



Engr'd by A.H. Buchac.

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ELEMENTS

OF

CIVIL LIBERTY,

OR,

THE WAY TO MAINTAIN FREE INSTITUTIONS.

BY WILLIAM WISNER, D. D.

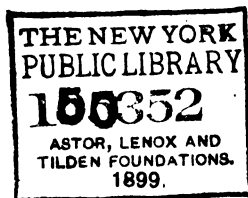
Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.—John viii. 32.

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W.



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P R E F A C E .

A conviction that the permanence of our free institutions in this country, and the improvement of the condition of civil and religious society in other lands, depend upon the minds of men being more deeply imbued with those great elementary principles which lie at the foundation of all that is lovely and of good report among men, has led the author to address his fellow citizens on this subject. The American people seem to have settled down in a belief that our fathers have built our republic upon so solid a foundation, that no care on our part is necessary to preserve it. They appear to have forgotten that our government is only an experiment, to prove whether a nation, under any circumstances, can govern itself. Frequent

experiments of the kind had previously been made, but they had all, by their failure, furnished arguments for despots, that liberal institutions could not be sustained in our fallen world. Our revolutionary sires built their hopes of the success of their experiment on the virtue and intelligence of the American people. They knew that government was an institution of heaven, and that the elementary principles of all good government must be sought in the word of the Eternal. It is to call the minds of our citizens to the contemplation of these great principles, that this little volume has been prepared and published, and if it may, by the blessing of God, secure this object in any humble degree, the writer will feel that he has not labored in vain, nor spent his strength for naught.

ITHACA, March, 1853.

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E R R A T A .

Page 34, 1st line, for requires, read require.

" 57, 14th line, for uses, read use.

" 70, 11th line, for though, read through.

" 213, 23d line, for inconsistent, read consistent.

INTRODUCTION.

Since the fathers have fallen asleep, theories upon the origin of civil government, and the source of its authority, have been promulgated, which are subversive of the public peace and order, and which, if not corrected, will undermine the foundation of our republic. We are told, by men in high places, that government is a mere human expedient, adopted by a people from prudential considerations alone, and that its authority rests on no higher ground than the power which the individuals who compose the nation, have delegated to those who may represent them in office.

According to this theory, the punishment of offences committed against the state, instead of proceeding upon the ground of moral guilt, goes entirely upon the principles of human expediency. Theft, and other crimes, must be

punished, not because the culprit is guilty, but because the good of society and the security of the citizen require a victim.

These false notions of the origin of civil institutions, and of the authority of rulers, have already done much to unsettle the mind of the nation on the nature and extent of individual responsibility, and the righteousness of punitive justice; and are manifesting their mischievous tendency in the production of *socialism*, anti-rentism, opposition to capital punishment, and the introduction of lynch law.

The advocates for abolishing capital punishment start, in their argument, with the assumption that civil government is a mere human institution, not only in its framework, but in its foundation and its sanctions, deriving all its authority from the people, by whom it was instituted; and that the civil ruler is, consequently, only responsible to the human source from whence he derives his authority. Having thus divorced the government from God, and stripped the ruler of all authority from above, they argue, that as the citizen can delegate to the state no authority which he does not possess, and as he possesses no authority over his own

life, the state can derive no right to take the life of the citizen for any offence.

But the argument does not end here. An individual has no more right to avenge himself upon others than he has to take his own life. God has forbidden the one as well as the other. His language is, "avenge not yourselves, *vengeance is mine, I will recompence, saith the Lord.*" But if the individual may not avenge himself at all, then he can delegate no such power to the state, and the state, according to this theory, has no authority to punish at all for any offence; but if it possesses no authority to punish, it possesses no power to govern, and the opponents of civil government have only to take up the argument where the opponents of capital punishment left it, to make out their theory.

Now, how are these arguments to be resisted, if we admit the soundness of the theory which we have been considering? It seems to us, that the conclusions at which the advocates of these two dangerous errors arrive, flow spontaneously from the premises which they have assumed, and that we must find another origin for civil government, and another source for its

authority, or abandon the institution to the tender mercies of its enemies.

