shall bear the Pope's chair on his shoulder.
4. The Emperor shall bear up the Pope's train.
5. The Emperor shall bear the basin and ewer to the Pope.
6. Let the Emperor give the Pope water.
7. The Emperor shall carry the Pope's *first dish*.
8. The Emperor shall carry the Pope's *first cup*."

This is the man who claims to be the successor of St. Peter, the follower of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who said to his disciples, "Silver and gold I have none!" O, the pride, the ostentation, the guilty ambition, of this Roman god, "sitting in the temple of God, and calling himself God!"

The religion of Protestants in America, as well as the constitution, oppose not the hierarchal pretensions of Rome only, but all *established* religions on earth. Both Protestantism and the constitution

deny the right of the legislatures to enact laws against the freedom of conscience or private judgment. They deny that the majority has any power over the minority in these matters which belong to God alone. No mortal has this right ; and whoever assumes it, be he monarch or priest, is a base and impious tyrant, against whom rise up the laws of heaven, and the conscious reason of man.

They who peopled our soil, and fought on the battle-fields of the Revolution, — the illustrious and heroic representatives of the first American Congress, who legislated our freedom, with Washington at their head, — felt the strong impulse of Protestant principles, and imbued the immortal instrument of the constitution with those principles, and thus established the glorious edifice of civil and religious liberty. Every true American patriot changed his allegiance to every foreign government, and denied the right to any civil authority or priestly usurper to trample on these native principles, or legislate away the rights of conscience. This denial, by the American inhabitants, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, was made even before the adoption of the constitution. But the papists have never dared to deny their allegiance to

the foreign hierarchy of Rome, and therefore have never denied to the priesthood, or to the Pope, this usurped right to *control the conscience*, or to *think and decide* as they may dictate, in all matters of religion. Why? — Their dogmas forbid; the pivot of the lips of the priest, on which their salvation or damnation turns, and all the inextricable and deep web of superstitious mummeries in which they are immersed, sealed by “infallibility,” forbid. Their *souls*, and consequently even the *disposal of their bodies*, are not their own. Freedom of conscience being in the hands of the priest, and the priest in the hands of the Pope, all the papists in this country, unless a little too much Americanized, form one great army, and move as a unit under the dictation of the priest. They are here, therefore, what, in spirit and in the principles of their system, they were under Raymond, Godfrey, Tancred; what they were at the siege of Rochelle under the cardinal minister of France, when, for twelve tedious months, the Protestants endured their unrelenting persecution and cruelties; what they were when the fires of Smithfield, under the reign of bloody Mary, lighted up England, and multitudes of Protestants perished; what they

were on St. Bartholomew's night, when they murdered more than sixty thousand Protestants; what they were under the Inquisition; what they are in Rome, in Italy, in the armies of the Austrian and French tyrants, bayoneting the patriot sons who venture to breathe the aspirations of liberty; what in Spain, in Portugal, and wherever the priests hold their conscience, and dictate their ready obedience and movements.

CHAPTER V.

THE Pope's power, which grants pardon, forgives sins, past, present, and to come, is in full force here. He pardons rebellion and high treason; dispenses with oaths, promises, or vows. And, though a subject take one thousand or five hundred thousand oaths to support the civil government, if it is not a Roman Catholic government there can be no possible security for his allegiance.

Is there an American who will say, in the face of these facts, that the system of Popery is favorable to civil and religious freedom? Is there one who will deny that its dogmas and practices are opposed to the principles of that constitution, which are dear to freemen as their hearts' blood?

Not merely the Pope, but the priests, can forgive sins. The priests are the monarchists; they are the *hierarchy* of Rome; they are the church, and the church is the foe of *divine truth and human liberty*.

When Rome ceases to be consolidated, its system has ended. It has no vitality, but through the great *tyrant*, who "calls himself God," and rules on the ruins of religion, liberty, and law. Protestants, on the other hand, cannot consolidate, in the same manner, under one supreme head, who unites church and state. They own no such head. The Pilgrims of Plymouth, the Huguenots of South Carolina, the disciples of Wm. Penn, the Hollanders who colonized Manhattan, were all alike Protestants. But it was their freedom to think and choose each the mode of worship it adopted, and they were each and all resolutely and unanimously united in the founding of American liberty.

Bishop England, a most crafty Jesuit, in his book transmitted from Rome, 26th March, 1833, speaking in praise of the Pope's encyclical letter against liberty, says: "In the venerable successor of St. Peter I behold the former active, zealous, and enlightened prefect of the propaganda, *whose deep interest and laborious exertions in the concerns of the Church of the United States* have been so beneficial." He further says, "that stripping the Holy See of its *temporal* independence would inflict a deep wound on religion." And, in addressing the

cardinals, whom this same Bishop England styles "the venerable and eminent senate of the Christian world," he further wrote: "That the grain of mustard-seed (the Papal Church in America), cultivated with success, under the auspices of Pius the Sixth, has mightily grown to a rapid tree, and, protected by Gregory XVI., is now extending its branches above an enlightened community, reposing in peace under its shadow."

To show further that this political corporation of Rome does what it dares and can do to subvert our liberties, we ask you, Americans, in conclusion, to read the letter of Bishop England, written from Rome, upon American nationality, soon after the news of the burning of the Massachusetts convent reached that city, and which was published under his direction, in Charleston, South Carolina.

"How often," says he, "do I wish my voice could be heard across the Atlantic, proclaiming to your meetings what I have seen and heard since I left you! *A people valuing freedom, and in the plenitude of its enjoyment, destroying religion, nay, having nearly effected its destruction, by reducing to practice here the principles which the Veterists and Conciliators contend for among you.*

“The Americans are loud in their reprobation of your servile aristocracy, who would degrade religion by placing it under the control of a king’s minister; and could your aristocracy and place-hunters form the state of Catholicity here, they would inveigh against the Democrats, who would degrade religion by placing its concerns under the control of a mob; and I am perfectly convinced they are right.

“I am convinced that if these gentlemen of the Irish hierarchy, who are suspected, and I fear with good reason, of being favorable to Velotistical arrangements, had each one month’s experience of the operations of the principle here, their good sense, and piety, and zeal for religion, would compel them to suffer inconvenience rather than commit the fate of the religion of millions under their charge, and myriads yet unborn, to the influence of that most destructive principle, to release themselves and their flocks from the unmitigated persecution they now suffer. The people here claim and endeavor to assume the same power which the clauses and conditions would give the Crown among you, though not to the same extent. The consequence is that religion is neglected, degraded, despised, and insulted, with impunity.”

This bold assertion of Bishop England against "responsibility to the people as the great principle of the American system," is confirmed by that of all other leaders in the design upon American liberty. The *Catholic Telegraph*, published in Cincinnati, the contemporary of Cardinal England, spoke thus of our republicanism: "The system may be very fine in theory, very fit for imitation on the part of those who seek the power of the mob, in contradistinction to justice and the public interest. But it is not of a nature to invite the reflecting part of the world, and shows, at least, that it has evils."

This *foreign emissary* and his coadjutors, the Jesuits and agents, who are under a bond to the Pope, dare to announce to our faces that the burning of one convent in New England, by a mob, "is one fact in condemnation of the system of American institutions, confirmed lately by numerous other proofs."

Bishop Flagett, of Bardstown College, Kentucky, gives to his patrons abroad this plain hint at their ULTERIOR POLITICAL DESIGN, and that no less than the entire subversion of our republican government. In regard to the difficulty of Catholic mis-

sionaries with the Indians, he says the greatest is, “*their continued traffic with the whites, WHICH CANNOT BE HINDERED SO LONG AS THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT SHALL SUBSIST.*”

Do Americans know that, *at the point of the bayonet*, every individual must *kneel* or retreat, at the sight of a *Catholic procession* of the idolatrous “host,” in every country in the *American* world, as well as papal Europe, where the power of the Romish system prevails? What though Papists are idolatrous; what though Bishop England says “NOTHING IS MORE OFFENSIVE TO CATHOLICS THAN A TRANSGRESSION OF THIS PRINCIPLE,” that is, kneeling to a popish procession? What though it is the custom among the European slavish masses to worship a “wafer,” which the priest (who secretly laughs at the credulous ignorance of his dupes) tells them is converted, by a few mumbling words which he utters, into a *real* God; what though the priests close the Bible, and their poor blind subjects know no better than to permit this despotism? Are Americans to be compelled to take off their hats to such a ridiculous deception,—to consent to be fools, and kneel down to such a monstrous imposture? And yet an Irish Papist, some months


ago, at a Popish procession in Cincinnati, had the astonishing impudence to assault a Protestant and knock off his hat, because he chose to maintain his independence! How many hats will be knocked off when Rome gets to be more powerful? If this is the first lesson to Americans, what will be the second, and the last?

The Canon Law is Rome's *Magna Charta*. Robinson, the historian (a favorite author of Romanists), says, "*The Pope's public political end was to be absolute ruler of all the priesthood; and, through them, of all mankind.*" "It is a Jewish Christianity, having in it the seed of a hierarchy;" "they sunk the people to elevate the order;" "the order created a master-like Aaron." "If this dispute," says he, "had been only about wearing the bells and pomegranates, as Aaron had done, and a breast-plate, that none but a Jew could read, it might have created mirth; but it took a very serious turn when it was perceived that Aaron had under all his fine things a KNIFE and a BLOOD BASIN."

Abbé De Pradt says: "Jesuitism is EMPIRE BY RELIGION. The general of the Jesuits is a veritable King." The Pope is *master of the general*. He

says, "it is *organized* intolerance." Who is chief of this immense family, this militia present everywhere? THE POPE. *He counts more subjects than any sovereign ; more than even many sovereigns together. IF THE WHOLE WORLD WERE CATHOLIC, THEN THE POPE WOULD COMMAND THE WHOLE WORLD."*

"Catholicism," this Abbe De Pradt further says, "is not organized like other worships. *The latter have no common centre ; no exclusive source from whence flows power in every religious society."* THEY HAVE NO ROME.



CHAPTER VI.

Now, my countrymen, by the very highest Roman Catholic authorities on earth, we have exposed the design and tendency of this corporation to subvert civil and religious liberty and law. Rome counts in her communion more than one hundred and fifty millions throughout the world. The entire Protestant world now exceeds but little upwards of one hundred and twenty millions. Rome has *one*, and *only one*, centre, and boasts of her *unity, indivisibility, and common principles* of the *great tyrant* who dwells in the "*Eternal City.*" Protestants have no central head, and are never under such ecclesiastical rule. Yet, in the last three hundred years, where but with Protestants, and under Protestant governments, have *science, enterprise, commerce, agriculture, order, law, and liberty, the inventions of mechanical genius, national and individual prosperity, flourished in all*

their beauty, grandeur, and successful triumphs? And here in the United States, where free institutions and liberty are best enjoyed, have not these developments been most gratifying and surprising?

The records of the world respond, *Nowhere beside*. Place not only the United States, but free England, Holland, or Scotland, in contrast with Catholic Italy, Catholic Spain, Catholic Germany, and Catholic Ireland, and what a striking contrast immediately presents itself! When Luther blew his trumpet, nations started up from the slumber of ages, burst the iron fetters which had chained them, and came forth into the light of heaven, and, rejoicing in its beams and the energies of their new manhood, stood erect, and commenced their march to national and individual independence, and the free enjoyment of the rights which God and nature gave them.

Who can estimate the value of this deliverance? It is beyond all price. Its magnificent results over Protestant nations are known and felt in free government, free conscience, free speech, free press, the diffusion of knowledge, the expansion of the human faculties, the happiness of families, the triumphs of peaceful arts and industry, and all

the prosperity and glory which are shed on nations and their members.

America we hold to be *Bible ground*, and her institutions and principles are suited to all religious sects who do not claim to be infallible; but the system of Rome, by *its own documents*, avows its plan to *alter and prohibit books*, and YET KEEP THEIR TITLES; to *change the ideas of authors*; to *educate a political influence*, which, "*in ten, or, at most, twenty years,*" they have said, *was to wield or control the destinies of this country*; and, in a word, "*to dictate to the souls OF MYRIADS OF IMMORTAL BEINGS,*" and chain down the human faculties.

Our fathers declared in the Continental Congress that "THE CATHOLIC RELIGION HAD DELUGED ENGLAND IN BLOOD;" and they rose, in the might and spirit of unconquerable patriots, for the defence of their religious rights, that you, Americans, might be able now to vindicate and perpetuate them. Wait not till the Rubicon is passed! The Jesuits are within our lovely enclosures. What countries, where they have gained a foothold, have they not ruined? What monster errors do they not promulgate? What insidious plots do they not contrive? They are already

combined with certain political leaders to distract this country. They are in our state politics. They are in our Washington counsels. Have they not already shocked the community by burning our Bibles? Have they not ejected it from our schools? Have they not defaced our school-books, and denounced our beautiful system of education, and American schools, as the "nurseries of hell"? Have they not attempted to gag free speech,—to seize the ballot-box, and assault our citizens in the exercise of their legal franchise? Have they not demanded the public funds, to support their sectarian education? And, with astonishing boldness, has not their leading prelate, acting in concert with all the popish bishops in this country, dictated to his political partisans in the legislature to alter the laws to suit his jesuitical and ambitious designs, to divert to his personal use, and in his legal right, the whole property of the church? Are not these men busy, and do they not act as spies in all our state and federal elections? And yet how feeble is the voice of Americans! how silent are many of the presses of the country! While these foreign agencies are at work; while dangers threaten from foes open and secret, alert and sub-

tle, bound by oaths to make every interest, civil, political, and religious, subserve one grand end, — the supremacy of a foreign hierarchy in our midst, — these presses lift up no voice, speak in no indignant spirit of liberty. They are like a dead weight to the majestic wheel of the republic. They breathe not a whisper of warning against the designs of Catiline. They refuse to repel his insidious and impudent treacheries. They affect not to see, either through fear or through partisanship, the footsteps of the foreign intruder within the bowers of our happy homes; or the wily serpent coiling among the pleasant flowers, and stately foliage, and magnificent cypress, of our virgin scenery. They wink at the stratagems of Sylla, but condemn the merits of Fabius. They spurn the patriotic indignation of the Gracchi, and take to their embraces the plotting Tarquins. With the calculations of the political chess-board, their fame and independence are nicely balanced by a successful move, or aristocratically interwoven with the price of stocks in the market of the highest bidder. *Non tali auxilio.*

The patriotic heart of the nation demands no questionable Gloucesters, but magnanimous Syd-

neys, and heroic Hampdens, to defend the proud battlements of our liberties, and to stand in the breach on the invasion of the enemy. In every community, and often in responsible and prominent stations, there are men who either will not or cannot see danger till their house is in flames over their heads, or the assassin has effected his purpose. The time is approaching when no dubious action will be tolerated ; when the love of country, and the calls of patriotism, will awaken the most sluggish apathy. The field is chosen by the papacy. The plans are laid. The agents are commissioned not to faint or halt. America is to be the field on which the last great battle of the world is to be fought. The struggles of Rome will be in proportion to the value of the object, and the greatness and majestic splendor of the prize. Never were motives more impulsive and commanding ; never was an issue when the victory will be more coveted and magnificent, and the results so striking and extensive. But let this foreign influence beware ! The spirit which animated our ancestors glows with unabated fervor. In the words of the great orator of Yale, " Their sons scorn to be slaves," nor will they be circumvented

or repelled in the background by monks and priestcraft. Let not the calm forebode the storm! The American "sky is charged with lightnings fiercer than ever flashed over that which canopies us all." Let not the fatal step be taken, nor the hand of the papal tyrant dare to press too closely on the American heart! While the "light of freedom is glowing with undiminished fires," may we hope to succeed in this grand battle of light against darkness, — of liberty against the combined forces of priests and despots!

THE AMERICAN NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

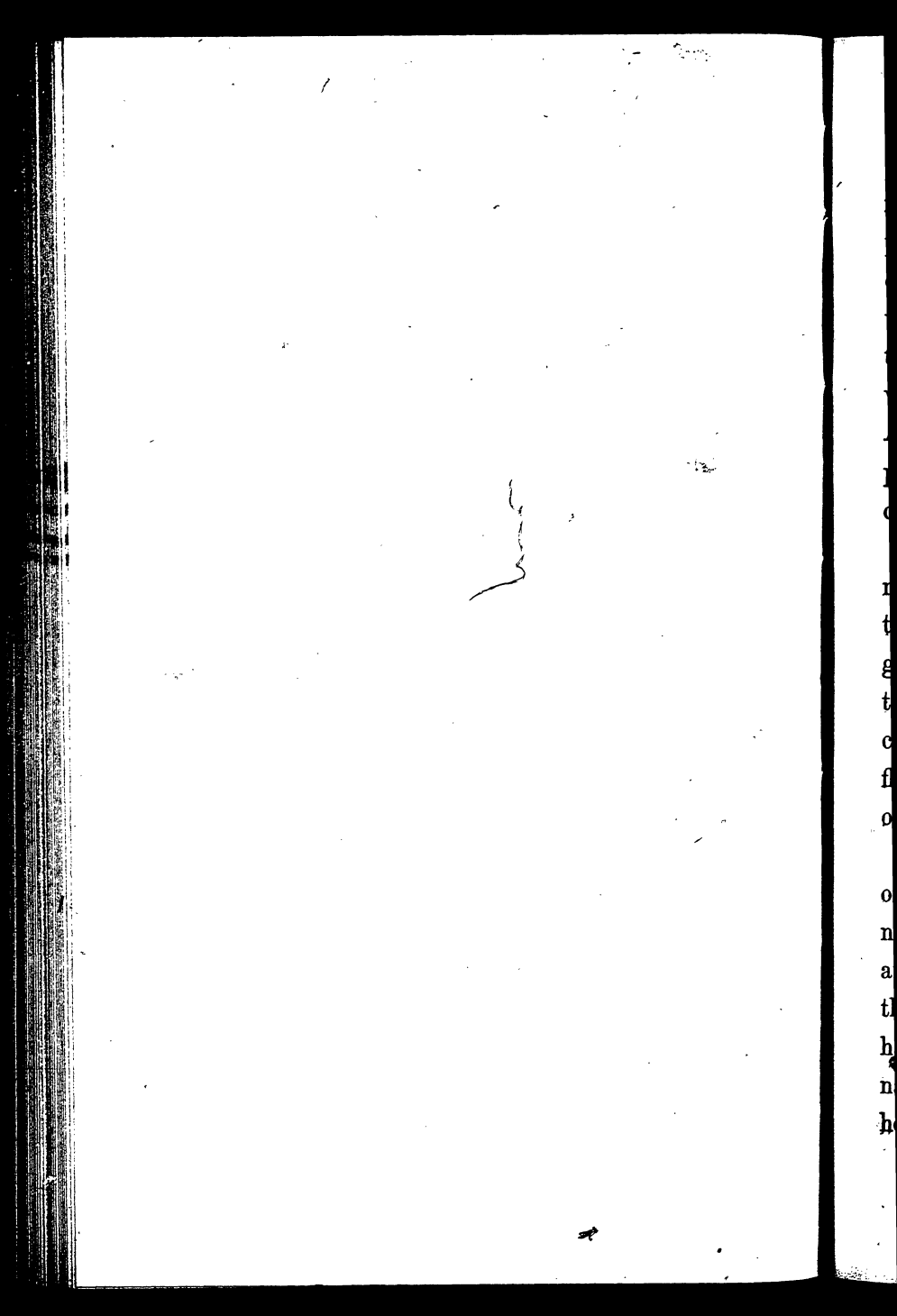
THE honor of the country is borne by its good men ;—they who dishonor these dishonor their country.

The Navy of the United States, as a question of international policy, was never so important to the American people as now ; and it is lamentable to have seen the President of the United States strike a blow at this great arm of the public service, and, so far as he could, destroy the interest, the glory, and the moral strength, of the United States, in every ocean and clime.

For years, foreign governments have been steadily increasing their navies, and menacing Americans who have sought to maintain the dignity of their nation abroad. Nothing but this superior



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naval strength induced England to defy the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine by this government, and establish the colony of the Bay Islands, which has since involved the United States in troublesome negotiations. But for this, Spain would never have attempted her outrages upon American steamers, nor France have treated our protest against her occupancy of Sonora with contempt.

Our territory on the Pacific has since made the navy still more important to our commerce, in order to protect the shipping of our enterprising men, and give a new impulse to trade upon that coast. In the event of war, it is upon the navy alone we could rely to scour our seas, and prevent a foreign fleet from penetrating the rivers and harbors on our coast.

The law which passed at the end of the session of Congress in 1855, in reference to the navy, was not only *ex post facto*, but a fraud upon legislation and the American policy. Senators have admitted that they knew nothing about it. If a few days had been given to its proper consideration, the navy would not now be bereft of its chivalry and honor, the families of gallant men would not

now be reduced to penury, while the government would have been saved the thousands of dollars expended in the discussion of the outrage, and devising methods of reparation. More money will be thus expended, before this evil is rectified, than would have paid the pitiful stipend of these two hundred and one officers the next twenty years.

The law which passed Congress, Americans, to reorganize the navy, on the 28th of February, 1855, had no more to do with our constitution than it had with the articles of our old Confederation. Does the sacred bond and covenant of our freedom allow a man to be punished prospectively for his inefficiency in times past? Can it prevent a man from pursuing any honest calling, by cutting down his present means of support, and yet holding on to the right of his personal services? It cannot. But, in the very face of this, this act, which the imbecility of the President and Secretary of the Navy has executed, does render an officer *furloughed* liable, at any moment, to be summoned on government duty, and oblige him to forfeit any other interest or engagement, by which he may be maintaining a helpless family.

The law is also unjust in not extending to the

board of fifteen, the *surgeons*, *pursers*, and *chaplains*, the same provisions it applies to other officers. Why were these classes privileged, and exempted from the same rigor as others? — these men, who even at sea lead a life of ease and idleness, while those who are subjected to all the peril of active sea service are made to forfeit their places?

Americans, if you wish to know the iniquity of this law, turn to the Navy Register! You will there find pursers credited with but seven years and nine months' sea service, who have been forty-one years and nine months in the navy, and receiving all the time their eighteen hundred dollars from the government. Is this right, is it honest, Americans?

There are surgeons, too, who have been but three years and six months in the service, out of a period of forty-six years and eight months, receiving their eighteen hundred dollars! Chaplains, waiting orders, who have performed religious services at sea but two years and four months, and been receiving from the government a thousand dollars, annually, for twenty-six years and three months!

The law, too, set out to reform the navy; — now

look at its execution in that view! It has made ninety-nine captains, one hundred and thirty commanders, and three hundred and ninety lieutenants! And, out of this number, the government had sent to sea on the first of the present year but fourteen captains (including commanders), nineteen commanders, and one hundred and fifteen lieutenants! All this is the result of having an incompetent Secretary of the Navy, who allowed the board of "fifteen" all the latitude they wanted. They dictated to him, and he, Mr. Dobbin, dictated to the President, who issued his rescript confirming their corrupt action towards American men. Our foreign stations are now all disgraced by the want of an efficient navy to represent our nationality abroad, while the expenses of the nation are increased to support a pack of idlers.

There was no need of any more legislation whatever, for what this law of February 28th, 1855, meant ostensibly to do. The Secretary of the Navy had the power *before to furlough*; and there are, at least, ~~three instances on the register~~, to show that right had been exercised, and these men thus put out of the pale of promotion. The President, too,

if he chose, could then have renominated those officers for promotion, or continued to discredit them, as he pleased. And the whole proceeding in reference to the late Navy Retiring Board has been a sham affair, from beginning to end; the product of base personal malignity, on the part of certain officers of the navy, aided by the efforts of weak but high government officials. The facts, in this connection, have the authenticity of the records from the navy department of the government, and are submitted to the consideration of the American people, who are eminently able to make their own comments.

In the first place, the Secretary of the Navy knew that the names of the victims were marked upon the register, in his office, before those who constituted that board were known to the people; and he informed Capt. Smith, one of the "retired," that he knew the reason why every man was dishonored. Weeks before the board assembled, Commodore Skinner found a register with similar marks in his office; they were seen in other places where these clubs to dishonor American officers congregated.

Dupont, Shubrick, Magruder, Pendergrast,

Jenkins, and others, were the leading actors in this business. Mr. Mallory, the bill-framer, in consultation with Dupont, had designated one hundred officers on the register for this fate, *before the passage of the law*, ninety-nine of whom are now victims. Fifty-seven of the officers thus dismissed from the service of their country were afloat upon duty at the time, by order of the Secretary of the Navy; some of whom were, at the very moment, in the performance of deeds of bravery under the American flag, which have added new lustre to our national glory. Lieut Rolando here furnishes a distinguished illustration. He volunteered to rescue the perishing crew of a Chinese junk, when all others feared to offer assistance; and not only saved five hundred and thirty out of six hundred from instant death, but, in the two successive piratical fights, won, for his courage and noble daring, such admiration from European governments as should send a thrill of pleasure through the heart of every true American.

The prohibition of the increase in the navy, by this law, shows clearly that neither the author nor the executioners knew what they were about. Congress never intended to interfere with the rights

nor to injure the reputations of upwards of two hundred American citizens, no more than it meant to make three hundred promotions in the service, which has actually been done. Of the thirty-five new captains made by this board, three only are at sea, and but six on shore duty; leaving the balance to enjoy their new dignity in idleness. There is, then, but one more captain at sea to-day than there was a year ago; while there are three commanders less than there were at that time; so that thirty-six of this grade are also idle.

In the selection made by the Secretary of the Navy, of captains for important posts, he has, in every instance of which we have heard, passed over the absolute claims of the *efficient* captains, and named, for important sea and shore duties, the *new* captains or commanders made by the board, whose commissions as such were not then even confirmed.

The withdrawal of so many gallant officers from the active service, to promote young and inexperienced men, has left the navy, at this moment, with but sixteen midshipmen in all parts of the world. There are, therefore, twenty-six American ships now commissioned in the service, without a single officer of this rank upon their decks; and, while

the law authorizes sixty masters in the navy, there are but eighteen of these, because none can be made so until after they have become passed midshipmen.

President Pierce and Mr. Secretary Dobbin thought the appointment of upwards of two hundred new midshipmen was at stake when the inquiry was engaged in the decapitation of officers ; but a clause, in defiance of the common treachery, was discovered in the bill, which, to the eternal honor and wise forethought of the author, prevented the fruit, which they all thought so ripe, from being plucked, even to save the nomination, or preserve the succession.

We see now that by the act of the administration they have absolutely left the navy without a captain whom *they* deem qualified for the head of a bureau. In this dilemma, Ingraham, of Koszta memory, was brought on to the seat of government for that purpose, when the Senate refused to appoint a man to a captain's place who had never been commissioned. But, in spite of the Senate "tabling" him, he was kept there *by the Secretary*, while Capt. Smith, a "retired" officer, was of necessity at the head of two bureaus at the time.

Thus we discover that the navy has been so bereft of its original strength as to be without a qualified captain to fill the post, not excepting the notable Shubrick, respecting whom, as president of the immortal "Council of Fifteen," it is proper, Americans, you should know more.

He, with McCauley, also a member of the board, was declared guilty of insubordination by the officers of the Mediterranean squadron, in 1817, who memorialized Commodore Chauncey to cause their removal from the service. Commanders Crane, Creighton, Rogers, Gamble, and Nicholson, signed this memorial; and it stands without mutilation still upon the records of the department. They state that Shubrick and McCauley had incited contempt for the service and discipline of the navy, its reputation, order, and good government; that they held secret meetings to create disaffection, and went so far as to *threaten* Congress that if their imaginary grievances were not redressed by that tribunal, they would resort to *arms* for their own protection! — that no reliance, for these reasons, could be placed upon the fidelity of Shubrick and McCauley, in the service of their country, while they had forfeited all claim to their confidence, and endangered, by

their example, the vessels intrusted to their charge.

After the war closed with England, in 1814, it was decided to place an American squadron in the sight of Europe. This squadron was sent, properly equipped, to the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Chauncey, eminent as a disciplinarian. Shubrick and McCauley were then attached to the ship of Capt. Oliver Perry, of that squadron ; who, ambitious of having it perfect in all its appointments, exercised also increased discipline among the lieutenants and other subordinates. Heath, a man belonging to the marine corps, was among these ; and, in a braggadocio spirit, showed resentment for himself and associates, by disrespectful and insubordinate language to Capt. Perry, in his cabin, who, high-toned and high-spirited, knocked the marine officer down, and afterwards confined him. He soon saw, however, that he had committed a military offence, and magnanimously offered, through a friend, to make reparation by an apology to Heath.

The terms proposed in this apology by Heath and his comrades were not honorable ; and Capt. Perry, waiving his rank, consented to receive his propo-

sition to fight him. Heath backed out. Shubrick and McCauley were the instigators of Heath.

When the squadron returned to the United States, Capt. Perry stated all the circumstances to the President, Secretary of the Navy, and Commodores Rogers, Decatur, and Porter, and offered to submit to trial, or any other punishment they might see fit to inflict. The President and Secretary submitted the matter to Commodore Porter, who, in view of Capt. Perry's honorable action in the premises, decided it settled, and advised that Shubrick, McCauley, and other officers of the squadron, who were guilty of this insubordination, be reprimanded; which was done, by Commodore Chauncey.

Hence we see the provocation for the insubordinate conduct of Shubrick and McCauley, and which was so outrageous as to oblige the distinguished officers of the squadron to ask for their dismissal from the service. This board have dropped from the navy Capt. John Chauncey, the son of the commodore, and laid aside the sons of Commodores Perry and Porter, — a singular coincidence, and worthy of comment.

But this is not the only instance in which Shubrick has shown that no cheerful submission engaged

his affections to the government. In 1847, he betrayed the same spirit at the expense of his patriotism. He was ordered to the Pacific squadron by the Secretary of the Navy, to be under the command of Biddle, on joining him at that station. Two months after reaching Mexico, he asked leave to return to the United States, before Biddle had even received the information from the department. This was at an important crisis in the war, and we needed more material and power to meet the enemy than could then be concentrated ; yet he not only insisted that the Columbus was not needed, but actually directed all his influence to prevent the Saratoga from uniting with the squadron ; and in sight of the enemy, in time of war, commanding a gallant and well-manned squadron, was anxious to desert the national flag and return home, at a moment of doubt and peril in his country's history. This was not enough. He demanded that a frigate of the squadron should have the distinguished honor of shipping him back to the United States. The reason was, as he confessed, that the Secretary of the Navy had damped his ardor by disappointment, and had acted in an uncandid manner. Hence, to

gratify his personal revenge, he was ready to sacrifice his country's glory.

Was this the conduct for a military man? Was this the conduct of a servant of that government which had constituted the Secretary his superior in authority? In the Brazilian squadron, 28th Oct., 1846, Shubrick also acted in violation of the Secretary's orders, by writing a jesuitical letter to the commander of that station, which induced him to send the *Saratoga*, bound to the Pacific under government orders, back to Norfolk for repairs, although officers stood ready to take her to that destination.

He is afterwards found claiming fresh laurels on the Pacific, in the taking of Mazatlan and Guaymas. The latter was taken by Capt. Lavalette, and not even by orders of Shubrick; while he represented Mazatlan as taken by superior force. Now, it is well known, that Lieut. Halleck and two American men took it without resistance, and raised our stars and stripes; and when ninety men did attempt, under Lieut. Selden, to march into the interior, the most of Shubrick's men ran at the first fire of the enemy, except one who was shot. Selden was wounded, and seventeen men killed,

before the forces from Shubrick's ship, the Independence, were rallied by their officers, and came back. Selden is now a victim of the board. Heywood distinguished himself, with his gallant band of modern *Sanduskys*, at San José, and won a niche in the temple of fame equal to Croghan and Stevens, who, when all others had fallen by his side, stood firm to the guns. He is broken by this hero of peace, Shubrick, and his brothers, Stanley, Lewis, &c. &c., share no better fate. Why? Because they fought the enemy, in spite of Shubrick's non-resistance!

CHAPTER II.

Now, remembering that Shubrick is the man who has spent thirty-two years of his life in land activity, we proceed to his confederate in the board, Stribling. He has written a letter recently in laudation of himself, in which he has committed robbery upon the dead. He stated that he commanded the barges "Mosquito" and "Gallinipper," in the West Indies, in 1823; that he attacked and captured the "Catalina," under command of the famous Diaboleto, whom he killed with his own hand, thereby ending the piratical war.

Now, Stribling had no more to do with that engagement than he had with the discovery of America. It was the brave achievement of Lieut. Wm. H. Watson, who, with but twenty-six men, effected almost the total destruction of a crew of seventy or eighty, without the loss of a single American. This gallant act is modestly set forth in his despatches to Commodore Porter, who com-

mends them to the department, and asks for Watson's promotion in the service.

Stribling, in the previous April, did take a small schooner Pilot, in which his official report stated that one man was *found* dead, and that several were supposed to be wounded; but he did not think it prudent to pursue them. He had, too, double their number of men; but he spoke with some horror of their amount of deadly weapons, especially of a "double fortified six-pounder,"—quite an anomaly in modern warfare.

And now, when Watson's nephew writes to Capt. Stribling, in defence of his uncle's reputation, Stribling replies that he only wrote from memory. A remarkably defective organ, surely, and should not, therefore, have been relied upon for data; particularly when it could have been so easily refreshed by the records at hand. It will take more credulity than Americans possess to convince them that memory had anything to do with the matter.

This is the same gentleman who, instead of having the San Jacinto in readiness to repel the enemy in the West India seas, in 1855, when she was sent to Cuba to protect the American flag, brought her

back to New York in a worse condition than any ship ever before in the service of the government.

Dupont, like Stribling and Shubrick, has also elaborated his glory on paper. He states that he killed many hardy Mexicans in California, in the battle of San José, the only *warlike* engagement in which he ever participated in his life! But Lieut. Heywood, who came to his assistance and rescued him, says not one was killed. Lieut. Heywood was left in Southern California by Shubrick, with but eighteen or twenty men, without the means of subsistence, and surrounded by the enemy, without the possibility of succor within a hundred miles. But for a whaling-ship, he and his brave comrade Stevens would have perished from famine. Stevens, whose gallant conduct has had so much eulogy, has been dropped from the service.

Dupont, Godon, Pendegrast and Missroon, were the four of the board who had been long styled "mutineers" in the navy. When the Secretary of the Navy sent them back to the Mediterranean squadron, and Commodore Hull had, by his orders, reprimanded them for their bad conduct, he was afterwards obliged to write to Dupont and

his confederates, Godon, Pendegrast, and Missroon, that one of three things he should do: either to dismantle the ship and shut her up in a Spanish port until lieutenants could be procured from the United States fit to restore her to her position; to take them to sea, with all their disrespect, discontent, and disaffection, and trust to better things; or, to make then such changes as his means would allow. "Who can go into battle," said he, "with confidence, surrounded by disaffected officers? Who, of those ordered to the ship as her sea-lieutenants, can I confide in?"

On the 21st of March, 1841, Commodore Hull wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that "Dupont was the leader of the difficulty on the Ohio; and that the pernicious influence he exercised had effected more serious injury to the service than he could ever repair." Commodore Hull specified acts, made definite charges of the official misconduct of these four men; and, to the close of his life, he expressed regret that they were ever returned to the Mediterranean, when they merited the severest punishment known to the service.

Dupont was the author of that remarkable article which appeared in the *National Intelligencer*

on the 21st of May, 1855, and foreshadowed the action of himself and comrades, in the following June. Mr. Seaton, the respected editor, is sufficient authority for this fact. Commodore Skinner, on ascertaining from him that Dupont had asked its publication, carried it to the office, and was responsible for its sentiments, informed the Secretary of the Navy, without delay; and told him that in that article Dupont had insulted every captain in the navy. The Secretary, instead of doing his duty, as an upright officer would have done, and keeping Dupont out of the board, to which place he had already assigned him, kept him in it, with this evidence, in all its baseness, right before him. There is every reason to believe, as we do, that the Secretary had seen the article before it was printed.

Dupont acted, in defiance of authority, under Captain, now Commodore Smith, of the navy; and, according to the Secretary, was one of the "cabal" in this ship, to create disaffection and dissatisfaction at the accommodations assigned him by orders of the department. And *he* indignantly rejected other apartments when tendered to him through Capt. Smith, who says, in his official letter to

Hull, "the true military course for me would have been to have *compelled* him," &c.

From the time of the difficulty in the Mediterranean squadron, under Hull, Dupont and his associates have zealously labored for the passage of just such a law by Congress as was obtained at the last session.

No one of the four mutineers, Godon, Dupont, Missroon, or Pendegrast, of Hull's ship, could have been induced to have entered that board *alone*; they had not the individual courage to carry out the plan they had devised. It required the *collective* courage of all four to support each other in their dark actings. As Dupont said in his article on the 21st of May, "the sharper *appetites of juniors whose INTEREST would coincide with their duty.*"

Not long since, a board composed of Commodores Morris, Shubrick, Skinner, and Dupont, were constituted to prepare a code for the better government of the navy. Dupont seems to have appropriated the whole of that duty pretty much to himself, according to the confessions of his associates. The work was referred to the Attorney General, by the Secretary of the Navy, for his

legal opinion ; and he decided it "null and void," having transcended its rightful jurisdiction. This, too, after a cost of many thousand dollars to the government.

The thirty-fifth regulation of this code deserves comment, from the fact that it had singular significance upon the council of "fifteen." It forbade the court to receive evidence of the previous good character and former services of the accused in mitigation of the punishment to be awarded, while it allowed evidence of previous *bad* character to be adduced. The board acted on this principle : it received and entertained every accusation, and admitted no evidence, however abundant, in defence of the accused. It ransacked the shelves of the department for musty old documents, from which they hoped to find charges against those they had *already* condemned ; and, according to Shubrick's statement, they made *free* use of these. They used its archives to abuse the government. When the country loses its true men, what else is there to save?

Hence, Dupont's system, after being pronounced in derogation of the powers of Congress, still made shining marks for its full efficacy in the operations

of the council of fifteen. During the cruise of the Delaware, commanded by Commodore Hull, Lieut. Boyle was attached, with Dupont, Barron, and Godon. At midnight, when Boyle retired from the watch, Dupont took her deck. The foreyard and all her sails were soon carried away. Boyle was called, and found Dupont agitated and confused. He put the ship in trim, and she went on her cruising-ground. Here were three members of the board present; but Boyle alone proved himself an officer. This efficient man is now laid aside, a victim of the very men who had proved themselves incompetent in the service.

Some time after, Dupont was placed in command of the "Perry," for the East India squadron. He reported himself sick, on reaching Rio de Janeiro, of a chronic disease, and came home. Lieut. Ringold, also, once suffered from disease; and, although he had recovered, in the opinion of medical men, it was, in Dupont's judgment, a valid reason for putting him upon the shelf.

The gravest charges are on file in the department against Pendegrast, preferred by Lieut. May, February 13th, 1854. He complains of the inefficiency of Pendegrast in every particular. That

at the very moment when the difficulties growing out of our affairs with Cuba rendered the Saranac liable to a naval engagement, she was wholly unfitted for fighting. Her guns even had not been exercised but once in six months; and they never mustered at fire stations, one single time, until the officers of the ship had been alarmed by fire, seven months after sailing. And, with this unprecedented and culpable neglect, being indifferent to the condition and efficiency of the ship, he sailed from Pensacola to San Juan de Nicaragua, to investigate the difficulty with the Prometheus, which was fortunately settled without an exposure of the ship's inefficiency.

Pendegrast has never been tried upon the charges, and they stand on the record disproved. Lieut. May is an officer of character and reputation, and is retained on the active list.

With these facts before him, the Secretary of the Navy, instead of acting under a high sense of official responsibility, and bringing Pendegrast to trial, and punishing him, if the facts were sustained, saw fit, with all the guilt upon him, to give him a seat in the "Navy Retiring Board," while officers have been dismissed or disgraced in the navy, who have

received swords and medals as the grateful appreciation of Congress for their fidelity and zeal in the service of the country.

Misroon, also a member of the inquisitorial council, has made misstatements under oath, before the naval committee, in reference to Lieut. Bartlett; and, with the complicity of Dupont, this valuable officer has been degraded in the service. Lieut. Bartlett, who had been detailed for active duty at the time of this infliction, was the first to introduce the great temperance reform in the navy, and was covered with eulogium for efficiency in duty by every distinguished official of the government with whom he has been connected.

CHAPTER III.

AND now with what different emotions can we, Americans, recur to the name of Commodore Perry, though he is found among the list of that board of "fifteen"! There is a moral sublimity in the defiant and manly manner with which he has, in the frankness and candor becoming a gallant officer of the navy, disclaimed to other officers, both in and out of the navy, all participation or sympathy with the proceedings. "I wash my hands forever of the conduct, proceedings, and action, of the Navy Retiring Board," was the language of Commodore Perry to a prominent officer of the navy. Perry's achievements in the Mexican war, which rivalled those of his distinguished brother-on Lake Erie, command our praise; his Japan Expedition, in which he effected a treaty with that nation, whose ports, for more than a century, had been sealed to all but the Chinese and Dutch, commands our praise; but the moral and physical bravery which

he has displayed on this occasion challenges the gratitude, as well as admiration, of all honorable men and women ; and the press everywhere commends the magnanimity, while the people, appreciating his merit, gladly take him out of this inquisitorial council, to reserve him for higher honors at their own hands.

Commodore Perry's own son was put out of the navy by that board. Since its action became history, it is astonishing to learn how its members threaten and defy officers to breathe suspicion against its exactions, lest they who are laid aside be dropped altogether. And Shubrick, we learn from reliable authority, wrote to Commodore Perry to know whether he had not severely censured the board. Perry replied very briefly as to his question, but denied the right of the hero of Mazatlan, Guaymas, and Craney Island, to inquire into his private conversation with gentlemen. Biddle, too, Perry's junior, the hater of science and learning, as his letter to Lieut. Maury shows, writes to the same import as Shubrick, when Commodore Perry despatches that gentleman by saying he wished no further correspondence with him. And the subsequent *silence* of Mr. Slidell, the relative of Com-

modore Perry, after he came to New York and conversed with Perry, furnishes the true version of the case in the United States Senate.

We are told that dismissed and disgraced officers are not suitable to represent their own cases. That men, whose reputation and honor have been deeply wounded, deprived of their living, and prevented at the same time from embarking in any other pursuit, are not to be believed. Americans, we all know very well that such doctrine as this is political heresy of the vilest character. It is anti-American, anti-republican, and only fit to emanate from an emperor or autocrat.

These men, free from the obligations of oaths or conscience, have, under the direction and connivance of the Secretary of the Navy, tried their superiors, and exercised upon them their hate or their love, irresponsible to law, and in violation of the constitution. The President acted as they willed and directed. He endorsed the action of that board with as much zest as he did the contemptible action of Hollins upon the people of Greytown. And the redress that can be had from him you can very well decide. Never before have the rights of

our citizens been so hazarded by public men, who indubitably proved that they were not to be trusted.

The *family* relation that board sustained was another odious influence in its clumsy manœuvring. The prominent actors were either connected by blood or marriage, and took excellent care to distribute the spoils through their own social circle.

Formerly three years were regarded as the shortest cruise for an efficient officer in command. Recently three officers have been appointed in six months to a single ship — a beautiful comment upon the efficiency of the service. Capt. Latimer, confessedly one of the most accomplished officers in the service, has had applications for sea duty constantly before the department. The highest among his peers declare him unrivalled in all the duties of the profession to which he has been devoted from early life, and say that his ship was ever equal to any emergency that could arise. He has been neglected and disrated, to give place to incompetent men, and the blow was struck by Stribling and Pendegrast, who are eminently notorious for want of discipline and efficiency. Capt. Latimer was never known to ask to be relieved from duty, but always for it; and upwards of twenty-eight years of

active employment are replete with the richest memorials of his distinguished ability.

Capt. John H. Graham, now "furloughed," served in the memorable battle of Black Rock, opposite the enemy's frontier, in 1812. He was wounded in the leg while entering the burning barracks, and was saved by a sailor, who threw young Graham upon his shoulder, and carried him across the river, while his clothes actually froze to the boat. Nine of the twelve naval officers were killed and wounded. Gen. Porter, in his report of that battle, says: "If bravery be a virtue, — if the gratitude of the country be due to those who gallantly and desperately asserted its rights, — the government will make ample and honorable provision for the heirs of those brave tars who fell on this occasion, as well as for those who survived." Graham afterwards fought gloriously, upon his cork leg, at the battle of Lake Champlain.

Capt. Wm. Inman, retired, is also eminent for efficiency in the navy, and rigid in his exactions of duty.

Lieut. Gibson, the executive officer of the St. Louis, was nearly paralyzed by this unexpected blow of the board. He had seen about as much

sea service as Shubrick, the president of the board, though born after he entered the service ; and more than twenty-six post-captains, and seventy-nine of the commanders, had seen, who are retained on the active list.

Lieut. Brownell, who fought through the war of 1812, and was seven times victorious in engagements with the enemy, has had a like fate.

There is one other case — that of Capt. Uriah P. Levy — to which we must advert, as it is one of the most scandalous outrages in connection with the action of the Navy Retiring Board, and deserves the severest reprehension from every American citizen. As a reformer in the service, Capt. Levy deserves the gratitude of his country, and of humanity. He is the father of the system abolishing flogging in the navy ; and through him that inhuman barbarity, which so long disgraced its annals, has been made to yield to reason and moral suasion.

This act was in consonance with American liberty, and with the progress and intelligence which belong to a free people. Without resort to that antediluvian means of enforcing discipline, Levy's ship was eminent for its order, neatness, and effi-

ciency to duty ; and when the Vandalia returned to the United States, after a long and perilous cruise in the Gulf of Mexico, in 1840, it was the boast of its crew that there had been less personal chastisement in the whole cruise than the records of any other ship of war ever had in a single month ; and, while seamen were deserting Shubrick's and other ships, Commander Levy found no difficulty in retaining those under his control, simply because he respected character, and did not lose sight of the fact that he was dealing with American men. The Secretary of the Navy, then, was so gratified by this first essay of Commander Levy towards reform, that he ordered quarterly returns to be made to the department by all the navy, upon the principle adopted by Levy for the abolition of the "cat" and "colt."

Capt. Levy — whose biography is given elsewhere in this volume — is also distinguished as being the first to enforce upon his ship religious duty, without the aid of a chaplain, by instituting the custom of reading the Old and New Testament of our blessed Lord. Time would fail, to refer to all the patriotic and gallant men who have thus been outraged.

What relief can be procured for the suffering families of those officers who have been reduced to want by the action of the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Navy Board?

Another serious question is presented in relation to this matter: What is to be done for the innocent wives and children of some forty-eight dismissed officers, who are reduced to penury? What for those fifty lieutenants and masters, who, with six hundred dollars, and three hundred and seventy-five dollars, per annum, are left with large and helpless households depending on their maintenance, and without means of other employment? What for those brave men who have served their country thirty, forty, and fifty long years? Is there no arm of mercy to reach their impoverished and stricken homes? Will not the people hear their cry for justice? Will they not flee to their succor? Will the American nation suffer such injustice? Can Americans hear, without lively indignation, that such oppression has been inflicted upon the naval chivalry of the country?

Will Americans believe that two hundred and one "skulks" have been dropped or disgraced from

the navy, as the "wise reformer," Mr. Secretary Dobbin, has been pleased to call these officers?

The law was really a *government bill*, and the board was designed by Congress to protect their brother officers, — to act as a conservative body between them and the President, who was to inflict the degradation. The board, therefore, instead of performing the trust assigned by Congress, and shielding their brothers from unmerited disgrace, became the subservient tools of the Secretary of the Navy, who, like themselves, was a relentless persecutor, and who, to carry out his own caprice, adopted their views, and ordered the sittings to be secret, in defiance of every principle of justice and law.

Without complaint, it had long been known that the "board" had, by intrigue, sought and obtained more favors, more full pay, more pay for extra service, than all the victims they have made ever did together. But they still wanted "more;" and, to obtain their end, they took the places of their modest, meritorious seniors. Intoxicated with this power, they forgot their country, to make a navy to suit themselves.

The authority to remove military men, even by

the President, is a very delicate and dangerous exercise. It is rarely necessary to do so, particularly in the navy, without impartial trial, and a formal finding of a court-martial. Unlike the civil service, there are always others ready to discharge the duty temporarily. But, more than this, the profession of a naval officer is the business of his entire life, considered and adopted as an honorable tenure in the service of his country, and secured by law.

Dismissal always implies disgrace, which is, in the judgment of all sensible men, greater by arbitrary decision than when flagrant wrong, by a fair trial, has proved the necessity for such sentence; and in this act not only have officers been subjected to an arbitrary and tyrannical action, but have also had it inflicted, in many instances, by juniors and inferiors in the service.

The precipitate and feeble conduct of President Pierce, devoid of dignity, discretion, or justice, in confirming the sentence of unmerited disgrace upon American officers, of whom he knew nothing, and was without the means of being correctly informed, ought to serve as a solemn warning to this people. Neither Congress, who passed the law, nor the President, nor the Secretary of the Navy, were

imbued with that military and national pride which belong to those educated in the navy of their country, whom they have ingloriously set aside. And thus have consequences arisen, from the conduct of *civilians*, which must fire the spirit of every patriot in the land, especially when the nation takes into consideration the further proof of the efficiency and worthiness of these officers, which time will soon develop, and whom justice shall have vindicated and restored to their rights, when the people shall have made an *American* President. A chief magistrate is needed who can comprehend the wrong in a national as well as individual character, and will consider it an imperious duty to afford these two hundred and one officers all the protection and redress which lie within the compass of the constitution and laws. That man is Millard Fillmore.

It may be well to remark that all these officers, endorsed and approved by Commodore Perry, became victims of the board.

Suppose, Americans, you should go to the department at Washington, and look into the records for charges against those officers now *promoted* in the service, we tell you that you could find them.

And, while we cast no reflections upon any of these government officials, and wish to see them all elevated to distinction in the service of their country, we say, fearlessly, that there are many officers retained and promoted, who, if the records be *true*, are much more entitled, by every consideration of justice, to the same sentence which has been passed upon their more unfortunate brothers in the service.

CHAPTER IV.

THE question also arises, why it was that such officers as Capt. Wilkes, who had seen no duty afloat for twenty-eight years, and had already had fifty or sixty thousand dollars from the government for his contributions to science, should be retained on the active list by the board, when Lieut. Maury was retired because he had seen so little sea service. It was possibly allowed by Bidle as a monument of mercy to learning ; but more probably for some personal predilection, which did not operate in the cases of other scientific officers.

When it is remembered with how much difficulty, and at what dear pecuniary cost, many of these officers procured their original commissions in the navy of their country, the present case will seem peculiarly appalling. The hard earnings of their parents, the cost of years of sacrifice, deprivation, and toil, have been given, and given freely, to members of Congress, as a bonus for the midshipman's warrant.

The pride of country, the desire of name in its service, for that son on whom they had fixed their hopes for distinction and exaltation, has, in many instances, induced parents in our land, in humble circumstances, to forego comfort, and, oftentimes, the education of the other children, to minister to the grasping desire and corrupt exactions of members of Congress, in order to obtain this boon for a meritorious son ; and which would readily have been tendered, without solicitation, to the wealthy and influential of their districts, whose favor their selfish thirst for power and place would lead them to propitiate.

How much benefit, how much relief, would this money now be to the suffering families of the country reduced by the " Navy Retiring Board " ! Will not members of Congress, who voted blindly for the bill, feel it a moral duty, at least, to redress the rights of these officers now, if they will not restore to them this unlawful pecuniary gain ? Let such remember that the condition upon which the purchase-money was paid has been abrogated. The contract was for *life*, unless proved, by a *fair* trial, unworthy to serve under the national flag.

A member of Congress from New York State was asked for his influence in behalf of a promising

young man in adverse circumstances. He said that he would interpose if he were paid five hundred dollars. The case thus looked hopeless ; for the applicant was poor, and such a demand was too much to exact of his father. The matter was laid before the family circle for discussion, and decided favorably for the son. The only five hundred dollars the father had in the world was paid this member, who, pulling out the blank warrant from his pocket, where it was at the first interview, filled it with the young man's name, and took his money. He is now a victim of the executive vengeance.

Has the remedy been provided by Congress to restore to health this paralyzed arm of the public service? It has not. The Senate passed a bill which gives these injured officers the benefit of a court of inquiry, which shall decide upon the action of the Navy Retiring Board ; and this court is to submit to the President of the United States its findings for his approval. If the sentence of the Navy Board is decided to be unjust, the President can renominate those dropped officers to the Senate for restoration, and place on the active list officers retired by the unjust proceeding of the board. If a dropped officer shall not be restored within one

year from the passage of the law, he shall be entitled to one year's pay of the grade to which he belonged. The President, also, is empowered by this act to transfer any furloughed officer to the reserved pay-list, and make him, as before, eligible to promotion. To the President, therefore, the power will be given, by and with the consent of the Senate, to restore, within one year after the act shall have become law, any dropped, retired, or furloughed officer to the same grade he would have occupied had the Navy Board never had an existence.

The objection to this Senate act is, that it calls an officer to trial for mental, moral, or physical incompetency, upon unconstitutional grounds, after he has been convicted and punished. It allows officers to *submit* to an investigation into their past lives, simply because a cabal of designing men saw fit, without the authority of law, and for private reasons, to destroy them, and then fill their places. But it has other advantages, which no high-toned officer should overlook. It will, if made a law of Congress, oblige that Navy Board to appear before the court of inquiry, and compel them to expose the reasons which influenced their individual action.

In this point of view, we say, honorable men, who have nothing to fear from public scrutiny, would rejoice at the prospect of bringing their defamers to trial. And, with an American President, like Fillmore, who will not dodge responsibility, the navy of the country would be reinstated, the honor of brave men vindicated, and some redress afforded for their past suffering.

But, Americans, that Senate bill we believe to be a mere pretence, which never will be passed if the same influence continues to prevail in the House which did in the Senate. Why? Because its ostensible friends know it to be such. The President has the same power *now* to nominate that he would have after the passage of the act, — so said Mr. Mallory to Mr. Bell; and who believes Mr. Pierce would stultify himself any more than he has done by nominating the very men he has condemned? Mr. Boccock, of the naval committee of the House of Representatives, is the pliant friend of Mr. Mallory and the board, and introduced the amendment to the Senate bill, to destroy the court of inquiry, by giving the President the power to nominate (which he already possessed), purposely to defeat its passage. He did it to protect the

board from public exposure before the court of inquiry, and had already distinguished himself as the author of the clause in the law to drop officers.

Mr. Mallory, the person who devised the deep and villanous scheme to destroy our American men, is a *foreigner*, a West Indian, and his wife is a Spanish woman. What a commentary upon our nationality, to have a foreigner come and exercise the privilege of tearing our navy to pieces, and adding to the weeping and wailing of this people, who, four years ago, were laughing with national heartiness at the sure prospect of peace and progress!

A navy that has had a Stewart,— the Nelson of the service, — a Decatur, a McDonough, a Lawrence, and a Perry, of Lake Erie memory; a navy that for seventy years has braved the breeze in distant seas and in foreign climes, to be now over-slaughed under our own flag, and by a foreigner, is enough to make the nation ring. Are all our heroes dead?

Another of the follies of the late Senate bill is the introduction of flag-captains, by Messrs. Mallory, Shubrick, & Co. Capt. Shubrick, the instigator, it is said, craves the admiralty, for which

he is as unfit as he is unscrupulous in his efforts to obtain it.

Shubrick, then, by his own act, put himself in the safe line of promotion; and Commodore Morris' death has made him, with all his unfitness, heir apparent. Hence the ridiculous idea of the flag captaincy in the American navy. The material of our navy bears no comparison with that of other nations; and this is the reform we need to exalt the nation, instead of ruining its *personelle*. We want a navy to progress with our country's growth, in the quality of our ships and efficiency of our men. For a whole year there was but one single ship bearing our national flag in the Baltic Sea, while so much of our commerce needed to be protected. And, while our resources, properly managed, could make a navy to meet the world, we have but little improvement in naval construction in the last forty years. Why? Because the navy commissioners and navy bureaus have ruined the navy. These men, put in places which properly belong to civilians, have squandered millions of the nation's money, without benefiting the country or service in any sense whatever. Where is there any evidence of originality, any evidence of benefit, by

the enormous outlays of these bureaus? We challenge these men to point to any improvement in naval architecture originating with them. All the improvements of any importance have been obtained from other nations; and were the United States to go to war to-morrow, we should find our men-of-war thirty years behind the advancement of all other maritime nations.

Thus, my countrymen, you have before you the history of the transactions of the Retiring Navy Board, which, like a dark cloud, hang over the proud and gallant navy of your country, which has reaped so many triumphant laurels, enkindled the fire of patriotism in the breasts of so many noble officers and aspiring youth, and spread the glory of her achievements and emulous prowess over the whole globe. The injustice, the stigma, of these transactions, will forever blot the annals of President Pierce's administration; because they are not for a day, but will go down, on the stream of time, to posterity, to tell the ignominious story of the late Navy Board, and to raise a blush on the cheek of our patriotic countrymen, who scorn such inglorious deeds, while, at the same time, they honor with increased estimation, and renewed plaudits of ap-

probation, the suffering but noble-hearted and high-minded victims of a false policy and a cruel oppression.

NOTE. — The object of the author, in writing the chapter on the navy in the "Great American Battle," one of her former publications, was to render some service to meritorious officers, who had been retired or dropped by the action of the late Naval Retiring Board. At that time she was not sufficiently acquainted with the details of the subject, and relied upon the information of officers whose zeal so far overcame their discretion as to lead her into several inaccuracies, which she now takes pleasure in correcting, as she trusts, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

At page 273, in the "Great American Battle," it is said the act of 28th of Feb., 1855, was attached to the appropriation bill, and passed unobserved. It was a separate and independent bill, and not connected with any appropriation bill whatever.

At page 284, Commodore Shubrick is represented as being at Coney Island. It should have read *Craney Island*.

At page 285, Commander Barron is said to have been sent home by Commodore Hull. He was never attached to the ship.

Godon was never dismissed from the navy. He was suspended under a court-martial, but the sentence was subsequently remitted under President Tyler. Nor had Godon any connection with the case of Capt. W. K. Latimer. It was, therefore, a mistake, that Latimer preferred charges against Godon. It was done by the Secretary of the Navy.

At page 277, Godon and Dupont are represented as Romanists. This was a misrepresentation made to the author, and which she finds, from credible evidence, to be untrue.

There appears also to be a discrepancy in regard to the statement of Commander Gerry's action towards Lieut. Riell, page 295. Commander Gerry's conduct, as a brave and gallant officer, and a humane and Christian gentleman, has been established to the entire satisfaction of the author, both from official documents and the testimony of his brother officers, high in the naval service; and she could not consent to do injustice to such a man, nor to forget the father from whom he descended, — Hon. Elbridge Gerry, one of the immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On the other hand, Lieut. Riell bears an exemplary character, and the letters from his associates upon the Albany, after his dismissal from that

ship, not only attest this fact, but also that he possessed *all other requisites* to fit him for efficiency to duty ; and the Secretary of the Navy says, in his official letter of the 8th June, 1854, "I have no desire to punish or censure you, but consider it best for yourself and the service that you should be detached from the Albany." And, *privately*, Mr. Dobbin adds, "Mr. Riell, I have perused the letters, and think you have cause to be gratified at the kind expressions of friendship from your messmates."

CAPTAIN LEVY, U. S. N.

CAPT. URIAH P. LEVY, whose portrait appears at the head of the chapter on "The American Navy," and who is mentioned there as the author of the abolition of flogging, &c., in the service, presents a record so honorable to himself and the country, that, in consideration of the high post he occupied, his case furnishes one of the strongest illustrations of the disreputable action of the Navy Retiring Board, and the executive of the country. He is to be remembered for the act of heroism at the dreadful tornado at North Inlet, South Carolina, in 1822, which, if he had done no other deed in a long life, would in itself have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of his country, and of every friend of humanity.

What are the facts? It is one of the most memorable events of the age. The sea and river mingled into one, and swept off nine hundred souls, destroying houses and lands, and causing other damages which time cannot repair. Lieut. Levy, after saving the family of Mr. Cohen, as their house was being washed away, by carrying the helpless females on his back to a place of safety, supposed he heard the cries of women in distress; and *alone*, in the dark hours of the night, he dashed into the hurricane, and between the heavy sea and floating timber, by which he was liable every moment to be crushed, he succeeded in reaching the spot in time to rescue from a watery grave Mr. Withers and his two

servants, whom he brought to the shore. For this act of heroic daring, honoring and ennobling to the character of man, the State of South Carolina gave him a civic crown; and the city of New York presented him with the "freedom of the city" in an elegant gold box, — an honor never conferred but upon three other individuals, namely, General Andrew Jackson, Commodore Decatur, and Martin Van Buren.

Capt. Levy was eminently distinguished, in the war of 1812, for his services under the flag of his country, and for his destruction of British property in the English Channel. He was taken prisoner of war by the British, and for two years retained as such in England. He is now the only surviving officer of the *Argus*, the ship commanded by the ever-lamented Capt. Wm. H. Allen, to which he belonged when taken prisoner.

No officer of the navy has served his country in active sea-service for thirty-two years with more usefulness, zeal, or pride of national character. He has, like all great men in the military service, been ever proud of his rank, and tenacious of his rights. And when they were invaded he has asserted them as became an officer and a gallant man; but honorably submitting to such infliction as the rules and regulations of the navy prescribe for the same. But no act or record of Capt. Levy's life has ever impugned his moral, mental, or physical efficiency. If it be asked, then, why has he excited the prejudices of many of his associates, who, perhaps, have escaped all difficulties, and whose names are not enrolled upon the records of the department, we answer, because he is a man of *mark*, endowed by nature to improve upon the experience of the past; and, introducing salutary reforms in the service, he clashed with that large

conservative class, who love their own ease, and allow no invasion upon their own selfish enjoyments.

Twelve years ago, Capt. Levy was tried for instituting lenient punishment in place of brutal treatment in the service, and the court-martial decided that he should be cashiered. When President Tyler was informed of it, he pronounced the sentence to be disproportioned to the offence, declared it unjust, and refused to allow its execution, upon the ground that such a precedent would involve every other officer who had departed from the rigid discipline of the navy. He therefore commuted it to the loss of pay and emoluments for one year; in which Capt. Levy cheerfully acquiesced.

After this, Capt. Levy's nomination for post-captain was sent to the United States Senate. The opposition from without zealously labored to defeat him; and the Senate having a political majority to which Levy was known to be opposed, there was every reason to expect his rejection. Then it was that Senator Bayard called for every record of the department concerning Lieut. Levy, from his first entrance into the navy; and his character underwent a strict scrutiny by senators for some weeks. What was the result? He was *unanimously* confirmed by that body; which was as glorious a vindication of his character, as great a triumph over designing men, as was ever given to man in this or any other country.

Now, Americans, mark the action of the Navy Retiring Board! Mr. Dobbin, the Secretary of the Navy, tells Capt. Levy, in his letter, that there are no charges upon the record against him since he became a captain. The board, therefore, have tried Levy upon the very identical charges for which he had already been tried, and dropped this noble,

gallant man for the same alleged offence for which he had paid the penalty twelve years ago.

Was there ever a more palpable, wilful effort to destroy an American citizen, thus to try him, in the very teeth of the constitutional prohibition, *twice for the same offence*? O, shame, shame! where is thy blush?

There are on the records of the department not less than eighteen or nineteen applications for duty since Capt. Levy's promotion in the service, and one only a few months before he was dropped from the navy. When the famine prevailed in Ireland, ten years since, Levy also offered to take the command of a ship to that country, and give all his emoluments for that duty to the cause of humanity.

He presented, at his own expense, to our government, the statue of Jefferson, in the President's grounds at Washington, for which he had the thanks of Congress. And, to save the tomb of Jefferson from a second sale, he purchased Monticello, at the request of President Jackson, and in Capt. Levy's possession it continues to remain, although frequently solicited to sell at more than double its cost.

In the year 1833, Capt. Levy, then a lieutenant, attended, in his official capacity, a grand banquet at Paris, given by Americans, on the Fourth of July. Among the distinguished guests were General Lafayette, Count de Moille, General Bernard, Mr. Harris, Chargé de Affaires, and Mr. Washington Irving, minister to Spain. When the third toast was given, "The President of the United States," Lieut. Levy proposed nine cheers, and almost every American present refused to respond, and indicated the most marked displeasure, by groans and hisses. It so happened that one of the vice presidents was a glove-merchant of New York, and to him Levy threw the glove from his hand, as a challenge for personal satisfaction, next morning; which

being declined, Levy at once denounced him as a coward and poltroon, and continued to remonstrate against this national insult. We have seen several apologies from Americans to Capt. Levy, who were also challenged for their act.

The next toast was the "King of France," which was received by the company with enthusiasm. Gen. Lafayette then arose and proposed "Old Hickory," but was immediately hissed down. Gen. Bernard then gave "The President of the United States;" this was also rejected. Mr. Harris now proposed the "Hero of New Orleans," but without better effect, and the company dispersed.

General Lafayette called to Levy to follow him, as he passed out. "I will not leave," said the true American, "as long as there is a man here the size of my thumb." And he then arose and expressed his astonishment that citizens of the United States could so far forget themselves as to dishonor the head of their government abroad, no matter what might be their political prejudices. This exasperated the Americans present, who proposed to tear off Lieut. Levy's epaulets, and throw him out of the window. But the gallant man, steadfast in defence of his nationality, defied that threat, and, rising in his place, uttered, as though to show his perfect coolness, the following quotation:

"Come one, come all! This rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I!"

Mr. Washington Irving then addressed the company, and restored peace, when Lieut. Levy, after twice renewing the effort in vain to have the toast, "Andrew Jackson, President of the United States," drank, took the bust of that great hero under his arm, and was the last man to leave the room.

O, Americans, if the voice of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson, could be heard to-day from their

tombs, they would sound their deep indignation through the land at the dishonor cast upon the man who has ever been true to the American flag, and stood firm in defence of the nation's honor and glory at home and abroad !

There are other instances in which Capt. Levy has manifested the most sterling patriotism and the most exalted national pride in foreign lands. In the year 1838, he was in London and invited to dine with the oldest naval club in England, being established in 1765, and including among its members admirals, captains, and commanders. The occasion of the entertainment was to commemorate one of their most important naval victories, that of Rodney over De Grasse, on the 12th of April, 1782; and a very extraordinary interest was exhibited in the letter of Sir Jenkin Jones to have Capt. Levy participate; and he offered him the attention of their mutual friend, Admiral Wormley, to accompany him to the Piazzas Coffee House, on the appointed day.

This highly flattering and complimentary invitation was declined by Capt. Levy, in an appropriate and dignified note, expressing his regret that a circumstance in its connection compelled him to forego the honor on that occasion, but would be happy to meet them when that impediment did not exist. Now, the cause of Capt. Levy's refusal was purely a national and patriotic one; he remembered we had once a Revolutionary War, and that this very victory of Rodney's, which he was then invited to celebrate, was achieved over De Grasse, who was assisting Americans in the vindication of their independence. And Levy regarded too sacredly the honor of his country, to countenance an act which rejoiced over the defeat of one who had assisted it to freedom.

How many Americans would have declined so eminent a personal compliment from patriotic pride, as did this na-

tional man, who is now dishonored by the government of his country?

He subsequently met these English officers, by invitation, when a national monument to Lord Nelson, in Trafalgar-square, London, was about being erected. Contributions were made to this object by all present, when, to their astonishment, the American officer, Levy, gave five guineas, which the chairman, Admiral Sir George Cockburn, declared was alike complimentary to the English service and the American captain. "Why should I not add my donation to such an object?" asked the chivalrous Levy. "Was not Nelson admiral of all the seas, and a benefit to the service in all the world?"

The correspondence, on the occasion to which we refer, the writer has seen, as well as the remarks of the *English press* upon this international compliment by this accomplished officer of the American navy, who understands, upon all occasions, at home or abroad, when, and how, to put honor upon the American flag.

Why, O, why has he been so vitally injured by the Navy Board and the executive of the country? Because he opposed the institution of that board, and had earned the reputation of a salutary reformer in the navy, which they did not like. When first lieutenant of the *Cyane*, under command of Commodore Elliott, Lieut. Levy was superintending the repairing of the ship tops, boats, and bowsprits, at the dock-yard of Rio Janeiro. The Emperor Don Pedro, being constantly in the yard, fitting out his fleet, generally passed an hour or two in conversation with Lieut. Levy on naval affairs, and asked him if it was part of the duty of a first lieutenant in the American service to be an engineer. Lieut. Levy replied, "No, sir, but, having served an apprenticeship in the merchant service, where you are com-

pelled to learn everything connected with a ship, I have this advantage over the officers of the navy. Commodore Elliott, knowing this, requested me to superintend and direct these repairs." It was in consequence of these qualifications that Lieut. Levy afterwards learned the emperor was so desirous of having him in his service.

About this time the emperor's officers were pressing men to man his fleet, and had impressed an American seaman, who, on seeing the American officers and carpenters, claimed their protection; they rushed on the soldiery with their axes, and Lieut. Levy arrived just in time to save the life of Midshipman Moors; the only means of saving him was by receiving on his own hand the blow intended for the head of Mr. Moors. Lieut. Levy's hand was broken by this act of Spartan daring and disinterested friendship.

Some days after, to Lieut. Levy's astonishment, a post-captain's commission, with the command of the beautiful frigate *Caroline* (which had just arrived from the United States), was tendered to him by the Emperor Don Pedro. Lieut. Levy gratefully declined it, saying, "that as an American, he would rather serve as a seaman, under his own stars and stripes, than accept the highest honor within the gift of a crowned head."

Suppose, Americans, Capt. Levy had divested himself of his national feeling then, do you believe he would now be enduring the disgrace from which he suffers? No, no! The most exalted position in the service of a foreign government would have been his desert; but this he spurned, for an humbler sphere, under the stars and stripes of his own dear native land, only to be thrust aside by the base corruption of governmental action.

Hear what Capt. Sands, who is on the active list, and an example for all that is commendable in the officer or gentle-

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man, says of this iniquity: "The law, as I understood it, applied to those who were not 'efficient,' afloat or on shore." "You appeared, in May, quite equal to both. I fear, then, that *prejudice*, which I know you had ever to contend against,—a prejudice unworthy the age and the land we live in, which, like the sun, God made for the benefit of all, of every sect, condition, or country,—has weighed in a majority; though I am far from thinking in the minds of all the board, and has been too much for you. I take it for granted you will use measures for restoration. So far, then, as my humble name can possibly serve, I ask you to use it. *Though, like most military men, jealous of my rank, I never want it at the expense of others.*"

Capt. F. H. Gregory, also on the active list, says to Capt. Levy: "The dignity and virtue of good men always shine brightest under persecution; and what you have experienced from the envy and malice of the disciples of the 'cat-o'-nine-tails' only serves to render you more worthy in the estimation of those who know you rightly. A little more patience, good friend, and your triumph is certain."

"I thank you," said Millard Fillmore to Capt. Levy, "in the name of humanity, that you have secured the abolition of flogging in our navy."

Thus, from the records, my countrymen, you have some account of the relentless persecutions practised by the Navy Board and executive of Franklin Pierce towards a post-captain in the American navy, against whom no charge whatever can be found in the department.

CONVENTS AND THE CONFESSIONAL.

CHAPTER I.

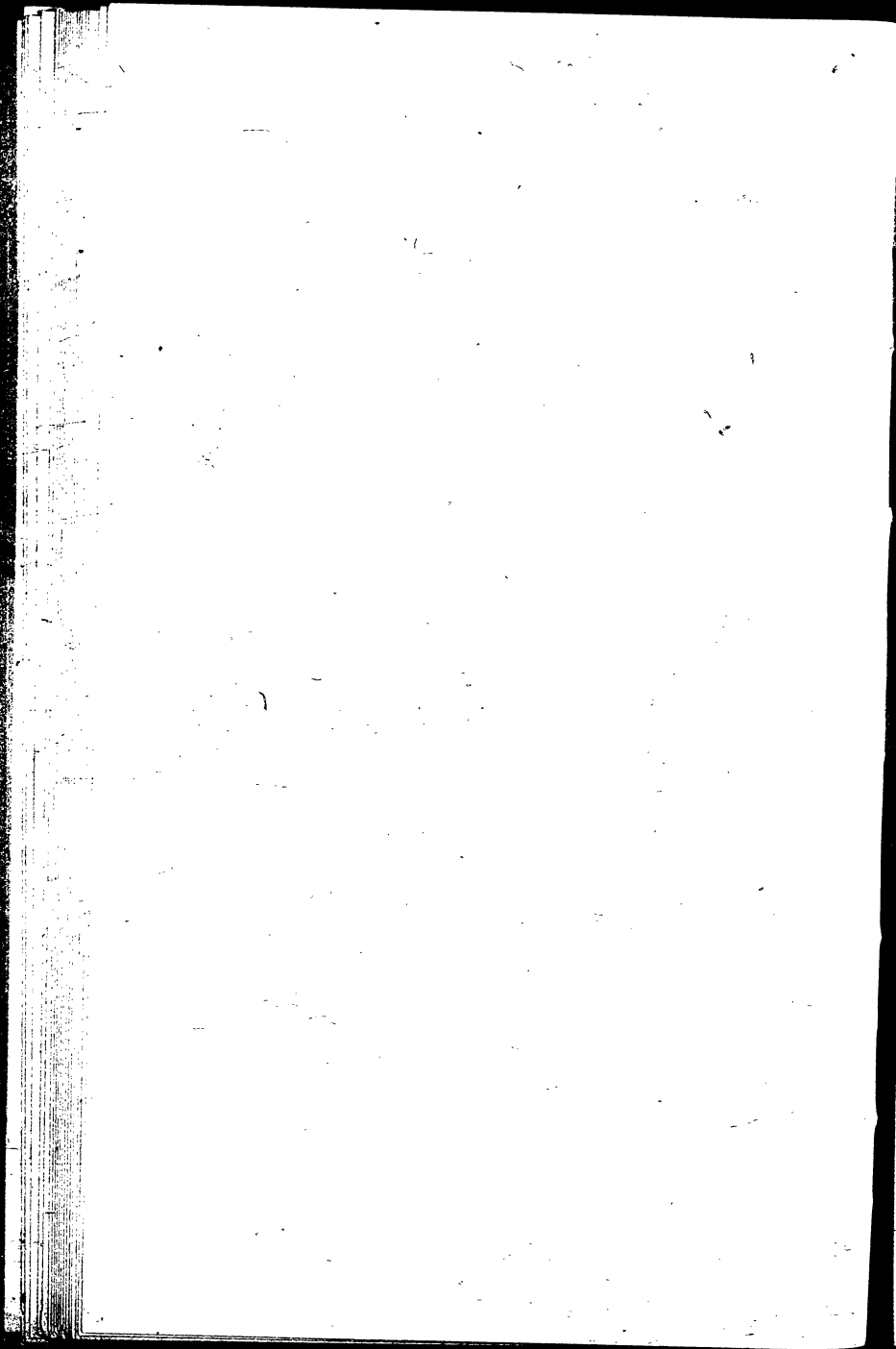
WHEN once a proposition has been demonstrated in mathematics, no one ever after rises to contest it. It is as purely demonstrative, Americans, as a proposition in Euclid, that nunneries or convents have been devised to strengthen the entire system of the polity of the Romish church, and are a distinguishing feature in that political corporation.

It is by the revenues derived from the whole system of Rome's imposture that the Jesuits have built their costly churches and cathedrals in this country, and so enriched the treasury of Rome as to facilitate the founding of nunneries, monasteries, schools, academies, and colleges.

The priesthood, by these means, have advanced their power and wealth, and revelled in luxuries at the expense of the poor Roman Catholic laity, and



El Perry



the daughters of wealthy Protestants, who have been seduced by priests and Jesuitesses to surrender property and conscience to their hands.

Nunneries have been introduced into our country under the name of "schools," — "select schools," — "boarding schools" !

The Sisters of Charity first start these schools at their mission stations. These women are foreigners, — tools of the priests in other countries, and sent from the nunneries of Europe to ensnare the daughters of American Protestants. Michelet, a historian of France, says: "They are bland and adroit Jesuitesses, who always go before the Jesuits, and put everywhere oil and honey, smoothing the way." This is fully proved in America. "The Jesuits," says he, "have employed the instrument of which Jerome speaks, — poor little women all covered with sins." He alludes to the "Sisters of Charity," "Sisters of Mercy," and "Sisters of the Sacred Heart," abbesses, and nuns.

At first, everything looks very disinterested, and very kind! These "sisters" propose to teach Protestants at a cheaper rate than their own institutions can afford to do; and, having resources

furnished from abroad, none can stand in opposition to their prices. Their aim is to gain the women of America from the rich and powerful classes. They begin with charity scholars, but these soon disappear for "pay scholars," or a *select* school for wealthy families. They then advance to a boarding school, and gradually and secretly, through priestly art, slide into the convent!

They conceal from the public all within their walls, and even the fact of their existence, as far as possible. These "Sisters of Charity," "Sisters of the Sacred Heart," "Sisters of Mercy," are also the priests' spies in America. They come here at their dictation, and to obey their direction. Protestants have been wont to call them "angels;" yet the brutality of their conduct to pious suppliants, who have been found in prayer to God with an open Bible in their hands, would be revolting, if made known, to a pagan or Mahometan! They teach that the priest is the only way to salvation; that the conscience must be intrusted in his hands, who keeps the secret mind and will of God. This abominable doctrine is carefully inculcated in their seminaries and nunneries, while heralds are ringing

their good deeds in the ears of our Protestant, republican country. The horrible calendar of concealed clerical turpitude of these dark, disgusting pest-houses of infamy is thus explained.

By our laws, no citizen of the country can change his name without application to the legislature. But these convents, established upon our soil, destroy the entire baptismal name of every woman who enters them, in order to avoid detection and recognition by her friends, and to efface every trace of their former association with Protestantism. They are made to renounce all natural ties which God made sacred, such as father, mother, sister, brother, husband, or friend, and take the superior for mother, the priest for father! When death occurs in their family circles, the fact is announced in a general way, and each one is left to vain conjecture as to whom the affliction belongs. It is not even their privilege to know when death has sundered their family ties. Incessant and most severe labor is performed by nuns who were reared by parents in luxury and ease. They are made to eat food that beggars at their fathers' kitchens would reject. When ill, the physician prescribes for them through a grate; and they never are

allowed to eat meat, unless in such a case^l as he declares necessary to support life.

O, Protestant parents, be warned from sending your daughters to papal or Jesuit seminaries, to which they zealously solicit you, all over our land! Whoever studies their *interior* actings will find but one meaning, and that is, the *death* of personal *liberty*!

A criminal in our jails or penitentiaries is protected, in his rights and interests beyond what is extended in these Romish prisons. The vows make the nuns slaves, the convents rich. Take Maryland and the District of Columbia, for example. There are two hundred and forty-four professed, beside one hundred and thirty-seven sisters, at Emmetsburg, near Frederick City. These professions average a thousand, while some pay ten, some twenty thousand dollars! These kidnapping establishments are engaged in receiving dowries, and farming the sisters out upon wages.

The academy of the Visitation Convent in Baltimore is now, with a million of dollars, about to purchase the residence of a Jesuit father, and abandon the school for more diabolical purposes. This was the convent which petitioned the legislature of

Maryland for the right to run a *subterraneous* passage from a chapel to a nunnery ; and, being refused, they determined to have their own land, and build all the dungeons they wanted.

This is but a specimen of what is done in all parts of the country. These nunneries and monasteries get possession of millions by making slaves of their victims, and they hold this property as the trustees of the Pope of Rome ! Is this right ? To what use is this immense revenue devoted ? For what are the designs of these establishments ?

The twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent made the decrees concerning regulars and nuns which are now in full force in every nunnery in our country :

SESS. XXV. CHAP. I. — “ In order to a perfect profession, obedience, poverty, and chastity, with whatever other peculiar vows, rules, or precepts, may be essential to the order, * * are to be absolutely observed.”

CHAP. II. — “ No nun shall have any goods, personal or real, of any kind, nor possess or hold them in her own name, or in the name of the convent ; but immediately they shall be delivered up to the superior, and incorporated to the convent.”

CHAP. IV. — “ She shall not go from her convent to any other place, under pretext of a pious work, without permission from a superior ; nor go from the convent to her supe-

riors, unless called by them; and, if so found without a written permission, let her be punished as a deserter from the institution."

CHAP. V. — "The council commands all bishops, under pain of divine punishment, and dread of eternal wrath, to take special care for the cloistering of the nunneries, diligently to restore the disobedient by ecclesiastical censure and other punishments, invoking the secular power, and declaring that it shall not be lawful for any nun, after profession, to go out for a short time under any pretext, unless some lawful cause, without a written permission from a bishop."

In an expository note we read: "It shall not be lawful for the bishop to give permission to a mother or sister to enter for the purpose of seeing a daughter or sister that is very sick;" and Pius V. says they shall not go out from any other cause, unless a fire or leprosy, &c., prevailing in the convent.

CHAP. XIV. — "Where a nun is guilty of any delinquency out of the convent (such, I suppose, as speaking to a father, mother, or sister), let her be (*severe puniatur*) severely punished by the bishop, and deprived of her office by her superior."

The note on the words "severely punished" is, "that no nun shall be cast out of a convent, however incorrigible; but, offending, she shall be castigated by the superiors with the ignominy of imprisonment (the dungeon), and (acrius) *more sharply* according to the offence."

CHAP. XIX. — "If a nun says that she took her vow under the influence of *force* or *fear*, or before the age appointed by law, or *any like cause*, she shall not be heard unless within five years of her professing, and then not unless the causes which she pretends induced her have been

brought before the superior; and *if she laid aside the habit of her own accord, she shall not be permitted to complain, but be compelled to return to the convent, and punished as an apostate, and deprived of all the privileges of her order.*"

From the work called "The Nun Sanctified," by St. Alphonsus Ligori, whose works the Romish church declares and endorses as *holy*, we quote the following, for your better understanding, Americans, of the odious prisons made for your daughters :

"It is true that, even in the cloisters (nunneries), there are some * * * who do not live as a religious ought to live. To be a good religious, and to be content, are one and the same thing. * * * I have been accustomed to say that a religious, in her convent, enjoys a foretaste of paradise, or suffers an anticipation of hell. To endure the pains of hell is to be separated from God; to be *forced*, against the inclination of nature, to do the will of others; to be distrusted, despised, reproved, and *chastised*, by those with whom we live; *to be shut up in a place of confinement from which it is impossible to escape*; in a word, *it is to be in continual torture, without a moment's peace.*"

"Now that you have entered a convent, and that *it is impossible for you to escape*," * * * "You must make a virtue of necessity; and, *if the devil has brought you into a nunnery for your destruction*," &c. "Francis de Sales, being asked his opinion concerning a *person who had become a nun against her will*," said: "It is true

that this child, if she had not been compelled by her parents, would not have left the world," &c. &c.

"Keep away from the *grates*," says Ligori, "to be wholly *removed* from their relatives," — "to lose their affection for their friends," — "to guard against all affectionate expressions with those that are seculars," — "to be careful not to make known what may tend to the discredit of the superiors or sisters."

"In obeying the direction of superiors she is more certain of doing the will of God than if an angel came down from heaven to manifest his will to her."

"It may be added that there is more certainty of doing the will of God by obedience to superiors, than by obedience to Jesus Christ, should he appear in person, and give his commands; because, should Jesus Christ appear to a religious, she would not be certain whether it was he that spoke, or an evil spirit, who, under the appearance of the Redeemer, wished to deceive her. * * * *In a word, the only way by which a religious can become a saint, and be saved, is to observe her rule; for her there is no other way that leads to salvation.*"

"The fourth and last degree of perfect obedience," says he, "is to obey with simplicity. * * St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi says that perfect obedience requires a soul without a will, and a will without an intellect. * * * To regard as good whatever superiors command, is the blind obedience so much praised by the saints, and is the duty of every religious. * * * To try the obedience of their *subjects*, superiors sometimes impose commands that are inexpedient, and even absurd. St. Francis commanded his disciples to plant cabbages with their roots uppermost."

If even Romish countries have been obliged to destroy these prisons on account of their enormity in immorality, will Americans allow them to be fastened upon their territory by unscrupulous demagogues and a jesuitical priesthood? Is the liberty our fathers gave, after they fled to these shores from the persecution of the Papal See, to be used now to make menials of their children, and rob them of their just inheritance? Had even one of these convents been established in their day, our constitution would have had a salutary provision for their eternal expulsion from the soil. This great Magna Charta, which is the bond of our freedom, does declare that no freeman shall be imprisoned but by the judgment of his peers under the laws of the land. Nunneries imprison and punish; deny freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and are, therefore, in direct conflict with our recorded fundamental law.

If American women are to be worthy descendants of the mothers of the Revolution, they must sustain no institution which is inconsistent with the American constitution. The only obedience to which our mothers subscribed was that of the Bible.

This convent system, by which young girls are

deceived and imprisoned, has now a deep hold upon our soil. Lands have been purchased and edifices reared in our cities and rural districts for this object. And, under the direction of Dominicans, Benedictines, Redemptonists, Franciscans, Cistercians, Carmelites, Jesuits, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of Providence, Ursuline Sisters, the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Loretines, or some other order, three hundred of these religious communities are established and in operation among us.

Popery encourages the breaking of the inviolable law of marriage, by entering a monastery or nunnery, and dishonors that state which St. Paul calls "honorable," which Christ sanctioned by a miracle, and the whole Bible teaching approves. The consequence of this is the most unbounded licentiousness in the Vatican of the Popes, the palaces of cardinals, and the nunneries and monasteries, the domestic abodes of the bishops and priests in our country.

Until the time of Pope Gregory VII., nearly eleven hundred years after Christ came for man's redemption, priests married, and lived, as other honest men, with their families. Protestants are told by these imported nuns that there is no inter-

ference with religion ; yet their one great aim is to interfere and destroy the influence of the Bible. Protestants are deceived by a pretence of learning, while their system of instruction is of the most superficial character. No woman ever left the instruction of these "sisters" with a mind expanded or a heart elevated.

Doting parents, for the sake, as they suppose, of bestowing a better education upon their daughters, have, in most instances, sacrificed them to the seductions of Popery. And yet, being proselyted to Popery, these daughters have afterwards voluntarily abandoned their parents in old age, when every comfort seemed concentrated in their love. The pleasures of home and the duties of filial affection are made disagreeable by this Romish system.

Our American firesides are thus invaded by spies ; the children are ensnared from their natural protectors ; death-beds are insulted by priests ; and property, through their sleek caresses, is wheedled out of its lawful hands.

The case of Mary Ann King, a little girl, most cruelly and forcibly detained in Norwood Convent, in England, is but a specimen of what occurs at the convents in New York, Baltimore, Georgetown,

St. Louis, and other places, constantly, in the United States. The report says :

“The affidavit of the mother, who is a Roman Catholic, stated that, when her husband died, in 1850, she consented to place her child, then ten years of age, in the nunnery at Norwood for two years; that she had been in the habit of seeing her child, from time to time; but, when the two years had expired, there was an intimation of her being sent abroad, to which the mother strongly objected, and the child also said she had no wish to go away from her mother. A request was then made to allow the child to remain six months longer, to which the mother consented. *The child, after that, saw her mother in the presence of a nun;* and, at length, when the mother began to express her determination to take the child home, she was only allowed to see her through a lattice-work, or grating, and at length the mother was refused the right to see her daughter at all.

“The latter end of last year, the mother met one of the priests, and she asked him concerning her daughter; and the priest informed her that her child had been sent to France some months since. The mother, in great distress of mind, applied to a magistrate; but he said he could not assist her. She was then recommended to apply to her attorney, Mr. Clarke, who went with her to the convent, and demanded her daughter. The nuns replied that she was not there, but had been sent to France twelve months previously; and, in reply to questions, the nuns said they neither knew where she was, how she went, who took her, or to whose care she was confided; nor did they keep any register of the particulars of sending away girls from the nunnery.”

One day, this poor mother met one of the priests who have custody of the ladies at Norwood Convent; and, upon inquiry, learned that her child had been sent to *France*. The nuns could not, or would not, even disclose anything. But of what avail was this information? The mother is torn forever from her offspring, separated by bars and prisons, land and sea, and none on earth to restore her incarcerated child to its maternal bosom.

When the petitions of our fathers were spurned at the foot of an English throne, Patrick Henry said: "If we wish to be free, if we mean to preserve inviolate these inestimable privileges, if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we are engaged, we must fight."

So we say, it is the duty of all sects, all parties, all creeds, and every civil government, to be united against these institutions, and to seek out, legislate out of every neighborhood, city, and village, any school or retreat which is not in accordance with our free institutions. The voice of Jehovah heard in the garden of Eden, six thousand years ago, echoes and reëchoes this great truth, that God, and God alone, ruleth the nation to which we belong. Shall the women of America be a

prey, and none to deliver?— a spoil, and none to restore? Are foreign inquisitors to reduce them to the condition of slaves?— to torture them to death if they desert their tyrannical government, to return to the liberty they were born to love? Is this land to be made a penitentiary, like the tribunal at Rome?

The powerful exhibition of the immorality of nunneries has been made in the case of Maria Monk, and supported by facts, which, to this hour, have never been refuted. An offer by her to go with any responsible men into that nunnery in Canada, where she was incarcerated, and prove her statements by examination, or disprove them, was not accepted until after six months' work in filling up, tearing down, and rebuilding. And for three months Protestants of New York city challenged through the press any three Romanists to meet them for the same end, which they did not ever dare to accept!

It went forth to the ends of the republic in these words:

“CHALLENGE. The Roman Prelates and Priests of Montreal; Messrs. Conroy, Juarter, and Schneller, of New York; Messrs. Fenwick and Byrne, of Boston; Mr. Hughes,

of Philadelphia; the Arch Prelate of Baltimore, and his subordinate Priests; and Cardinal England, of Charleston, with all other Roman Priests and every Nun, from Baffin's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, are hereby challenged to meet an investigation of Maria Monk's 'Awful Disclosures,' before an impartial assembly, over which shall preside *seven* gentlemen; three to be selected by the Roman Priests, three by the Executive Committee of the New York Protestant Association, and the seventh, as Chairman, to be chosen by the six.

"An eligible place in New York shall be appointed, and the regulations for the decorum and order of the meetings, with all other arrangements, shall be made by the above gentlemen.

"All communications from any of the Roman Priests or Nuns, either individually or as delegates for their superiors, addressed to the *Corresponding Secretary of the New York Protestant Association*, No. 142 Nassau-street, New York, will be promptly answered."

Archbishop Hughes, then a priest in Philadelphia, was challenged; but backed out, as did all the Romish hierarchy of the country.

Maria Monk gives an account of the horrid murder of a young nun, between two feather beds, with a gag in her mouth, trampled down by other nuns, until dead. She tells of the incarceration in a dungeon, from two to three years, of several nuns, who had gags used upon them to stifle their screams. Their crime was a natural resistance to

the inhumanity of their rules, or refusal to sign away their property, being heiresses !

Miss Reed, in her Six Months in a Convent, in Massachusetts, overheard the conversation between the superior and the bishop upon her case ; and thus learned their decision to send her to Canada. She felt it the seal of her eternal doom, and it led to her efforts to flee, which resulted in her safety. The penance inflicted upon her was making a cross on the floor with her tongue, until it was so lacerated as to mark the floor with her blood !

Dr. De Sanctis, who heard confessions in convents for ten years at Rome, says : " Those in the United States are altogether similar, except that they are *more rigid and severe* than in Italy. A nun here gives up all her property, and enters into iron bondage. They are, soul and body, the property of priests and superiors. Without a moment's notice, the nuns are ordered from Maine to Texas, from New York to Paris or Canada, without the slightest regard to the will of the poor, misguided creatures." In the name of all dear to you, Americans, can you see the daughters of your country, as a drove of beasts, placed under the jailers of other countries, who have kept

the Pope's subjects bound in dungeons, for the wish to be free? They come here, and, in the name of convents, build prisons for American women; take their property, their souls, their bodies, and are exempted from taxation!

The humblest American citizen pays his taxes upon the first acre of land or other property his hard labor may have accumulated. Think of these facts,—for heaven's sake, think of them!—how Jesuits come here from Italy, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland, to hide American daughters from the sight of their native land!

CHAPTER II.

SUPPOSE France, or England, or Russia, were to send here their legions to buy up the most eligible sites in and around your cities and towns, raise their huge walls, with grates and cells, dungeons and bars; and in this secret and insidious movement they were to draw into coöperation American citizens, compelled to renounce all allegiance to liberty, the Union, and the constitution; to be loyal to the tyrant of Austria, Bonaparte, or Alexander; suppose, too, they were treated with kindness, and all possible consideration for their comfort, until all their property was secured to the prison; then should be put to death, for wishing to get out, by lashing, torturing, and chaining them in the dungeons! Presently, some one escapes, and shows the *rules* which govern them, and tells of the screaming and wailing which are heard inside of them. What, Americans, would you do, but rise up as one man, and, with one heart, strike down

the foe of your country, empty their prisons, and lay them in the dust!

The Pope of Rome, by establishing these convent prison-houses, has provoked this deep indignation. It is all so, in this outrage upon our free institutions, and you, Americans, must exert your wills. Now, why do you forbear in this case, more than in another? Colonel Lemanouski, now a Lutheran minister, living in our country, when in command of Napoleon's troops, in 1809, took Madrid, and destroyed an Inquisition. The Inquisitors, according to their maxim, positively denied they had a place for punishment. But, not being believed, an officer called for water, and, pouring it on the floor, it was seen to run through a crevice, when, a soldier striking one of the slabs, a spring-door was detected. They then opened it, and went down with a candle, in the presence of these holy fathers, who grew pale and trembled. There were found men and women, without raiment, chained to blocks; some mouldering, some dying, others dead, with the chains hanging to their bones. The instruments were then brought out, and the infuriated soldiers, as an act of justice, put every Inquisitor to death with their own weapons. About one hun-

dred, buried alive for years, were then brought out, and those who wish to see this "picture of hell" can find it fully described in tract 460 of the American Tract Society.

At the period of the Revolution in Italy, 1848, dungeons of the same kind were opened in Rome. Since then, the prisons have overflowed with victims, who have been proscribed by the Pope for entertaining sentiments of republican freedom adverse to him.

Who can doubt that the same spirit exists in our beloved country to-day, which, had it the power, would put to torture and to death every *voter* who opposes Popery? Every officer in the papal church, below a cardinal, is liable at any moment to be called from any part of the world, and imprisoned by the Pope.

The memoirs of the Bishop of Tuscany, and the petition of Borginsky, of Bohemia, show the cruelties and immorality of convents to have been so outrageous, that the latter called upon the Pope to interpose. He did, by ordering Borginsky immediately to Prague, and shutting him up in a dungeon!

-Bishop Reze, of Detroit, an American citizen,

was ordered to Rome from the United States, for the exercise of free speech. In the face of the fact, before the American chargé at Rome, he remains there still incarcerated. The officers who guard these places are bound to inviolable secrecy, and by a death penalty against all disclosure.

The editor of the *American Sentinel*, at Washington, states that he called to see a sister-in-law at the convent of the "Sacred Heart," near New York city, some years since. The nun thoughtlessly followed him a few yards, to make a single request. Since then she has not been seen, and he presumes she has been removed, possibly to Detroit; but all is conjecture.

Rev. Blanco White relates the cruel servitude of his sister, at the age of twenty years, leaving an aged mother, and brought to an untimely grave from consumption.

It is very usual to announce to a nun, in New York or Baltimore, that the stage will call at an early hour to convey them to Oregon or Wisconsin, or some distant place, which is a final farewell to all on earth. "What I most dislike," said a misguided father, whose beautiful daughter was buried alive in a nunnery of our country, "is, that I can

never know even where my child is located ; she may be now in Paris, for what I know."

But, Americans, we must, we will, hold these priests accountable for American women. O, will you not grant liberty, safety, protection, to them? They scream now, in their recesses, from these convents, "Help, O, help us!" Will you not, by all that is hallowed and dear in hope, and home, and life, hear them, Americans? What but the principles of justice and humanity which characterize our people should control our legislatures? Are not these principles Protestant and American?

When the English consul at Lisbon was seized and imprisoned for disobedience to Popery, by the Inquisitors of Rome, Cromwell commanded him to return home, but the King of Portugal refused to release him, on the ground that he had no control over the Pope's action. Cromwell sent his representative directly to tell the king "that he must either declare war against the Inquisition, or stand by the results." The consul was immediately set free, but would not leave the prison without a public liberation. The Inquisitors and king were alarmed, and yielded to his demand. In this same spirit of a Protestant Cromwell, let Americans demand the

release of American women, and the destruction of these prisons, or make Rome's legions tremble at the result.

It is time this cruel, unjust buying, selling, speculating, for that foreign despot, was stopped. And once do it, and Protestants will find popish editors, politicians, officers and agents, priests and priestesses, upon their knees, to avert the fierce fire of American cannon, which can penetrate the dungeon of St. Angelo, or shake the foundation of the Vatican.

Suppose the officers of a state-prison in America should refuse to release persons entitled to their freedom, and they should appeal to the legislature in vain for redress; what would the press do? Why, unitedly and in trumpet voice, it would make public opinion ready to annihilate legislature and prison in one week.

Now, what other enormous evil is connected with the institution of convents? We answer, the *Confessional*. It is the priest who teaches that the salvation of these poor, deluded women depends upon their entering on a convent life. They get the conscience of their victims, and then find it easy to take their persons. Their liberty is then

surrendered, their property secured, their principles are undermined, their hope has fled! A letter from a nun in one of the convents of Tuscany, addressed to Leopold, exposes the scandalous abuses of the convent system which existed there in 1775; the same system which exists in the United States to-day, and wherever Romanism prevails. Said this nun to Leopold, "If what I write were known, I should be poisoned by my companions, who are given up to vice." She states that the confessor is selected from the monks, who occupies a dwelling near the convent; that the nuns who conformed to the wishes of their confessor were always released from unpleasant duty, and, to gratify him by their society, penance and the sacraments would be forgotten; while the old nuns and superior would occupy themselves in different employments, or remain in their cells.

Pierre Pacchiani, a papal confessor, was so unscrupulous that he often compelled the dying to make *wills* in his favor, or refused the sacraments. That he had used his endeavors to prevent Catharine Barni, whom he had *injured*, from making any confession on her death-bed.

These atrocious crimes, committed within the

walls of these convents and monasteries, became so revolting at that time that they were diminished in number in many of the Roman Catholic countries, and the guilty priests expelled from some, as they were from the Protestant states. It was then that the Pope and the priesthood looked to our young republic ; and, seeing its climate, its territory, its resources, its facilities for commerce, and its outlets and inlets, decided to secure here what was then lost in the Old World. ~And here they come in crowds, and are now attempting to blast our pure and beautiful land.

Look at the history of Europe for twelve hundred years ! See how their unhallowed influence spread over Europe, and how they triumphed in the overthrow of all that was sacred, and virtuous, and ennobling to the character of man ! The history of convents calls upon Americans to awake to sustain, while they can, their liberty and their religion. One great object of the Romish hierarchy, in the erection of monasteries and nunneries in the United States, is to proselyte the influential and wealthy classes, especially the females, and to acquire property, which enables the priesthood to exert their political power. When they secure the

women, they make the conscience for the country ; and when they get the conscience, they rule the country.

We affirm, then, by indubitable evidence, that their literary institutions are mere masks to propagate on our soil superstition and abominations which would be insulting to the Hottentots of New Zealand or Caffraria. They are a dangerous novelty and invasion in this free republic.

The "Key of Paradise," in constant use in the Romish church, has a chapter headed "Preparation for Confession." We find in it "a table of offences to assist the preparation." In this table, *their* sixth commandment is placed by the Romish church in the room of the seventh commandment. In these *mortal* offences, the character of the *inquirer* and the *confessor* may be learned. Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, particularly recommends this book.

In their Douey Catechism, on "penance expounded," recommended and approved by the Jesuit bishop of Boston, we find these solutions: "*Question*. What is confession? *Answer*. It is a full, sincere, and humble declaration of our sins to a priest, to obtain absolution. *Q*. What are the

requisites of a good confession? *A.* That it be short, diligent, humble, sorrowful, sincere, and *entire*. *Q.* How entire? *A.* By confessing not only in what we have sinned mortally, but also how often, as near as we can remember."

See here the wily art of the priest to get possession of the conscience! Nothing must be withheld. Not only every *act* of life, but every *thought*, must be divulged—the *whole heart* emptied into the ear of the priest! And he is at liberty to add to the questions as suits his fancy or his passions, to extort from females the most indelicate and revolting answers! And they *must* answer, or the priest tells them their confession is of no avail. Think, Americans, of the power of the priest in the confessional! think of it, and repress your deepest indignation, if you can! Is it not, from its very nature, awfully demoralizing in its effects? It is horrible to contemplate the results of the confessional upon the female character, and upon the best hopes of America. If ever there was a race of men that robbed and spoiled countries, desecrated sacred things, blunted the moral perceptions, poisoned the fountains of virtue, ruined female modesty, and, like rapacious, remorseless beasts of prey, destroyed

the peace and happiness of families, that race is the Romish priesthood.

Protestant eyes and Protestant intelligence restrain them in our country ; but the system is the same, and leads to the very same results that have been acted out and occasionally exposed in other countries. And, could the nunneries and the confessional in America be but now *uncovered*, and the truthful tales be told of their interior doings, one loud and stormful burst of indignation would be heard, not from Protestants alone, but also from the Roman Catholics of this land.

With all the mystery and secrecy with which the priests guard these walled cloisters, their vile pollutions and crimes are sometimes discovered to the world by a nun who escapes in peril of her life. These records of priestly immorality must, in some degree, in this chapter be exposed, for the sake of the author's own sex, and of our beloved country, and for the sake of the Roman laity, who, indeed, know nothing more of their interior, secret deeds than Protestants.

CHAPTER III.

THE confessor of Ferdinand the Seventh, of Spain, said he had known the best of the priests, — been among them, heard the confessions of both sexes, — and he declared that virtue cannot safely come in contact with these men ; that females are constantly liable to become their victims. How can Americans shut their eyes to these truths, confirmed by all sorts of the most credible testimonies ?

Mr. Ewbank, in his work on Brazil, says, no stranger, unless in a similar position with himself, could suspect the depth of the priests' pollutions. A native remarked to him that it was impossible for men to be worse than the priests, or to imagine worse men. In the churches they appear respectable and devout, but their *secret* crimes have made this city (Peru) a Sodom. There are, of course, exceptions, but they are few.

"Women," says Mr. Ewbank, "constitute the chief part of the church's charge, and they are taught to believe, and

they do believe, that the crimes of a priest do not affect his efficiency as one, nor the duty of confessing to him. I have heard several native ladies maintain this;— for the priest so teaches.”

Rev. Pierce Connelly, formerly an Episcopal minister, went over to Rome, and his wife to a nunnery. But, by a personal insight into the abominations of Popery, he left in disgust, and returned to his former Episcopal communion. The following is a part of his testimony :

“I have known a husband taught and directed to deal double in the sacred matter of religion with his own high-born wife, a brother with his own high-born sisters, wives with their husbands, and daughters without number with their trusting parents.

“I have had poured into my ears what can never be uttered, and what ought not to be believed, but was only too plainly true. And I have seen all that is most deplorable is not an accident, but a result, and an inevitable result, and a *confessedly* inevitable result, of the working of the practical system of the Church of Rome, with all its stupendous machinery of mischief; AND THE SYSTEM IS IRREVOCABLE, IRREMIEDIABLE.”

The *Freeman's Journal*, Bishop Hughes' organ in New York, in a recent article praises the “moral power” of Pope Gregory VII., who was as noted for iniquity as Judas Iscariot for treachery! He caused the mother of a woman to be strangled, that

the daughter might reign in the Vatican without a rival.

Every female devotee at the confessional knows that questions are asked too personal to be made known to the world. No family in America is safe which harbors under its roof a Romish priest, or permits around its fireside any one who resorts to priestly confession.

Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, recommends the "Christian's Guide to Heaven," where it says, on page 82, "*Consult the table of sins to help your MEMORY,*" and *commands the most secret kind of mortal sins to be confessed, as indispensable to forgiveness.* Among others, a woman is asked if she *loves any priest.* Suppose she answers, "*Yes, I love you!*" O, citizen and Christian, tremble for the fate of American daughters who look to the priest as the forgiver of *all sin!*

Mr. Hogan, who was the pastor of St. Mary's Church, in Philadelphia, for twelve years, says: "The wife who goes to the confessional is more the wife of the priest than of her married husband; for the priest has her *unrevealed thoughts and soul,* as well as body."

"It is a fact," says a writer, "true to a proverb, and proclaimed by the best of the Romish writers, that from the days of Gregory VII. monasteries and nunneries were vast extended Sodoms, and the priesthood in every respect like the inhabitants of the cities of the plain. The temples of Astarte and of Babylon, and of the Greek and Roman Venus, were really decent and moral amid all their pagan pollution, compared to the dens of the monks, and nuns, and priests! It is impossible to tell the millionth part of the horribly impious doings of these men!"

The only thing which seems to be forbidden by the priests, and of which they have such a holy horror, is the circumstance of marriage. Once annul the decrees respecting the *celibacy* of the priesthood, and nunneries and monasteries will go down.

"In the fifteenth century the overwhelming flood of priestly pollution swelled to such a height, and became so universal in Spain, that Popes Paul, Pius, and Gregory, were compelled, in self-defence, to issue bulls against the priests. 'These bulls commanded the Inquisition to take the matter up; and the holy Inquisitors summoned the attendance of all the frail fair ones who had been assailed by these sons of Belial and of Sodom. Maids and matrons, nobles and peasants, flocked in numbers incredible to lodge information. All the Inquisitors and their officers, with twenty notaries, were employed for thirty days in taking down the depositions. The number crowding in was not a whit abated; they took *thirty days more, three several times!* But there was no end to the business. The

Inquisitors were like a man on the ocean casting a lead and finding no bottom! What was the result? Why, just what might have been expected when inquiry on such a subject was committed to *priests* and *bishops*.' Says Gonsalvo: 'They finally gave it up. The bench of priests and bishops was deserted. The multitudes of fair criminals, and the jealousy of husbands, and above all the overwhelming odium thrown upon auricular confession and the popish priesthood, caused the holy tribunal to quash the prosecution, and destroy all the depositions!'"

Such, fathers and husbands, such, Americans, was the character of the confessional then; and is it not, in the nature of the case, so still?

The theology of Maynooth College, where most of the priests in this country are trained, teaches the doctrines and rules of the Jesuits, Liguori, Escobar, and Dens, and imparts instructions respecting the confessional, in which the most immoral and obscene questions are enjoined to be put to every wife, and sister, and daughter, who attends confession, in every Romish church in this country.

These moral theologies are also the standard works for all, in that sect, who are now training for the priesthood.

If the priest is asked as to what he hears in the confessional, their theology says: "HE OUGHT TO ANSWER THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW IT, AND, IF IT BE NECESSARY, TO CONFIRM THE SAME WITH AN OATH."

Read the following language of the Church of Rome, as a part of her instructions to the priests, and reflect on the danger of these emissaries of the Pope in our midst, who are bound by an oath to obey them !

“ Although the life or salvation of a man, or the ruin of a state, should depend upon it, what is discovered in confession cannot be revealed. The secret of the *seal* — confession — is more binding than the obligation of an oath.”

Husbands of America, ye who regard the sacred bonds of social and domestic peace, the honor and fidelity of your wives, behold the confessional ! Parents, the authority of the priest in the confessional is far more than your own. Think of the interviews in these lonely recesses, and tremble for your children !

Popish bishops send out the priest “ to convert Americans from the error of their ways.” He is received with politeness, and, fixing his eye upon a fascinating daughter, soon persuades her to the confessional. He gives her the “ Key to Paradise,” and with his *clerical* pretences gains her confidence, and finally wins her over to the cloistered life.

“ Can a certain archbishop somewhere in the latitude of New York tell what became of the

three young ladies, since 1843, with whom he was particularly acquainted? Can he tell where the tomb of the Baltimore lady is located, whose premature death was only witnessed by the confessional, and sanctified by mummery? Answer, ye holy fathers!"

A case occurred in Bardstown, Ky., several years ago, which shows the tenacity of the priestly influence. Milly McPherson entered a nunnery near Lebanon, Ky., as a pupil, and afterwards took the veil. Soon after, she came home, when her unnatural parents refused to listen to her statements respecting the injury inflicted upon her by the priest; and, under his authority, they refused her admission to the house. She fled to a neighbor's for refuge. A suit was brought in behalf of the priest, who was implicated, and testimony given of his guilt, which could not be disproved. Immediately Milly, as is their custom, was declared *insane* by the Jesuits; and, being the only witness to prove an important *fact* in the case, she was *forcibly abducted*, so as to force the jury to find for the priest! Twenty years have passed away, and no trace of that girl has been seen! The supposition is, she was secreted and murdered.

McGrindell's "Convent," published by Carter and Brothers, New York, gives the atrocious case of a married woman, at Palermo, whom the priests sought to separate from her husband. They succeeded in getting her into the Convent of St. Rosalia, without the husband's knowledge; and exerted every kind of art and cruelty to induce her to renounce him, without effect. He finally learned that she was incarcerated, and, through a friend, sent her a note, enclosed in a fig, promising to rescue her. Suspicion was awakened in some manner, and the whole plan for her escape was revealed by the *confessional*. But the deluded wife was left to enjoy the anticipated reünion with her husband until in the very act of escaping, when she was seized, and dragged to the dungeon of the convent. Her husband outside was taken to a dungeon of the Inquisition, from whence he never returned; while the wife was brought from the prison in delirium, to undergo the solemn mockery of a trial before bishops and superiors of the island, in one of the subterranean apartments of the convent; and, in the presence of the whole sisterhood, she was condemned to be buried alive, and bricked up in a niche of the very cell in which

they were assembled! Masons performed the terrible work, sworn by the awful oath of secrecy; while the young woman, in the bloom of youth, was put unresistingly in her living tomb, for the crime of loving her own husband, and wishing to enjoy life with him!

The escape of Maria Monk, in Montreal; Louisa Wortman, at St. Louis; Miss Harrison and Miss Reed, in Massachusetts; Milly McPherson, in Kentucky; Ann Fallen, at Providence; Olivia Neale, at Baltimore; Miss Bunkley, from Emmetsburg, Md.; and other cases, in which similar statements are made of the cruelty, deception, and immorality of the convents in this country, each without the knowledge of the other, — settles conclusively the question that it is a duty Americans owe to God and their country to exterminate them.

These American women are ensnared by the representations of the religious perfection which they are taught to believe can be attained nowhere else. Why, then, have grates, and bars, and prisons, if it is all so sweet and pure? Why debar their fathers and mothers from their affectionate interviews? Why interdict a physician to prescribe only through a grate, but, at the same time,

give the priests access to their cells, and their secret chambers, at any hour, day or night? The priest, according to the statement of escaped nuns, often lodges within the convent, where apartments are reserved for him!

“An affecting ceremony,” says a Baltimore paper, “took place this week in one of the Roman Catholic churches of this city, on which occasion two beautiful young girls took the white veil, and became Sisters of Mercy.”

“An affecting ceremony.” Yes, *affecting*, indeed, to see two beautiful young women throwing themselves into a literal prison, where their bloom of health, ere twelve months have passed, will be changed to pallid cheeks, and their beauty to wasting deformity! *Affecting*, indeed, to see young women, who might adorn society, and cheer their once happy home, and bless the world with their companionship and influence, blindly rushing into moral pollution and speedy death, — to see them shut themselves out from the fresh and healthy atmosphere, from the light of the pleasant sun, from the green hills and flowery fields, the open heavens, the endearments and joys of home, the kindly intercourse to which they have been accus-

tomed, the glad greetings of friends, and all the thousand innocent delights for which their Creator designed them, and reason and nature open to their use and possession! Affecting, indeed, to see two American girls so unconscious of what they are doing, — so unsuspecting of the fatal trap which has been set for them, and of the dark devices of wily priests to secure them safely within the doors of their sombre jail, under iron bars, and lock and key, where they take possession of their conscience and body, to lacerate and torture their feelings, and to make them the mere instruments of their intrigue, their pleasure, and their tyranny!

Had those lovely young ladies parents? Where were they? Had the papal system in which they were trained dried up the fountain of their sensibilities, and closed the sluices of pity? Had they never read the history of Popery, — the lives of the heartless priests, and their instruments, the nuns, — the immoralities and polluted developments of nunneries? Ah, how blind! how deep the veil which shrouds them in darkness! how unaccountable and amazing the ignorance, in this land of light, and Bible intelligence, and freedom, that the power of the old fiend of Rome, and the

crafty, libertine priests, should so deceive and betray them, in the very season of youth, and loveliness, and beauty, as to induce them to bid an eternal farewell, and yield themselves up to be buried alive in a worse interment than a destructive avalanche !

Ah ! had these young women known the iniquities of convent life ; had they experienced the cruel impositions, the extortions of labor, the painful and degrading punishments, the puerile and stupid tediousness of pretended devotion, the vulgar annoyances, and scandalous treatment ; had they seen the decaying health, the sickly visage, the numerous skeletons of consumption, and the victims often in tears ; had they heard the groans of the poor, unpitied sufferers, the shrieks which fell occasionally upon the ear ; had they witnessed the insanity and numerous deaths ; had they, we say, passed through the merciless tyranny and cruel horrors of that unnatural dungeon of moral pestilence and living death, — they would not have done so suicidal an act as to sacrifice life, hope, and happiness. They would have shrunk aghast both from the vile blandishments and specious arts of the syren Jesuitesses and Jesuits, and

from the most distant approach to the gates of that horrible edifice.

The question now solemnly put is, shall the personal liberty of American females be wrested and blasted by foreign Jesuits and assassins? Shall the name of religion be perverted to these vile purposes, and religion itself become a cloak for these unnatural dens of iniquity?

In the reign of James I., of England, monasteries and convents had become such intolerable nuisances that a decree was made to destroy them from the land. *Papal Sardinia has suppressed the convents and confiscated their property, which amounted to more than one half of the real estate of the whole kingdom, all of which was exempt from taxation.* Spain, the most devoted to Rome, has suppressed them, and ordered the sale of a large portion of their property. And shall they fix their plague-spots here? Shall these Jesuits diffuse their pestilential vapors, and draw into their noisome vortex innocent but unsuspecting victims, and become a general curse to the country? Shall our laws, which secure liberty to all, be thus trampled down?

There are more than three hundred nunneries in the United States, and how many more we know

not. It makes us shudder to think how many young women are, this moment, pining and groaning away in the dungeons of this country, the slaves of priests, who profane the very name of morality, and gloat on the ruin of virtue in the multiplication of these prisons of death. The priests of Rome number now more than two thousand in this country; and the arrival of almost every emigrant ship adds to their number. Every one of these priests is hostile to our holy Protestant Christianity, bound by a solemn oath to the Pope of Rome, and an insidious plotting enemy against our free institutions. And, short as their history is in this country, the public ear has been frequently startled by their violent and licentious crimes.

What father or mother can peruse the narrative of "*Lorette*," the history of the daughter of a Canadian nun, without seeing fulfilled the declaration of Bruy, Tom. iii., p. 610, that to "veil a woman or a nun, is to destroy her." "Show me a house of a Protestant in the United States where there is a Roman Catholic, male or female, who goes to confessional and communion in the Romish church, and I will show you a watch, a spy upon

every act, and deed, and movement, of that family," says Mr. Hogan, formerly a Romish priest.

We here give a specimen of the secret instruction of Jesuit priests :

5. "The confessor must manage his matters so that the widow may have such faith in him as not to do the least thing without his advice. and his only, which he may occasionally insinuate to be the only basis of her spiritual edification."

6. "She must be advised to the frequent use and celebration of the sacraments, but especially that of penance; because in that she freely makes a discovery of her most secret thoughts and every temptation. In the next place, let her frequently communicate and apply for instructions to her confessor; to the performance of which she must be invited by promises of some prayers adapted to her particular occasions; and, lastly, let her every day rehearse the litany, and strictly examine her conscience."

7. "It will be also a great help to the obtaining a perfect knowledge of all her inclinations, to prevail with her to repeat a general confession, although she has formerly made it to another."

8. "Discourse must be made to her concerning the advantages of the state of widowhood, the inconvenience of wedlock, especially when it is repeated, and the dangers to which mankind expose themselves by it; but, above all, such as more particularly affect her."

9. "It will be proper, every now and then, cunningly to propose to her some match, but such a one, be sure, as you know she has an aversion to; and if it be thought that she has a kindness for any one, let his vices and failings be

represented to her in a proper light, that she may abhor the thoughts of altering her condition with any person whatsoever."

10. "When, therefore, it is manifest that she is well disposed to continue a widow, it will then be time to recommend to her a spiritual life, but not a recluse one, the inconveniences of which must be magnified to her; but such a one as *Paula's or Eustachia's, &c.*; and let the confessor, having as soon as possible prevailed with her to make a vow of celibacy, for two or three years at least, take due care to oppose all tendencies to a second marriage; and then all conversation with men, and diversions even with her near relations and kinsfolks, must be forbidden her, under pretence of entering into a stricter union with God. As for the ecclesiastics, who either visit the widow or receive visits from her, if they all cannot be worked out, yet let none be admitted but what are either recommended by some of our society, or are dependants upon them."

8. "Let women that are young, and descended from rich and noble parents, be placed with those widows, that they may, by degrees, become subject to our directions, and accustomed to our method of living. As a governess to these, let some woman be chosen and appointed by the family confessor. Let these submit to all the censures and other customs of the society. But such as will not conform themselves immediately dismiss to their parents, or those who put them to us, and let them be represented as untractably stubborn, and of a perverse disposition."

3. "Let us, now and then (as if by divine inspiration), exhort them to religion in general; and then artfully insinuate the perfection and conveniences of our institution above others. Therefore let confessors of princes, and noblemen,

widows, and others (from whom our expectations may reasonably be large), with great seriousness inculcate this notion, that while we administer to them in divine and spiritual things, they, at least, should, in return, contribute to us of their earthly and temporal; and let no opportunity ever be slipped of receiving from them whatever is offered; for we have lately been informed that several young widows, being snatched away by sudden death, did not bequeath to us their valuable effects, through the negligence of some members who did not take care to accept of them in due time."

So poisonous to morals and so dangerous to governments and liberty had these Jesuits become in France, in the reign of Louis XIV., that the parliament of France caused their expulsion. And here they come, swarming over our country, from the propagandas of Europe, to erect their schools and nunneries, and to demoralize and endanger the whole structure of our educational system, and to seduce, by every hypocritical art, unsuspecting Protestant parents to patronize them with their wealth, and to show their gratitude by inveigling and entrapping their daughters into their convents.

On this subject, involving the highest interest to personal liberty, we appeal to the Legislatures of the land. Is it congenial with the free laws and liberties of this country that there must be prison-

houses, under secret and impenetrable bars and bolts, where innocent females, unexpectedly and awfully deceived, are kept in forced restraint, and in tortures of mind and body, and all access or egress forever forbidden? Is not here a frightful Inquisition in the heart of this country? Is not every citizen entitled to his freedom? Is there a spot in this broad American land where the protection of the American flag may not reach? Why are bolts and bars necessary in these Romish houses? Why force the inmates within grated walls, and keep them strictly confined there, with profound secrecy, unless there were some improper and criminal design? The very act is its condemnation. Hence, they are guarded with a rigorous espionage; spies, with the fierce surveillance of a despot, are set to watch their motions night and day. Read the ever uniform stories and honest disclosures of those who have been so fortunate, by some unexpected and wonderful contrivance, as to escape from the hated incarceration. We call upon you, then, legislators, to enact a law that shall open these inhuman vaults of compulsory disease and death. No less than fourteen deaths, says a female writer, occurred in the nunnery at Emmetsburg within the ten months

that she was there. The Rev. Mr. Seymour, of England, from an official report made to him by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, states that *more than half of the young nuns admitted into the convents die deranged before they are twenty-five years of age!!* Shall these alarming facts meet with no response and sympathy? Shall the blood of these victims cry from the convents in vain? Will you not legislate this deep and damning blot of illegal despotism from the face of this soil? Then will you act out the true beneficence of our institutions, and confer one of the highest boons upon suffering humanity.

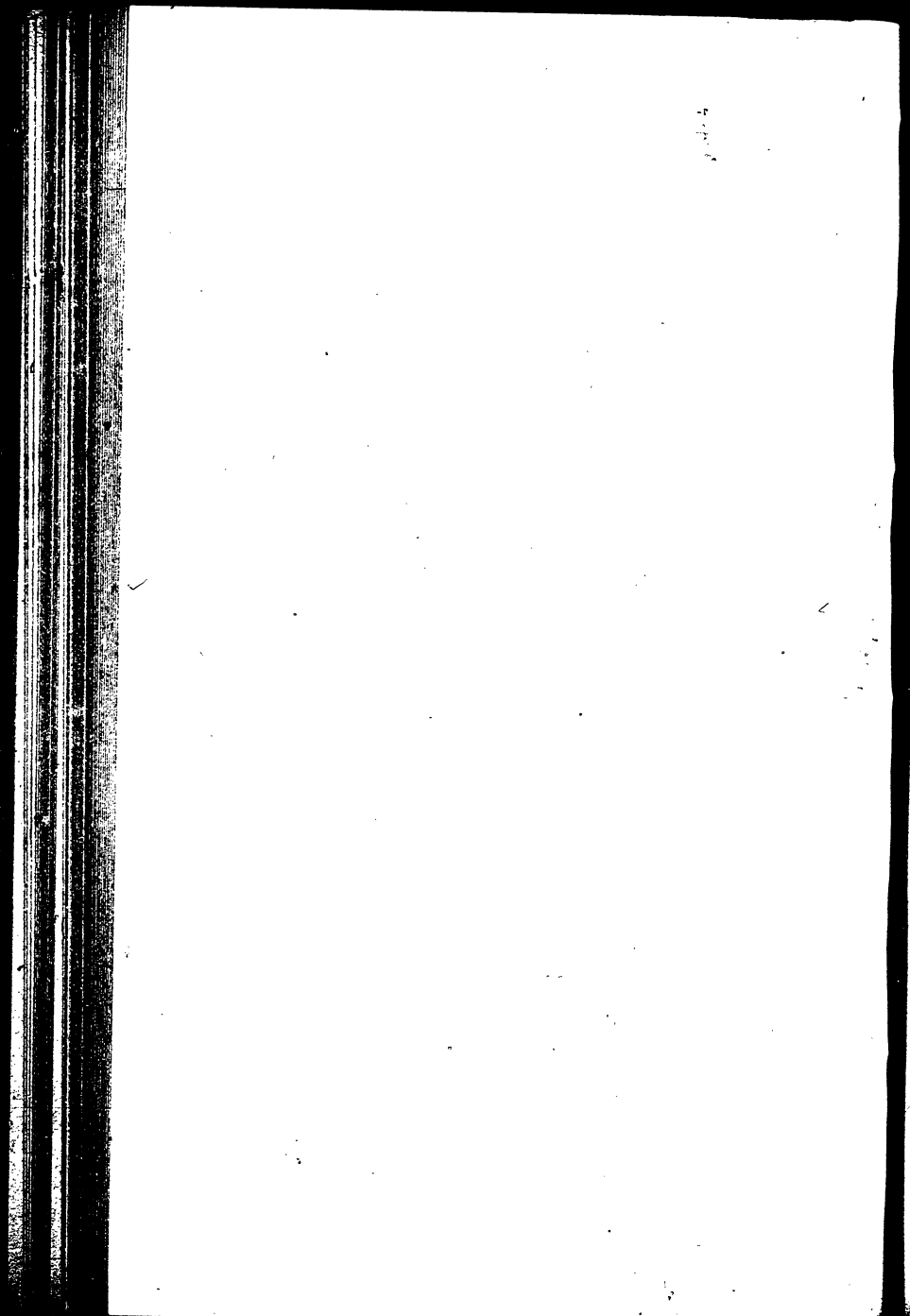
A PROTESTANT EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICANS, do you know that every time you unfurl the banner of your country, and rally to the defence of your republican school system, you insult the sensibilities of the anti-American party, foreign and native? Remember, the debt of gratitude has been fully paid to those who have aided you in cutting down your forests, levelling your mountains, opening your highways, digging your canals, settling your lands, and even in the blood shed for the common defence of the country. It is paid in the prosperity, the happiness, the success, of their posterity, for whom they labored, suffered, and endured. They looked to the good of their children; — you, Americans, have now to do



Sidney Hopman



the same. It is the duty of the father to protect himself and family from injurious influences; and it is a still more imperative duty for the nation to protect its people from the same. Then, shall we not be permitted to roll back the tide of priestcraft, and place in its way the great counter wave of American common and free school education? This is a question for wise men of all parties. This is the principle of that eclectic party which the people baptize in their own name to-day!

Remember, the greatest as well as the cheapest insurance upon this Union is its republican learning. You must educate those who are to make laws for yourselves and your children — who are to elect your judges and your rulers. The more schools you build, the fewer jails and alms-houses you will require. An extended and free education will give to America more private and public prosperity, more financial success, more political tranquillity, than all other means combined. And, if neglected, or surrendered into foreign hands, liberty cannot long linger upon your native soil. American citizens must be respected the world over; and it is their education which secures the rights of conscience, and of religious worship, and is the main

guarantee of integrity and loyalty to their own country.

There is in the United States now an organization called "Christian Brothers." It has its seat in Italy, and under a special bull of the Pope is found in every city and neighborhood of our country where Popery has made a foot-print. This society obliges every "Christian Brother" to renounce his native country, friends, acquaintances, and even parents! And these are the "Brothers" who conduct the schools, colleges, nunneries, and monasteries, of Romanists, all over our land. They infuse into the youth of the country the poison of religious and national enmity, and there are thousands of their pupils in New York and other states, who, though born upon the soil, will proudly declare they are Roman Catholics, and *not Americans!* And, that there may be no mistake as to the rules and constitution of this secret society, to whom not only American Roman Catholics, but unsuspecting Protestants, commit the souls and bodies of their children, we give some of their "directions," obtained from that little printed volume, which is approved by the Pope, and sanctioned by all his bishops in our country, but concealed

from the public eye. The author is John Baptist La Salle, an Abbot of Normandy, in France, assisted by Father Boudin, of the Society of Jesus, and rector of the Jesuits' Novitiate at Rouen.

NATIVE COUNTRY. — "Each brother is absolutely required to renounce his native country." (Pages 16 and 18 of the Rule of Government for the use of the Christian Brothers.)

DEPENDENCY. — "Absolute and blind obedience to the commands of the Brother Superior." (Ditto, page 43.)

SELF-DENIAL. — "We have to renounce our own judgment, because we are unable to judge things but in a worldly manner." (Ditto, page 91.)

DIFFIDENCE. — "When the 'Brothers' converse with persons, strangers to the Order, they will observe an absolute silence in all that regards the Institution. They are prohibited from letting anything transpire out of the Society. They shall never say in what localities, and how numerous, are the 'Brothers,' even if requested; but, in case they cannot avoid an answer, they will limit themselves to speak only of the spirit of the Institution." (Rules and Constitutions, page 34.)

PARENTS AND FRIENDS. — "They will break all affections which should bind them to the world, even with parents and friends.

"The 'Brother' shall never speak of his parents, nor of his native country, nor of what he has done, unless with persons such as the bishop, in case he should be interrogated." (Ditto, page 38.)

"The 'Brothers' are warned NOT TO ATTEND THE FUNERALS OF THEIR PARENTS, only in the church, in case

they reside in the same locality. But the Superiors will see that even THIS DOES NOT OCCUR!" (Ditto, page 65.)

ESPIONAGE. — "If one of the fraternity should propose a new maxim, which was known to be false, or might cause serious consequences, the other 'Brothers' will combat it with silence, and report it immediately to the Brother Superior." (Ditto, page 32.)

HYPOCRISY. — "The 'Brothers' will carry their heads always straight, inclining it only in front, never turning behind, nor incline it on one side or on the other. Should necessity compel them to it, they will turn the whole body quickly and with gravity.

"They will avoid to show their forehead turned into ringlets, but the nose above all, in order that strangers may see in their faces an external wisdom, which might be the sign of spiritual virtue.

"They ought never to keep their lips neither too close, nor too open." (Ditto, pages 35, 36.)

The books of this society for the education of Americans are published under the authority of Archbishop Hughes, of New York, and endorsed by other bishops thus :

"I recommend the series of school-books compiled by the Christian Brothers, and published by (———), New York, and wish them to be used in every school in the diocese where there are no other Catholic school-books in the hands of the children.

“† J. B., *Archbishop of Cincinnati.*”

“We heartily recommend for the use of our Catholic

schools the books of the Christian Brothers, published by (—), New York. † JOHN, *Bishop of Albany.*”

“ I earnestly recommend the books of the Christian Brothers, published by (—), for the use of our Catholic schools in this Diocese, † JOHN, *Bishop of Buffalo.*”

The last great Romish convention in Baltimore had for its true object nothing but to further the assault upon the education of the American masses.

Soon after its session, eight states of the Union made a simultaneous movement for a division of the public school funds for this purpose. In California alone, however, was the effort successful.

A pupil in a Roman Catholic school cannot, under the heaviest penalty, open the lids of a book, or look at a print or painting, which has not been sanctioned and approved by *the church!* Even the emblems on the tombs of masons in Jamaica have been effaced by stone-cutters, under the Jesuit priests, because that institution was hateful to the Pope.

Long before the murder of the Huguenots in Florida, under the Spanish Inquisition, the Pope had made disposal of the entire American continent. Pius the Fifth exercised this right to the monarchs of Spain; and the only way to possess it is that

wisely adopted, in attempting to seduce the people through educational influences ; in plain English, to keep them ignorant, as they do the masses in all Romish countries.

“ We want to make Rome the District of Columbia for all Christendom,” is the bold avowal of an editor of the Popish press. In the District of Columbia no citizen can even vote for the President of their country, while the Jesuit college of Georgetown furnishes the education to many of the officers of the government. And in the state department, especially, much facility is thus afforded for managers of that institution to know the private transactions of our national bureaus. Even the lion loves the lair of its nativity, and the wolf seeks the cavern where it was born ; but here is a secret, invisible influence, training Americans upon their own soil to curse country, family, and government, because these shelter and protect from all tyrant foes.

Americans, there is a voice calling you to action now, stronger than that of court, jury, or country ; it is the voice of God ! It is time to rise and fix a higher value to the education of all the people,

when men are dismissed for Americanism from office.

In Norfolk, Va., at the late election of Gov. Wise, it was publicly and semi-officially announced by the press that no one in the navy yard at that station could vote the American ticket, unless at the expense of his place ; and fifteen hundred men were forced for their bread to vote against their sentiments, after making an example by removing three experienced mechanics, who had expressed their partiality for American principles before that election. In the treasury department, whether in the custom-houses, light-houses, or the erection of new light-houses, the same system has invariably been pursued. So, also, of the employés connected with the post-office and the transportation of mails ; and all the patronage of the general government, and of the states which have sympathized with President Pierce's administration, the greatest crime has been faithfulness to the principles and policy of the government your fathers left you. They disclaimed all foreign interference in American affairs ; they declared the Union must be preserved ; that none but Americans should rule your country ; that national treaties were inviolate ;

that no union should exist between church and state ; that personal morality was indispensable for office ; and that we must have open Bibles in all our public schools.

In the legislature of Lower Canada, Normal schools have been abolished by Romanists, and none but those under the eye of the priests exist ; so that mass, confession, the sacraments and dogmas of the Romish church, employ the whole time of the pupils. So will they have it in all the states of our Union, as soon as a sufficient number of Jesuits can be had to coöperate with corrupt politicians in our legislatures. Our public schools will be converted into *jails* for American women, and our Normal schools into Romish theological seminaries. Are we a people, Americans ? Have we a country and government of our own ? If so, can we, as Anglo-Saxon Protestants, sanction or endure to have mass said over our national soul by these meddling Jesuits, who thus insult our great nation with such worn-out foolery ? Intelligence of the people is the foundation on which our institutions are based ; and a practical Protestant education ; therefore, is the essential element of our democratic freedom ; hence, as a system of instruction, our Protestant free

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schools are inseparable from our liberties. This right to educate the people is the right of self-government, and our common schools are, in this sense, the means of self-preservation. No man is fit to be considered an intelligent voter, unless he is able to read the vote and the constitution from whence he derives the right of suffrage.

Americans boast of their free press; but how can that save their liberties, unless they have a free and enlightened people to read its products? What kind of an idea can we expect the masses to have of freedom, when, without an education of the mind, it implies in their judgment to do as they please? What kind of freedom is it which excludes the Bible from the people, and therefore forces the desecration of the Sabbath on the nation? In no country upon earth has liberty ever existed, where the Bible is hid from the education of the people. This has always kept republicanism out of France; the people cannot be fit for it without an open Bible in their schools and families. Sixteen years ago, the assault upon the American system of education openly commenced in the State of New York. At that time the Bible was found in all the public schools, and some portion of God's holy word was

reverently read at the opening exercises every day. The Romish hierarchy became alarmed, and Bishop Hughes determined to prevent any Roman Catholic from entering these free schools. He went before the Common Council, and demanded a portion of the school fund to establish separate Roman Catholic schools, where no Bible could be read, and no God served but the Pope and his priests. The Council of New York city of course refused the application. He then had a petition numerously signed by his subjects, and sent it to the Legislature, asking that the power be taken away from the corporation of that city. The report and bill found the warmest coöperation in the executive of the state, and had it been sanctioned by the Legislature, more than one half of the Jesuit priesthood in New York would have been paid out of the school fund of that city! The rejection of this iniquity, by the people's representatives, exasperated the foreign hierarchy; and Bishop Hughes, as their leader, called a public meeting at Carroll Hall, to nominate a ticket to the next Assembly of the state. His political speech was vociferously cheered, and, as Americans caught the sound, it revived the spirit of the heroes of our liberties, and the American

party, from that hour, was born to give salvation and deliverance to this people.

Our countrymen; give us your attention while we consider this solemn subject, in which, more than any other, you are deeply interested, and we will embrace in the next chapter *the Dangers of Education in Roman Catholic Seminaries.*

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CHAPTER II.

THERE are now hundreds of Roman Catholic seminaries and colleges in full operation, and multiplying rapidly over our country. To monopolize instruction wherever they can, and to get the control of schools, that the whole may be reduced to the pliant domination of the Pope, — to this end the order of Jesuits was established. That they will involve this land in troubles and conflicts, is just as certain as that they are swarming over our country. Where is the American parent, let alone the Christian under vows, who, knowing the aim of the Jesuits, will turn over his child to be trained up by men who will use that child afterwards as their tool to ruin the liberty, civil and religious, which our fathers transmitted, a priceless boon, to us?

Will you lend me, therefore, Americans, your candid attention, while I present the *dangers* of

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intrusting your sons and daughters to be educated in Roman Catholic seminaries?

1st. EDUCATION IN ROMAN CATHOLIC SEMINARIES IS DANGEROUS, BECAUSE THE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION IS SUPERFICIAL AND ANTI-REPUBLICAN.

The character of the instruction imparted in these priestly schools is most superficial, and its whole tendency is anti-republican, and only calculated to weave around the mind the narrow and jesuitical prejudices inimical to freedom of thought and expanded intellect. Their method can never make good scholars, independent of the papal influence so sedulously thrown over them. They omit the modern improvements in some branches, and abridge to a narrow compass, to suit their purposes, some of the most important works. They emasculate every sentiment favorable to liberty, or our free Protestant institutions, — everything relating to the reformation by Luther, and to those heroic and noble founders of liberty who reared this beautiful and Protestant republic, or who have appeared at any time in the world; or, if their deeds or names are mentioned, they are depreciated and misrepresented. Books have been brought out from the schools, and publicly exposed,

in the city of New York, some pages of which had been blackened over, or defaced and stricken out, by the priests and their teachers. Their system of elementary and scientific instruction is narrowed to conform to their ecclesiastical expurgation and repression of the youthful faculties. History is to them a dangerous subject, especially when the sons of Protestants are the pupils, and is, therefore, skimmed in a compend prepared by means well adapted to the end. Philosophy, natural, moral, and mental, is studied very superficially. So are the mathematics. The whole system of education is adapted to make only counterfeit republicans. With a very plausible appearance, they advertise "fashionable schools," where the "manners of the young ladies will be polished after the most approved patterns," and where the young gentlemen will be "educated in all manly arts and scientific attainments." With such professions and advertisements, they impose upon Protestants. It is the syren song of the sorceress, to charm the ear with seductive music, and beguile the unsuspecting listeners into their treacherous bosom. It is the white signal of a foe, — a trumpet blown from the Vatican across the Atlantic, to summon Americans

to adorn their banner with the papal cross, and to bayonet their own bodies.

Unhappily, too many Protestants have contributed already to build up these seminaries of deadly mischief, and dangerous weapons of destruction. Have not the Protestants, in their liberality, been totally blind to the artful designs of the Romish priests and "Sisters of Charity," who have taken all pains to wave before their eyes these false colors, and to spread out, in flaming capitals, these flattering and gilded cards of a "solid and fashionable" education? In this mistaken liberality of Protestants, they have only been made unwitting tools to advance the grand policy of Rome to gain a controlling influence in the states, and to add subjects, power, and wealth, to their hierarchy.

2d. THESE SEMINARIES ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE THOSE WHO PRESIDE OVER THEM, AND ARE TEACHERS, ARE JESUITS AND JESUITESSES.

Since the order of the Jesuits was established by Pope Paul III., in 1540, they have usurped and controlled education in all the domains of the Papacy. But who are the Jesuits? They are the *body-guard* of the Pope. They poison the fountains of literature, and are everywhere the destroyers of

youth. Pretending to favor intelligence, they are the agents of darkness, the corrupters of female virtue in the confessional, the libertines of monasteries, having the nuns for their concubines; the bane of families, society, governments, and the scourge of the world.

The Jesuitesses are the tools of the priests or Jesuits. They always follow them, and are placed over the nunnery schools. An able and reliable writer says :

“All who have acquired any knowledge of the interior working of the papal system are well aware how much use that system has already made of the agency of woman. This has been the case very specially where it could not put forth any very large measure of direct power; and to this the Jesuits have always devoted their utmost skill and treacherous craft. Their great aim is to gain the confidence of females in every rank of life, and of every shade of character, and to employ them all as agents. They may be ladies of rank, wealth, and beauty; and may use their personal influence in the very highest circles, around the throne, and behind the throne. They may be in the middle classes, and may manage to become acquainted with all the affairs of the busy and engrossing events of political and commercial life. They may be governesses and nursery-maids, and may insinuate their plausible wiles into the unsuspecting minds of even young children. They may be the seeming benefactresses of poverty and wretchedness, and may thus gain ascendancy over the compassionate and the

sentimental; or they may even haunt the scenes of deepest infamy, and ensnare youth into passion and crime. What they have to do, and are trained to do, is to acquire either an influence over men in all stations, so as to induce them to give countenance and support to Popery, or such a knowledge of all men's designs as to be able to betray them to their priestly and jesuitical advisers. This is done throughout all Europe, to an extent that scarcely any person can even imagine. By this secret, universal, and almost invisible agency, Rome contrives to know everything that is done, or said, or almost thought, by every man, in every circle; and can counterplot and overreach every attempt that can be made or framed against her wide enterprise of establishing universal dominion on the ruins of all true liberty, civil and sacred."

These agents are far more powerful when they are employed in education. Here they act, as in every other department, with the most crafty design, to captivate the young mind, and to attract young ladies into their seminaries, which are always an appendage to a convent or a nunnery. They are the spies of the priests. They are bound to carry out the designs of Romanism. With a bland and winning exterior, they conceal from the view of Protestants their real intentions. But behind this exterior, when Protestants and all outward responsibilities are withdrawn, they show

their real traits to be the most imperious, cruel, and tyrannical.

The following testimony is from a competent witness, who has had good opportunities of watching them in France :

“ A great number of Protestants speak of these Jesuit ‘ Sisters ’ as ‘ walking angels, ’ or representatives of the Virgin Mary. But I am convinced that, if many of the Protestant pastors of France were to contribute only a small part of the annoyances they have endured from those ‘ walking angels, ’ a huge volume of facts might be published, which would prove that the words *Protestant* and *demon* are synonymous in the opinion of a vast majority of these ‘ Sisters. ’ My dear departed friend, the Rev. A. Le Fourdrey, pastor at Brest, who visited the hospitals in that important seaport for twenty-two years, often told me that he never met with such an intolerant set of human beings as these ‘ Sisters. ’ Many of them, he has said, attend their patient till they find out that he is a Protestant; and then, unless they have some secret hope of converting him, very often their charity degenerates into brutality. It would, doubtless, open the eyes of Protestants, as to these ‘ Sisters, ’ were they only to become a little better acquainted with them. Could they only, for a moment, look upon their wrathful countenance when they see a person with a Bible in his hand, they would then, perhaps, understand the danger of these Jesuitesses; ” and, we add, of sending the daughters of Protestant parents to their schools in the United States.

The daughters of Protestants who, unhappily,

enter these nunnery seminaries, see nothing but what is agreeable, polite, and perhaps delightful, until they are finally persuaded — for this is a constant end the Jesuitesses have in view — to take the white and black veil ; and then, when shut out and imprisoned, under bars, and lock and key, they find, when too late, their sad mistake, and the awful deception which has been practised upon them. They find that these Jesuitesses, who appeared as angels of goodness, full of heavenly smiles, are but demure, unsocial, treacherous tyrants.

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CHAPTER III.

3d. THESE SEMINARIES ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE THE BIBLE AND ALL CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES ARE REMOVED, AND THE IDOLATROUS RITES AND PAPAL MUMMERIES OF THE ROMISH CHURCH ARE SUBSTITUTED IN THEIR PLACE.

One of the first evidences that the pupil has passed from a Christian society and Protestant associations, after entering a Roman Catholic seminary, is the taking away of the Bible. This is invariably done to every pupil. Why is the Bible taken away? Does it deserve this treatment? Is it not the revelation from heaven to man, in which mercy, peace, and salvation, are made known to our world; the treasure of wisdom and truth; the only safeguard of man's rights, and of social, mental, moral, political, and religious liberty? Is not that mode of instruction to be suspected which leaves out its pure morality, its salutary motives, its sublime influence and precepts? Can that system

be right which takes from the trunk of the pupil this blessed Book, and robs the owner, not only of property, but of the only guide of youth to happiness and heaven? Is Rome afraid of the Bible? Yes, we have come to the difficulty. Rome is afraid of the Bible! Rome is from beneath,—the Bible is from above. The light of truth shines too clearly for its toleration. The worship of the Virgin Mary, the Pope, and his infallibility, his cardinals, and his supremacy, celibacy of the priests, purgatory, images, beads, relics, the mass, transubstantiation of a wafer, penances, and all the pompous ceremonies and pagan puerilities, have no place in this book of heaven. Popery is not found in the Bible; but the Bible opposes Popery, and all its works of darkness. It must not be in the possession of the pupil, for then the human impostures and lucrative incomes of the priests and Jesuitesses would be exposed. Having removed this grand obstacle to their success, the new pupils are directed to those popish observances to which they have been heretofore strangers. There is no consulting their inclinations, nor the inclinations of their parents. Unquestioned and absolute sub-

mission is required. They are compelled to conform to these religious and pagan ceremonies.

In the mean time, the pupil is totally unsuspecting of any design to alienate attachment to previous ideas and parental modes of thinking and worship, or to eradicate the lessons imbibed from Protestant education. Knowing nothing of Jesuitism, — its consummate art, its practised deceptions, its insidious approaches, and bland addresses, — the new pupil is easily deceived, and, by a gradual, continued process, becomes habituated to the impressions and instructions of the teachers, until, like a bird in the snare of the fowler, the web is woven, and the innocent son, or daughter, becomes a Papist. The effect is, to bring the pupils to the feet of the monks and Jesuitesses, to reduce them under a yoke of superstitious dread and fear, to deprive the mind of all elastic energy, and to effeminate and dwarf the intellect and soul. Another effect is to alienate the affections from the parents, whom the daughter or son is taught to believe are heretics, and, therefore, unworthy of their confidence as guides in this world, much less as guides to the next. Have you ever reflected, parents, upon the effect of these papal delusions?

— the poison which is inhaled? The danger to which your children are exposed, in this respect, in these seminaries, is confirmed by numerous and incontrovertible testimonies; and, could the examples and the statements be set before you in all the truth and vividness of the reality, you would shrink from these institutions with horror.

“Experience,” says a writer, “furnishes many signal and mournful examples of the perversion of the minds of ingenious youth, when committed to the instruction of Romanists. Never shall I forget one remarkable instance, which occurred many years ago, not only within the bounds of my own knowledge, but in one of the families of my own pastoral charge. An amiable, elegant, and highly-promising youth was sent to a Roman Catholic seminary, for the single object of learning, to rather more advantage than was otherwise practicable, a polite living language. He attained his purpose, but at a dreadful expense. He very speedily became a zealous Papist; began in a few weeks to address and reproach his parents, by letter, as blinded heretics, out of the way of salvation; was deaf to every remonstrance, both from them and their pastor, and remains to the present day a devoted, incorrigible Romanist. And similar to this is the mournful story of hundreds of the sons and daughters of Protestant parents in our land, who have inconsiderately and cruelly committed their children to papal training, and found, when too late, that they had contracted a moral contagion never to be eradicated.”

“I am well acquainted,” says Dr. Sandwith, “with a gentleman of great influence, and great ability, who has

seen much of the world, and in the course of his travels on the Continent was so impressed with the importance of a knowledge of the continental languages, that, in an evil hour, he brought home a Roman Catholic governess to instruct his children in that accomplishment. Now, the effect of that did not appear at first. His children had been generally taught the principles of Protestantism, and for a while all went on smoothly. But, so insidious is the progress of Popery, the foundations of Protestantism in that family were being sapped while no external effect appeared; but, after a while, his wife went over to the Roman Catholic church, and then I need not say in what danger the whole family were placed. Thus is Roman Catholicism ever seeking to undermine and overthrow Protestantism; by industriously introducing Roman Catholic governesses and Roman Catholic servants into Protestant families, the mischief is accomplished ere we are aware. It is well for us to be on our guard."

The opposition of Popery to Protestantism is well known. Every Papist, as well as the priests, is bound by the decrees of the Council of Trent to oppose, to the utmost of his power, "heretics," that is, Protestants. Hence Papists, in the United States, are laid under a solemn obligation, at the peril of excommunication, never to enter a Protestant church. The system of education, infusing into the minds of pupils this bitter hostility to Protestants, is, in the most dangerous sense, anti-republican. "Spreading over our cities, towns,

and rural districts, enjoying all the advantages of native citizens, *they are not with us, but against us.* While our Protestant people had charitably supposed that Romanism had undergone some modification for the better, yet *it is unchanged in all its essential points. It has lost none of its virulence and enmity to Protestants.*" Hence, on "Maunday Thursday," once every year, in Rome, and in all Catholic churches of the United States, Protestants, here and all over the world, are solemnly, with "bell and candle," *cursed and damned.* Archbishop Hughes, in his organ, the *Freeman's Journal*, tells us, "*Protestantism is dangerous to the country. All who love truth and sustain right must seek the counterbalancing power to disunion in the Catholic population of the country.*" The dogmas enjoining this unchristian hatred and unmitigated bigotry to Protestants, and to all who entertain different sentiments, are spread all over the canons of the Romish church, and have been acted out in every period of its history. A gentleman writing from Italy states the following fact :

"An English lady lost a daughter at Rome, and on the tomb, which was in the English Protestant cemetery, she wished to have the verse from St. Matthew, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,' inscribed; but an

officer of the Pope, connected with the censorship, entered the workshop of the statuary who was working at the tomb, and forbade him inscribing more than the first half of the verse, as he said it was neither right nor just that heretics should see the Lord."

Thousands of Protestants in the United States are ignorant of the workings of this system; that it is a system chiefly of proselytism to gain their sons and daughters over to Rome, to secure, as far as possible, the control of their faculties, and, as a consequence, to ruin their moral and mental qualities, and all their dearest hopes of heaven.

4th. THEY ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE ROMANISM IN ITS INSTRUCTIONS AND FRUITS IS IMMORAL.

The moral profligacy of the Romish priests and nuns has for ages characterized the histories of that church, and filled with "astonishment, loathing, and horror, the Christian world." The evidence on this subject is clear and overwhelming. The Popes of Rome, from Gregory VIII., through all the succeeding centuries, with scarcely an exception, were notorious for peccation, extortion, gluttony, concubinage, murder, perjury, theft, lying, forgery, and other crimes, which served to show more than anything else to what shameless degradation these lordly pontiffs could descend, and how

much they have deserved the universal execration of mankind. Parallel with these, and in natural consistency with their immoral tenets and instructions, have been the vices and awful corruptions of monasteries and nunneries.

Unless we are prepared to discard the accumulating testimony of a thousand years ; unless we are willing to set at naught the suffrages of the greatest and best men that ever adorned the church of God ; nay, unless we are prepared to reject the confessions of some of the most respectable Romanists themselves, — we cannot evade the evidence that many, very many, of those boasted seats of celibacy and peculiar devotedness, have been, in reality, sinks of deep and awful licentiousness. Indeed, if it were not so, considering what human nature is, and considering the nature and management of those institutions, it would encroach on the province of miracle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE tree is known by its fruits ; the fruits are known by the tree. The fruits of priestly education are strikingly seen in all Roman Catholic countries. What a picture do Austria, Rome, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Roman Catholic Ireland, Mexico, Cuba, Central America, and the South American states, present ! The annals of the world, in no countries, can present such an amount of pauperism, ignorance, crimes, and licentiousness. By official documents, submitted to the House of Commons, in 1854, there were, in Catholic Ireland, 700 cases of murders in three years, or 54 to every million of inhabitants, besides filth, ignorance, vices, and other crimes of every phase and degree. In papal France, the existence and fruits of the Romish religion, with priestly instruction, have produced a nation of infidels ; while, in the city of Paris alone, according to the census in 1854, there were 29,066 legitimate, and 19,000 illegitimate chil-

dren. In the city of Vienna, regarded as the model city of the Papacy, there were 8,081 legitimate, and 10,000 illegitimate; — more than half. But priestly education in Rome itself, the very fountain of the Papacy, shows its striking effects. On the authority of Metamier, out of 4,543 births, 3,160 were foundlings, three fourths of whom die in the Romish asylums, while misery, rags, beggary, indolence, and every species of vice and immorality, abound. And this in the consecrated city of the Pope, with its 10,000 papal priests, monks, nuns, and in a population of only 130,000! Mirabeau says :

“ A peasant who knows how to read, in papal countries, is a rare being. There is often only one school for a whole bailiwick; and, moreover, the schoolmasters are ignorant and ill-paid. The priests govern the whole nation; and they wish this state of things to last, as it is advantageous to them. They increase superstition all they can, and this superstition is destructive of every kind of industry. The infinite numbers of fêtes, pilgrimages, and processions, keep up idleness and misery. In the island of Sicily alone, there are 28,000 monks and 18,000 nuns — in all, 46,000 useless individuals out of a population of 1,650,000 souls; that is to say, one idle monk amongst every 35 inhabitants. It is a phenomenon to find a person among the lower classes who can either read or write, throughout the insular and continental part of the kingdom of Naples. This is, I say,

from personal cognizance. As a necessary consequence, the people are a prey to the most absurd superstitions; credulous believers in the sacrilegious farces called miracles, such as the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, and other similar tricks of priestly legerdemain, and the blind instruments of scheming priests."

Dr. Giustiniani, in a late work, described the immoral lives of the priests in Rome as a thing so common that it excites little surprise, except with strangers. He speaks of the moral corruptions of auricular confession, the depth of pollutions which characterize this feature of priestly power. "But why," says he, "should I speak of this moral depravity of Popery in Rome? It is everywhere the same. It appears differently, but never changes its character. In America, where female virtue is the characteristic of the nation, it is under the control of the priest. If a Roman Catholic lady, the wife of a free American, should choose to have the priest in her bedroom, she has only to pretend to be indisposed, and, asking for the spiritual father, the confessor, no other person, not even the husband, dare enter. In Rome, it would be at the risk of his life; in America, at the risk of being excommunicated, and deprived of all spiritual privileges of the church, and even excluded from

heaven." Such, parents, all over the papal world, are the baneful and dangerous effects of coming in contact with priests and Popery. Can you consent to place your children under their influence and power? Are you willing to hazard their mental and moral training to such hands?—to hazard all that is dear in life?

5th. ROMAN CATHOLIC SEMINARIES ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE THEY DENY LIBERTY OF OPINION, AND SUBJUGATE THE CONSCIENCE.

The conscience belongs to the individual, and is responsible to no human being, but to God alone. In the Declaration of Independence and the federal constitution, no more sacred principle was enunciated than the *liberty of private judgment, or opinion, and freedom of conscience*. This right is inherited by creation; no human or ecclesiastical governments can confer it or take it away. It is the birthright of the individual, and inalienable. But the hierarchy of Rome, in its insatiable thirst for power and blasphemous presumption, claims the *conscience* of every human being. We need not ask where it derived this claim; for the demand is so absurd that nature, reason, and heaven, at once belie it, and declare its foul usurpation. It, of course,

like every other tyrannical usurpation of that corrupt church, only proves its astonishing impudence in making the demand. But, nevertheless, it issues its dogmas and decrees to this effect, and from the eleventh century to this hour has subjugated the *conscience* of its votaries. They must think as the church—that is, the priests—think. They must not dare to assume the exercise of reason and freedom of conscience in any matters of faith, or in what concerns the priesthood; for the priests alone, not the Bible, nor heaven, enact their rules and publish their dogmas by which they claim the conscience. Pope Pius IX., only a few years ago, denounced the liberty of the press, and all Bible societies; and Archbishop Hughes confines the same liberty of conscience to the interior of the soul. “There is not,” says he, “a single religious book, of common reputation, in the Roman Catholic church, which does not make unlimited obedience to a priestly confessor the safest and most perfect way to salvation.”

Are you ready, parents, to commit your daughters to the guidance and care of Jesuits and Jesuitesses, whose one great aim is to teach them to renounce the native sentiment of liberty, to proselyte

them to their faith, and to get hold of the conscience? Do you consent that they should surrender this right, this American principle, the grand principle of their indefeasible inheritance? But, by placing them in Romish seminaries, you place them in a situation where, from all past experience, not one in twenty, if one at all, ever escapes the snare. The conductors of these establishments make to you very fair promises, and will deny any attempt at creating a sectarian feeling, with a view to detach their affections from the ties of family or home, or to alienate their free Protestant preferences; but it is the art of their profession to deceive, and their very oath and their invariable practice contradict these statements. One of the maxims of Jesuits is, to prevaricate, to affirm, or deny, as the case requires. Another maxim is, "the end justifies the means;" and as any means for their interest are justified, so truth or lying is equally ready at their command. And so common is this vice of lying, not only among the Jesuits, but among the more ignorant Papists, that the remark of the fact is proverbial among Protestants. And the wonder ceases when it is known that the maxims of the Jesuits inculcate duplicity and deceit in all their

phases. For the proof of this, we need only refer to their rules and instructions contained in their published books, and in the "Moral Theologies" of Ligori, Escobar, Bellarmine, and Dens, which are the text-books for candidates preparing for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, Ireland, and in all similar institutions in Europe and America,

6th. THESE SEMINARIES ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE, UNDER THEIR PLAUSIBLE DISGUISE, ROME HOPES TO REPEL THE CHARGE THAT SHE IS HOSTILE TO KNOWLEDGE, AND THUS ENTICE PROTESTANT SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO BECOME THE VICTIMS OF THEIR TREACHEROUS PURPOSES.

This proposition, that Rome is hostile to knowledge, would seem paradoxical, since the Romish church boasts of being the channel of the transmission of learning for six hundred years before the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, and exhibits such zealous endeavors to set up schools and colleges in the United States. But we shall show that these pretensions of Rome are but deception; that they are intended to create a false impression over the minds both of Papists and Protestants in the United States. That *Rome is the enemy of knowledge,*

that is, opposed to the general diffusion of it among the body of the people, is a truth conclusively established by such facts and considerations as the following, namely: There have been other channels beside Rome to transmit the learning of previous centuries, namely, the Greek church, whose patriarchs, through the whole existence of the Romish church, have been cotemporary and in regular parallel succession with the Popes, down to the present day. The Greek church is as old as the Roman; and so is the Waldensian church, which, through all the persecuting wars which Rome waged against her during the dark ages, still preserved her separate identity. The Popes, certainly, have carefully preserved whatever works of great writers she possessed, for the simple reason that they very rigorously locked their books up in the libraries, not allowing any one to open a single volume, — they were forbidden books. It was no difficulty, it can easily be imagined, for the Popes to preserve their books for centuries, as we shall show in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

CARDINAL WISEMAN, in his lecture, delivered in Leeds, said that science, literature, and the arts, never flourished more luxuriantly than under the papal system, and that the Romish church is the mother of all wisdom. In proof of this proposition, he refers to Italy. He said, in substance, Italy is the first country in Europe in point of talent and genius, and it is also the foremost country of the papal dominion; therefore, the papal domination is the immediate creator and patron of lofty genius in science, literature, and art. That is evidently false; for Ireland is the greatest country in the United Kingdom for talent, producing the best order of poets, orators, and scientific and literary men. But Ribbon Societies are an exclusively Irish institution; therefore Ribbon Societies produce the best orators, poets, statesmen, and literary people, of all the United Kingdom. Is not that as good an argument as Cardinal Wiseman's? If in Italy there is still great genius, it is not because

Italy is under papal dominion, but it is because Italy is Italy, and she produces great genius not by the ruling of the Pope, but because it is, as it were, the natural product of her sun and soil. It was not a Pope that called forth the genius of a Cicero, a Virgil, a Livy, and a Horace, and all the ancient poets and orators. Her genius is not from the Pope, but it is in spite of the Pope and Popery. Therefore, the great men of that country appertain to Italy, and not to the Vatican. In Rome itself, the Popes, in many instances, have been destroyers instead of conservators of the glorious works of antiquity. Pope Barberini destroyed the Coliseum, in order to build palaces for his bastard children with the venerable marbles of that once splendid edifice; whilst Urban robbed the Pantheon of many of its glories. What has the Roman Catholic church done to compare with the memorials of the ancient Roman civilization? The dome — the great beauty of the Basilica of St. Peter — is the dome of the ancient Pantheon; that is, the idea was taken by Michael Angelo from that building. Certainly, the Popes, not for the sake of the people, but for their own advantage, built many very fine churches, and they employed able

artists to beautify them. Wiseman spoke of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Galileo, in support of his proposition. But Dante was persecuted by the Popes, and his works were forbidden to be read until two centuries ago; the Jesuits even now exclude his writings from their schools. Petrarch was forbidden to be read, too, because he wrote two sonnets satirizing a Pope. Boccaccio is also denounced; in fact, all the great writers of Italy have been placed in the Inquisitorial *Index Expurgatorius*. That is the patronage of the Roman church for men of letters.

The figure of St. Peter, which Rome boasts of being such a noble specimen of art, and which is placed for admiring reverence in her temple, is an ancient bronze Jupiter. The splendid ruins of art left by pagan Rome to papal Rome only served to the latter as quarries. By accident of position, papal Rome became trustee; but a more reckless and scandalous trustee there never was than the Vatican proved for ages. The fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders were torn down from their porticos, and broken up for building material. The marbles of Paros and Numidia were burned for lime. Ever since the admiration of

strangers for what remained, after ages of such waste, awoke Rome to the value of her treasures, she has been their careful custodian. But, without doubt, all the destruction wrought upon the monuments of antiquity by all the Goths and Vandals that ever set foot in Rome was a bagatelle to the dilapidation carried on by the Popes. Let this boast, therefore, of Cardinal Wiseman, and the priestly and lay lecturers in the United States, of Rome's being the warm and liberal patron of expansive genius and learning, no longer impose upon superficial minds and credulous Protestants. Rome has always shackled the human faculties; always cramped human genius; always kept the Scriptures shut up from the people; always performed much of her service in an unknown tongue; always opposed liberal investigations of either morals, philosophy, or theology.

Did she not condemn Galileo for asserting a true problem of science? Did not her hostility to the culture of the masses, and closing the fountains of literature, and discouraging light and knowledge, create the "Dark Ages"? *Did she not thunder forth her bull against the inventor of the art of printing, and tremble when the first Bible appeared*

in type? Did she not frame the *Index Expurgatorius*, which put an interdict upon many of the most splendid works of learning, and which is still in full force, with many additions of the most valuable and popular books, such a Milton, Macaulay's History, Irving's Life of Washington, and numerous other kindred works, which contain liberal ideas, and advocate the freedom of man? What anathemas and execrations did she pour out upon the illustrious reformer, Luther, for advocating free inquiry, and opening the sources of knowledge! And have not her priests and most prominent writers, participating in this spirit of defamation, assailed that defender, and all the reformers who shone as bright lights amid Rome's moral and intellectual darkness, and emitted their fruitful venom? Have not the priests and Romish presses in our country denounced liberal inquiry and Protestant education, which favors the free and manly improvement of the mind, and the development of all its rational and noble faculties?

Macaulay, in his History, observes that, "The loveliest provinces in Europe have, under the rule of Rome, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor; while Protestant

countries, once proverbial for their sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes, statesmen, philosophers, and poets." Yes, Rome is an enemy to the human race, and seeks to hide the "key of knowledge" from all within her withering influence. We could write not merely a few brief paragraphs, but a volume, to illustrate this truth. The following specimens, among numberless others which are passing in the world, to establish the proof of our proposition, we present to the reader.

"*The Univers*, the most celebrated organ of the Jesuits in France," says the *Congregationalist*, "is speaking openly against the use of the living languages or popular idioms in the sciences, letters, and arts, as well as in theology, and regrets that books are not now written in Latin, as in the middle ages. All knowledge must be confined to a few select minds, in order that the priests may retain an unbroken hold on the multitude; wide and thorough discussions on any subject are dangerous, because they liberalize the mind, and cherish the thirst for intellectual improvement that ill comports with the great aims of Romanism, — to bind the world over to ignorance, for the sake of pecuniary accumulation. The time was, till the seventeenth century, when books on medicine, history, the natural sciences, astronomy, and politics, were written in Latin, and the common people were excluded from all knowledge, except

of the catechism, which the curate taught them; the return of such times is equivalent to the return of 'the golden age' in the eyes of the Jesuit fathers, and for it they are laboring, though in their labors at sowing the wind, they are preparing to reap the whirlwind."

Sir Walter Scott, in his "Life of Napoleon," alluding to Spain, says, "The education of the nobility was committed to the priests, who took care to give them no lights beyond Catholic bigotry."

M. Leone, an Italian, settled in England, now engaged on the great work of the codification of the commercial laws of Great Britain, paid a visit to Italy during the Italian republic.

"On the fall of the pontifical government," said he, "the republicans immediately established schools in every town, and village, and rural district. There were day-schools, and night-schools, and Sabbath-schools. I was inexpressibly delighted at the wonderful change. But, ah! back came the Pope; and in a week, in one short week, every one of these schools was closed! Italy is again sunk in its old torpor and stagnation, and one black cloud of barbaric ignorance extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic! I sat down," says he, "on the steps of the Temple of Vesta, which, though crumbling with age, is one of the most beautiful of the ruins of Rome. Three boys, the eldest fifteen years of age, came about me, to beg a few *baicchi*. I took an opportunity of putting a few questions to them, judging them a fair sample of the Roman youth. The following dialogue occurred:

"'Can you tell me,' I asked, 'who made the world?

The question started a subject on which they seemed never to have thought before. They stood in a muse for some seconds; and then all three looked around them, as if they expected to see the world's Maker, or to read his name somewhere. At last the youngest and smartest of the three spoke briskly up, 'The masons, Signore.' It was now my turn to feel the excitement of a new idea. Yet I thought I could see the train of thought that led to the answer. The masons had made the baths of Caracalla; the masons had made the Coliseum, and those other stupendous structures which in bulk rival the hills, and seem as eternal as the earth on which they rest; and why might not the masons have made the whole affair? I might have puzzled the boy by asking, 'But who made the masons?' My object, however, was simply to ascertain the amount of his knowledge. I demurred to the proposition that the masons had made the world, and desired them to try again. They did try again; and at last the eldest of the three found his way to the right answer, — 'God.' 'Have you ever heard of Christ?' I asked. 'Yes.' 'Who is he? Can you tell me anything about him?' I could elicit nothing under these heads. 'Whose Son is he?' I then asked. 'He is Mary's Son,' was the reply. 'Where is Christ?' I inquired. 'He is on the Cross,' replied the boy, folding his arms, and making the representation of a crucifix. 'Was Christ ever on earth?' I asked. He did not know. 'Are you aware of anything he ever did?' He had never heard of anything that Christ had done. I saw that he was thinking of those hideous representations which are to be seen in all the churches of Rome, of a man hanging on a cross. That was the Christ of the boys. Of Christ the Son of the living God, — of Christ the Saviour of sinners, and of his death as an atonement for human guilt, — they had never

heard. In a city swarming with professed ministers of the Gospel, these boys knew no more of Christianity than if they had been Hottentots."

And now, in the view of all these clear and positive evidences, from her history and uniform practice, that Rome is hostile to knowledge, we ask, how is it that Rome is so zealously engaged in setting up schools and seminaries in the United States? The answer is ready at hand: It is to create an impression on the minds of our Protestant people that she is a warm friend to education. In this land of light and intelligence, she is necessarily forced to put on an *appearance* of being that patron, to avoid the imputation of the opposite charge, which she, with adroit Jesuitism, knows would be injurious to her interests, and might entirely frustrate all her plans of papal aggrandizement and influence. She must, therefore, assume this pretension, and *appear* to be the friend of education. But, in the midst of all these attempts to delude superficial Protestants, the "cloven foot" protrudes, the symbolic type of its owner. She arrogantly approaches the state superintendent and committees of schools, and demands the *exclusion of the Bible* from Protestant schools. These Prot-

estant officers, not being adepts in the crafty schemes of this enemy of our noble system of education, thoughtlessly complied, in some instances, with the demand, and thus betrayed the high trust reposed in them. The next subtle design was, to demand of the Legislature to divide the school funds of the state, to favor her Jesuit sectarian plan of separate schools for her sectarian ends. In this she has not yet succeeded. Other demands she has made, all going to establish the fact that Rome is hostile to knowledge, and, with a seeming zeal, establishes schools and seminaries, to entice Protestant parents to send their daughters and sons into them, more effectually to accomplish her objects.

In conclusion, let me appeal to all classes of our people. Patriots, do you love your country? Do you value the priceless legacy transmitted by the fathers of the Revolution? Do you appreciate and rejoice in its Protestant laws, institutions, and government; in its charter of independence; in the value of its American system of education, and in its model schools, which approach nearer to perfection than any yet devised by the skill, wisdom, experience, and genius, of man? Are you awake

to guard inviolate these inestimable privileges and sentinels of liberty from the touch of ruthless hands, and from the spoliation and corruptions of the invader? Then never let the public funds be used for sectarian, foreign purposes; and give no countenance to papal approaches, whose hierarchy is the bane of knowledge, and in deadly hostility to this free republic. The following document, from the Roman Catholic journal at Buffalo, will show the confidence with which that hierarchy is at work in the United States :

“Whoever undervalues the spiritual power of the church in the United States wanders in a fearful labyrinth. We have not only seven archbishops, thirty-three bishops, and seventeen hundred and four priests, all in the service of the Pope and the church, but we have also thirty-one colleges, thirty-seven seminaries, and a hundred and seventeen female academies, all founded by the Jesuits, bringing danger and death to unbelief and mischief, to American Know-nothingism, and un-American radicalism. And the hierarchal band which, like a golden thread, surrounds forty-one dioceses and two apostolic vicarites, and stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the still waters of the Pacific, and maintains an invisible secret magnetic connection with Rome, — this hierarchy is to us a sure guarantee that the church, perhaps after severe struggles and sufferings, will one day come off victorious over all the sects of America. It is computed that there are, at present, more than two millions of Catholic inhabitants in the United States who are bap-

tized and confirmed Catholic soldiers of the Lord, and who, at the first summons, will assemble in rank and file; then will men not undervalue the power of the Catholic church in the United States. I will scatter sand in no one's eyes, and therefore I stand forth openly, and directly declare that the power and the influence of the Catholic church are stronger than many believe. Whoever doubts this must be either a fool, or blind."

In this document, my countrymen, weigh the expressions, "the secret magnetic connection with Rome," and that these papal seminaries and colleges are "*all founded by the Jesuits*;" and then consider the dangers which hover over our land.

Fathers, mothers, do you love your children? Can you intrust the dearest objects upon which your parental hopes, and the joys of the family roof, centre, to the supervision and charge of Jesuits and Jesuitesses? Why do the conductors of these papal seminaries manifest such a remarkable zeal in pursuit of females, and especially the daughters of Protestant parents? They know that, in gaining them, they can secure the most powerful influence, and often gratify their avaricious desires in greater profits; but the one great end they have in view is, to proselyte them to their faith. Remember, they give a special preference to Protestants. They select the most wealthy and

beautiful, and persuade them to the confessional and into the convent; and, when once secured there, they become the slaves of a tyrannic priesthood. O, could you comprehend their designs, — could you penetrate into one tithe of their art, and ruinous plots against the life, honor, and liberty, of your daughters, — you would start back aghast at the insidious and fatal sacrifice of the objects and images of your affection. Could the secrets of the confessionals be uncovered, there is not a priest that could stay in the city of New York, or Baltimore, or Philadelphia, one week. Pause, then, parents, I beg of you, while your daughters are safe on this side of an admission into these pestiferous and ruinous establishments!

HON. EDWIN O. PERRIN.

THE father of this American, the late Judge Perrin, of Maryland, became one of the earliest settlers of Ohio, and at Springfield, in that state, the subject of this sketch was born. The death of his father, and the consequent deprivation of young Perrin's patrimony by the injudicious management of his estate, obliged him, like most of the public men of our country, to become the architect of his own fortune. After acquiring a suitable education by his industry and energy, he adopted the law as his profession, and studied with Judge Mason, of Ohio. Mr. Perrin subsequently removed to Memphis, Tennessee, where he married Miss Stanton, sister of the Hons. Richard and Frederick P. Stanton, late Representatives in Congress from Kentucky and Tennessee; and who, estimable for every excellence and virtue, is also admired for her intelligence, beauty, and accomplishments.

Under the administration of Gen. Taylor, Mr. Perrin was appointed navy agent of Memphis, and discharged the duties of that office with fidelity and faithfulness, until the accession of Franklin Pierce, who found Mr. Perrin's political principles good cause for removal. He then removed to the city of New York to pursue his profession, and united with the great American party in the attempt to restore the country to its pristine integrity and purity. In the elections of 1855 he became the eloquent defender of American

principles upon the hustings, and the people greeted him with enthusiasm wherever he was heard in that cause. A company of volunteers, soon after the success of the American ticket in New York, was organized as the "Perrin Guard," in that city; and in contending for the prize of a magnificent silver basket, presented by Mr. Perrin, the captain of that company said: "Our distinguished guest, Edwin O. Perrin: One of Tennessee's ablest orators. We extend to him a cordial welcome to the home of his adoption, the Empire City of the Empire State. Long may he live to defend with eloquent tongue our common country and our country's cause! Having adopted his name, let us emulate his devotion!" Mr. Perrin closed his speech with the following:

"The Volunteer Soldiery of New York: A standing army in time of peace, and no running army in time of war. Their discipline and courage at home have only been equalled by their patriotism and bravery abroad. May the junior American corps prove worthy descendants of their gallant seniors; maintaining for the future what *they* have so gallantly achieved in the past."

After the nomination of the American Presidential ticket, Mr. Perrin appeared again in the political field, to press with eloquence and earnestness the election of Millard Fillmore to the chief magistracy of the nation. Like the heroes of our Revolutionary battles, he put aside all other pursuits for the American cause, and is now winning "golden opinions," throughout the State of New York, for the intelligent persuasions and thrilling appeals he is making to the patriotism of the people, and which are the more effectively enforced because of the impregnable defences which surround and elevate his character.

COL. GARDNER B. LOCKE.

COL. GARDNER B. LOCKE was born in Rutherford County, Tennessee. His parents were Virginians, and his father served in the Revolutionary War.

Col. Locke moved to Memphis when that city was but a small trading-point, and its principal commerce was with the Indians. He has been undeviating, through life, in his devotion to the principles which now control and influence the action of the American party, and was always a warm admirer and personal friend of Henry Clay.

Col. Locke is remarkable for the untiring energy and pertinacity which he brings to the accomplishment of his undertakings, and is a prominent and active advocate of the election of Mr. Fillmore. He has been elected by the people to the mayoralty of Memphis, and has filled other posts of trust and confidence in his native state.

Col. Locke has a strong hold upon the respect and confidence of the people of the West. His faithfulness to duty, and the integrity and uprightness of his character, are the sure guarantees that his popularity will be as lasting as it is elevated.

ALFRED BREWSTER ELY

WAS born in Monson, Hampden County, Massachusetts, on the 30th of January, A. D. 1817, and is now, consequently, in the fortieth year of his age. His father is the Rev. Alfred Ely, D.D., who for fifty years has been pastor of the Orthodox Congregational church in Monson; and whose good report, as one of the noblest and best of Christian men and devoted ministers, is in all the churches. His mother was a daughter of Major-General Timothy Newell, who served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. Through his grandmother, on the father's side, Mr. Ely traces his descent directly, and with only five removes, from Elder William Brewster, one of the original Plymouth pilgrims, and famous among the passengers of the Mayflower. With such an ancestry, he may well be proud of his decided American and Puritan proclivities.

Mr. Ely at an early age evinced talents of a superior character. His natural abilities were of high order, and his facilities for acquiring an education were, fortunately, excellent. He was industrious as a student, and, having finished his academical course, entered the freshman class of Amherst College in the fall of 1832. Here he remained four years, and graduated with distinguished honor. Mr. Ely left college in the fall of 1836, and, after spending a year in Brattleboro', Vermont, as the principal of the high school in that village, went to Fayetteville, North Carolina,

where he remained two years, as assistant to his old preceptor, Rev. S. Colton, then principal of the Donaldson Academy in that place. Thence he went to New York, and entered upon the duties of a cashier of one of the banks in that state. But our limited space will not allow of a detailed account of Mr. Ely's rapid rise to an eminent position at the bar, and in the political party whose cause he has espoused. Even in college Mr. Ely was noted for what is now called Native Americanism. His first public performance, after leaving college, was of a Native American character; and his first lyceum lecture, delivered at Springfield, soon after he went there, was decidedly of that stamp. Consequently, when the American movement of 1844 was first started, Mr. Ely was already indoctrinated and prepared to act. He was an able and indefatigable champion in the election of December, 1844, which resulted in the election of an American mayor. He participated in the convention held at Philadelphia, presided over by that noble man and true-hearted patriot, General Henry A. S. Dearborn, of Massachusetts. In the enumeration of the principles in the declaration emanating from that body, Mr. Ely's mind and hand were both conspicuous. Always prominent and efficient at all the subsequent conventions, it is unnecessary to enumerate them. In 1846, Mr. Ely introduced the patriotic Order of United Americans into Massachusetts; the first chapter thereof (Hancock chapter) being instituted in his office, by Hon. Thomas R. Whitney, of New York. Rising rapidly through the different gradations of this noble order, Mr. Ely has attained to the highest position (that of Arch Grand Sachem), being the third in succession; the other two having been Hon. Thomas R. Whitney, M. C., and Hon. Jacob Broom, M. C. He still holds this high honor, and is the head and front of that purely American body of

true patriots, who form the breakwater against which the floods and storms of the factional elements beat in vain. They cannot be driven from their position, although treason may thwart their efforts, and traitors betray them. If there is gratitude in the American heart of Massachusetts, the subject of this brief memoir will be rewarded for his many years of hard labor in behalf of the cause dear to all Americans. Possessing executive talents of the highest order, and gifted with a large stock of common sense, and great independence and integrity of character, he is rarely wrong in his judgments, and is seldom turned from his opinions. He is eminently a national man. Never willing to commit an aggression, he is always the first to resent one. With his stern sense of right, and his unflinching will to vindicate that right, into no safer hands could the welfare of any party or the people be committed.

One of the Old Guard Americans, firmest and truest when least was to be gained, Mr. Ely deserves the gratitude, the respect, and the warm esteem and confidence, of all true patriots and Americans.

MR. SIDNEY KOPMAN.

THE father of this sketch was the late Louis Kopman, of New York. He was introduced into the United States by Robert Southey, the poet, and William Roscoe, the historian, of Liverpool, and was eminent in his day as one of the largest importers of British goods in New York and Savannah, Georgia. Mr. Kopman was a scholar, an accomplished gentleman, and an unobtrusive Christian, in communion with the Church of England; and after enjoying for more than eighty years the most faultless reputation in every relation in life, he has transmitted these excellences of character to his son, whose portrait appears in these pages.

Mr. Sidney Kopman was born in New York, and was educated to the mercantile profession; and, after a long experience as clerk in his own city, he became a merchant in Memphis, Tennessee. During the period of the Mexican war, he acted as the efficient chief clerk to Capt. Wm. K. Latimer, of the United States Navy, at the Pensacola Navy Yard. He there founded a lodge of the benevolent society of Odd Fellows, and for many years has been an active and prominent member of the Masonic fraternity. He contributed the leading editorials of the *Pensacola Gazette*, when in Florida.

After the Mexican war closed, Mr. Kopman was among the first to make a commercial exploration to California, by

the way of Cape Horn. In this perilous voyage of six months, he most miraculously escaped shipwreck at Terra del Fuego, the extreme point of Patagonia. He was at Juan Fernandez, visited the Island of Madeira, was present at the opening of the Chilian congress, and slept two weeks upon the Andes Mountains. He was presented, with several other Americans, to the Emperor of Brazil, at Rio Janeiro, and penetrated the interior of that state to visit the diamond mines; and, finally, after the completion of a most hazardous voyage of twenty-three thousand miles, with the attendant evils, at one time, of a threatened famine, he settled down in San Francisco and Sacramento, California, for some months, to make a survey of the country, and then return to New York, by the way of Mexico.

The Mercantile Library of his native city, New York, was for many years an object of the deepest solicitude to Mr. Kopman, and to whose energy and action, as a member of that association, may be attributed much of the present position and standing of the institution. He has recently been elected an honorary member of the historical society at Madison, Wisconsin.

Mr. Kopman early enlisted in the great national movement to regenerate the country, and has been one of the most earnest and active members of the American party. In the formation of organizations in the country, he has efficiently contributed in the three past years, by inducing prominent men, who have visited New York, to unite with the American order, which prepared the way for their individual cooperation when they returned to their own homes. From four to five hundred members, who are now exerting an extended influence in their respective localities, gave their first adhesion to the cause under the earnest pleadings of this true American; while the author cannot neglect

to acknowledge the valuable data furnished by Mr. Kopman in connection with this work.

Few possess more extended literary acquirements, or a better-cultivated taste, than Mr. Kopman; and his remarkable gift of remembering all that he has read would not make it inappropriate to style him a moving *cyclopaedia* of useful knowledge. But the crowning virtue of the man is in the beauty of his character, his high moral rectitude, and his pure integrity.

THOMAS H. CLAY, ESQ

THOMAS H. CLAY, Esq., the second son of the illustrious Henry Clay, was born in Lexington, Ky., on the 23d September, 1803. He was educated partly at the United States Military Academy at West Point, and in Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky.

He studied law in 1825 and '26 with Judge Boyle, Chief Justice of the State of Kentucky, and one of the judges of the Court of Appeals. In 1826 he was licensed to practise law by the Court of Appeals, consisting of Judges Boyle, Ouseley, and Mills. Early in life he became disgusted with the practice of the profession, and abandoned it.

In 1837 Mr. Clay married the daughter of a French gentleman residing near Lexington, by whom he has a family of five children, three daughters and two sons.

He has never aspired to any political station; but, having been appointed a delegate to the National Council, held in Philadelphia, in February last, by the American Councils of the Ashland District, he thought it his duty to attend the Council and Nominating Convention, to which, as a delegate, he was also appointed.

Endorsing fully the action of the Council and Convention, he ardently desires the success of Fillmore and Donelson at the approaching election for President and Vice-President. Perhaps in the election of no individual could the son of Henry Clay feel so great an interest as in that

of his father's old and tried friend, Millard Fillmore; and, actuated by the holiest love for the Union, and the common welfare of all sections, that great patriot, statesman, and Christian, declared, as he went down to his grave, conscious of having given his best services and his whole heart to his country, that he preferred and wished that Millard Fillmore might be elected by the people to rule over it.

Thomas H. Clay avows his belief that, did his father still live, he would now preside over the destinies of the American party, as the only national party, and the last refuge of the American Union. He himself, has, within a few weeks, been elected to the Presidency of the Council of the State of Kentucky, and, honoring the high name of his illustrious parent, is laboring to save the Union in its present emergency.

GENERAL NATHAN RANNEY.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Bethlehem, in the State of Connecticut, the 27th of April, 1797. In the war with England, 1812, he entered the army of the United States, though but sixteen years of age; and his determined bravery, and fearlessness in the discharge of his duties, made him prominent in every battle, and exposed him to every danger in the thickest of the fight. But, his only purpose in enlisting in the war being a patriotic one, he was steadfast in his refusal of all promotion tendered him, and adhered to his original intention of remaining in the service during the five years for which he had enlisted. It cannot be doubted that, had his ambition led him to a different decision, he would long since have occupied the highest rank among the gallant men of the army.

In 1819, Gen. Ranney located in St. Louis, Missouri, where, as a prominent member of society and an enterprising merchant, he has eminently assisted in the opening prosperity of St. Louis, and possesses a hold upon the confidence and esteem of the community equal to that enjoyed by any other resident.

In 1827, he became a member of the Presbyterian Church. And so faithful, active, and consistent, has he proved, in the discharge of every Christian duty belonging to his religious profession, that he has held the important and responsible position of elder, almost ever since, in the

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congregation with which he worships. "All that I am is through the blessing of God," has been the glorious sentiment which has emulated this noble American to action, and given him a name that kings, with their sceptres, might wisely envy.

In 1855, the convention of the soldiers of 1812 met in Philadelphia. Gen. Ranney addressed that assembly in these words:

"**FELLOW-CITIZENS AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS:** Much has been said in relation to the militia of this country, and their services in the late war with Great Britain. They are, indeed, the bulwark and safety of our country; but, while just honors have been paid to them, the gallant spirits who fought by their side with equal honor and equal success — the soldiers of the regular army of 1812 — were not mentioned. I propose, on this occasion, to make a few remarks in relation to the regular soldiers of that eventful war.

"It will be recollected by most of you, perhaps, that the soldiers and officers of 1812 came from the first families of the land. They entered the army, not as mercenaries, but from patriotic motives, with a determination to serve their country, and drive back the myrmidons of Britain from our sacred soil. [Applause.] I will give you briefly the history of one of those soldiers, which, with some modifications, may be the history of every soldier in the regular army.

"There was a lad belonging to one of the most respectable families of the United States, who, at the age of sixteen years, was the favored of his family. At that age he left his home and his school, and enlisted as a private in the 29th Regiment for five years. His father's brother, who was a colonel in the army, obtained an order for the boy's discharge. The discharge came, and was refused. [Great applause.] A commission was also offered him, and that, too, was refused. This lad served under General Wool. He was one of the three hundred who met Governor Provost eighteen miles from Plattsburg, and who cut

their way, inch by inch, until they reached the banks of the Saranac. He was one of thirty who crossed the Saranac and set fire with hay and tar to the underbrush of dry pine directly under the guns of the British battery, and returned across the Saranac by floating a hundred yards down that stream, and fainting from the loss of blood. He was but one of a regiment through whose instrumentality, in part, the British lion was made to turn in defeat from the American eagle. [Applause.] This same person, in the darkness of night, led twenty men into a British town of five hundred inhabitants, and where British guards were stationed to defend it, and took three distinguished prisoners, and carried them safely into the American camp, with loss of only one man wounded. He was made a sergeant, and afterwards a provost-marshal, that being the highest non-commissioned officer in the army. But he did not seek the life of a soldier as a profession. He determined to serve his country as a patriot, and when national honor and national rights were vindicated to return into civil life. Now, in the far West, the lad then, but man now, has reared an interesting family, and maintains a good name there, and commands the respect and honor of his fellow-men. [Voices — "Give us his name!"] I'll come to that by and by. I know, fellow-soldiers, that so dearly does that man love the quiet and unostentatious position which he now occupies, that were Congress at this day to offer to confer upon him a title of Lieutenant-General of our army, or any other trust of a like character, that he would refuse it. If he has served his country, it alone is satisfaction. He has but discharged his duty. [Applause.]

Fellow-soldiers, many of us will never meet each other again on this side of Jordan. This meeting is interesting to me — more so than any which it has been my fortune to ever attend, since the scenes of that war. We have all fought our last fight — but we have still the warfare of life before us. Let us, then, so contend that we shall win a crown of victory, and be led by the eternal Captain of our salvation to our last, our eternal home in heaven! [Great applause, and cries of 'Tell us the name of that boy.']

Fellow-soldiers, he stands now before you. [Renewed applause, and nine cheers for General Ranney.]”

In 1836, General Ranney was induced to accept the post of Brigadier-General in the Missouri militia; which he filled with honor to himself, and entire acceptability to those under his command. This constitutes the only military situation he has consented to occupy in his adopted state.

In politics, he was an original Jackson democrat, and until the American party was organized he was well known as a leader in the ranks of the democracy of the state. He was among the first to enrol his name upon the records of the party to which he is now attached, and of which he is a firm, bold, and eloquent advocate. He feels, as do his brethren everywhere, all over America, that the safety of the Union and of the nation depends upon guarding the ballot-box from the inroads that are being made upon it by the influx of foreigners; opposition to extremists both of the South and the North; a conservative, peace-loving, and country-loving band of patriots, who are ready and willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of their native land. In his youth, he fought for his country; in his manhood, he has prayed for it; and in his old age, he is ready to die for it.

The same influences which led Gen. Ranney to battle for his country when a youth of only sixteen summers have again brought him into the present American revolution; and to an immense gathering of freemen in the rotunda of the court-house of St. Louis, in March, 1856, who had convened to ratify the American nominations for President and Vice President, he spoke as follows :

“AMERICANS: We are here, not as Northern men from the North, not as Southern men from the South, but as

Union men of the United States. We meet to give a hearty sanction to the Philadelphia nomination of President and Vice President.

"We have had but one Washington and Jackson, one Webster and Clay, and but one Calhoun.

"Fillmore and Donelson are good men,—the best in the Union. A better, a stronger, a more suitable nomination, cannot be made by any party, nor one better calculated to succeed. Three times in my life I have rejoiced with exceeding great joy; first when, in 1814, at Plattsburgh, one thousand four hundred Americans defeated fourteen thousand of Lord Wellington's best troops."

* * * * *

"The constitution must be preserved from violation. The one billion five hundred million dollars of slave property is nothing, compared with the worth of the Union. Ay, can the ten thousand millions of property in the world purchase of us the fame of Washington, or the memory of Yorktown, of Monmouth, of Saratoga, or of Plattsburgh and New Orleans? No! the Union *must*—it shall—it will be saved! The nation looks to us for its safety. The good men of the North will help us, and our prospects are good. We take no step backward; our platform is the constitution and the rights of the states.

"The Christian who throws away his Bible has no religion. The American who throws away the constitution has *no country*. Americans, let our party do right, and act right, if the heavens fall!

"The third time of my joy was at the nomination of Fillmore and Donelson. My reasons are, that the nominees are worthy; that the country looked for such men, with the determination to elect them."

On the 4th of June, 1856, the American party of Missouri held a mass meeting at *Hannibal*, in that state. Gen. Ranney was present to enforce the principle that "Americans alone should rule America." And he did it with a

will, which found its way with electric power into the hearts of thousands. He told the people that

“ For more than thirty years he was a consistent, an unflinching democrat, and that he had acted with them in good faith as long as they had continued honest and pure in principles; but two years ago his conviction was certain that the democratic party had changed, had become corrupt; and he had done what every honest man should do,— thrown himself body and soul into the great American cause; that he had become a member of the only party truly national, and truly devoted to the preservation of this Union.”

At a convention held in Burlington, Iowa, in October, 1851, a member from St. Louis, in a set speech, declared that “ while the rains of heaven were refreshing and fructifying the earth, and swelling the tide of the Mississippi, *he thanked his God that not one drop came from SOUTH CAROLINA!!!*”

Gen. Ranney, his personal friend, born in New England, but loving the whole Union, rebuked him, with this significant language, for his wanton attack upon a sister state: “ Why, sir,” said he, “ attempt to goad men on to madness, who were placed under different circumstances with ourselves, and of which we know but little? ”

He then referred to the glorious history of this chivalric and heroic state,— to the memory of Marion, Sumpter, Greene, and others; to the battles of Yorktown, Cowpens, and the Eutaw Springs, and asked the President, in a mild but emphatic manner, if all these were to be forgotten. He stated that there was one delegate in that assembly whose body had been scarred, and whose limbs had been disfigured, while fighting side by side with the Carolinian against our ancient foe in the war of 1812.

He also referred to the choicest blood of South Carolina

which had enriched the plains of Mexico, and said, "Mr. President, shall we be no longer allowed to revere and honor these events, and be compelled to steel our hearts against the noble actors in them?"

"Sir, the rains of heaven, falling upon the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains, refreshing and fructifying the soil of South Carolina, ran some of it down her rivers, and some of these 'drops' helped to swell the tide of the sea that floated the Constitution, the Guerriere, the Wasp, and the Hornet, and enabled the American navy to obtain victory and renown."

Said Gen. Ranney, "Is this gallant state to be made accountable for all the vagaries of some of her Hotspurs, and mistaken friends?"

"Why not attack good old New England, the land of churches and school-houses, and make her accountable for the infamy of the Hartford Convention, and the infernal acts of her hosts of abolitionists, who cast aside the laws of the land, and the authority of the Bible, and ridicule our holy religion? No, Mr. President," said Gen. Ranney, "I love New England, and I love South Carolina; and, with all their faults, I will love them still."

As president of the Missouri Bible Society, Gen. Ranney is also known for his distinguished efforts to advance the circulation of the Word of God, as well as diffuse its spirit among his fellow-men.

Gen. Ranney is the artificer of his own fortune, and his industry, intelligence, and energy, have more than supplied any deficiency of early culture; while the history of his life is replete with every virtue, and, without flaw or blemish, may well serve as a model for every American patriot.

LETTER FROM MR. FILLMORE.

“*Washington, Feb. 16, 1852.*”

“HENRY O’RIELLY, ESQ. Dear Sir: I have your letter of the 12th [which enclosed a Memorial], and have perused it with pleasure, as I take a deep interest in any project calculated to facilitate the intercommunication between the Atlantic and the Pacific states.

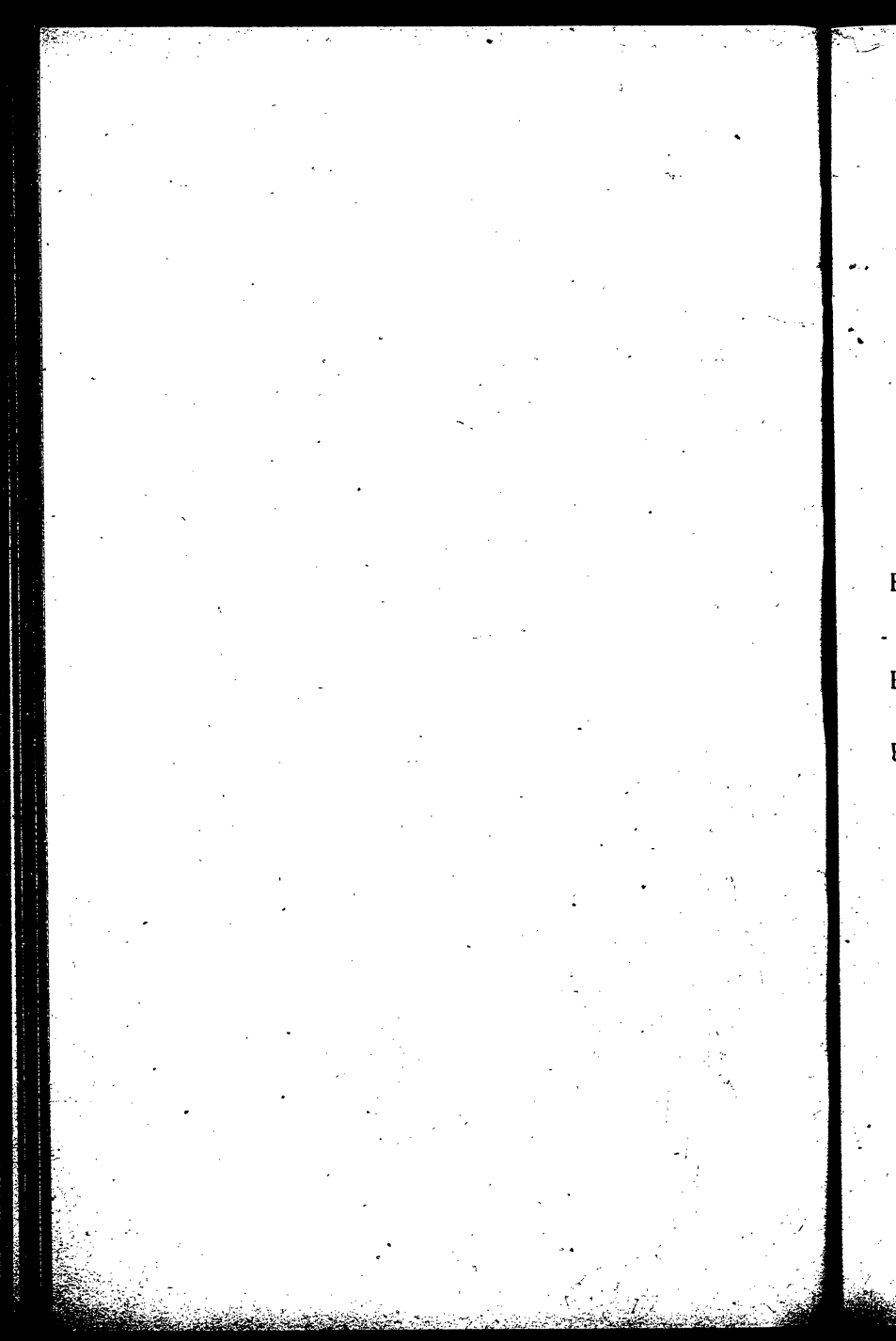
“If we cannot bind those states to us by roads, railroads, and telegraph lines, we may soon see them setting up for independence.

“The ‘home tie’ which binds the Californian to his native state on the Atlantic will grow weaker every day; and a new generation will soon arise, that ‘know not *the East*, and *then* the ONLY BOND OF UNION will be a COMMON COUNTRY, and a COMMON GLORY, and a COMMON INTEREST, that can only be *equalled* by a free and uninterrupted communication from the seat of government to every part of this wide-spread republic.

“I shall be happy to receive a copy of that part of the Report of the St. Louis National Convention to which you refer; and after I have had time to peruse it, it will give me pleasure to receive from you any verbal explanations which you may be pleased to give.

“I am your obedient servant,

“MILLARD FILLMORE.”



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