What, then, is the true origin of government, and whence does the political ruler derive his authority?

Though the conjectural theories of writers upon this subject are numerous, the intelligent christian need be led astray by none of them. With the Bible in our hands, it will be easy to trace all human government back to laws and regulations emanating from God himself. The primitive pattern will be found in the rules given to parents for the regulation of the domestic circle. These rules, though at first applied to the government of a single family, contained a germ which was gradually developed, and was subsequently modified by successive revelations, so as to meet the wants of a community of families, and thus resulted in the patriarchal form of government.

After the murder of Abel and the expulsion of Cain, this form of government was kept up among the descendants of Adam, in the line of Seth, down to Noah, and after the flood, in the line of Shem, down to Abraham. In the family of this "friend of God," the model of the

patriarchal theocracy was preserved in its purity, until the children of Israel were brought up out of Egypt, when it was modified by the Eternal to meet the wants of a great nation.

Over this nation God himself presided, and while he owned it as his, held it up to the gaze of the world, as a divinely constituted model of civil government, down to the coming of Messiah.

From this interesting epoch, he ordered the gospel to be preached to every creature, and though he left each nation free to choose the form under which its government should be administered, yet he positively required all the rulers and judges of the earth, in the capacity of the representatives of the nation, to serve him with fear and rejoice with trembling before him, and to "kiss the Son," or recognize him in his mediatorial character. "Be wise, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little."

Here we have a complete history of the origin and progress of human government, from

the laws to regulate the single family, to the institutions for the government of a great nation. From the creation to the coming of Messiah, the Almighty presided over and directed all the movements of that branch of the human family from which the Savior was to descend, and though at the setting up of the Christian system in the world, he ceased to be the God of the Jew, in exclusion of the Gentile, yet he has never resigned his claim to be the originator of human government, and the source of all rightful authority.

In Romans, xiii. 1, 2, we read, "Let every soul be subject to the higher power. For there is no power but of God: The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." 1 Peter, ii. 13: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether to the king as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Though we do not suppose that these, and the parallel passages of scripture, teach what the despots of the earth call the "*Divine right of*

kings," yet they do clearly establish the doctrine, that God has ordained the institution of civil government, and when it is established, he clothes the civil ruler with power, which the people are bound to respect, and which they may not disregard with impunity. He leaves it with each nation to determine under what form its government shall be administered; but when that question is settled, the civil ruler becomes the minister of the Almighty, and derives his authority from on high; and "he who resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Since "the sceptre departed from Judah, and the lawgiver from between his feet," the Almighty has dictated to no nation what the form of its government should be, or who should be its rulers; but he has in mercy to mankind, ordained that they should have rulers, and when these are designated according to the constitution of the government, he recognizes them as his ministers, clothes them with authority, and requires the obedience of the people. Each nation settles its form of government, and the rulers are designated according to such form, whether by hereditary descent, or popu-

lar election; and when they are thus designated, the Lord invests them with authority.

The form of government, and the designation of rulers, are from the people; the official authority is from the Lord.

In a republic, election is the designation; in a hereditary government, birth. When a despot seizes the sceptre and ascends the throne by force of arms, the submission of the people is the constructive designation of such despot to supreme authority in the state. The government *defacto*, is recognized by Jehovah, and its rulers invested with authority by Him. The civil ruler is, therefore, in all nations, whatever may be the form of government, recognized by the Almighty, as the representative of the people, and as such is invested with power from on high to rule over them so long as the nation may submit to his government. But if the nation sees fit at any time, peaceably, or by revolution, to put down one ruler and put up another, or to remodel its form of government altogether, the divine investiture will pass to the new rulers as soon as the new dynasty, or the new form of government, shall be estab-

lished. Thus when the ten tribes had revolted from under Rehoboam, and chosen Jeroboam to be their king, God recognizes the new sovereign, and notwithstanding his great wickedness, made it the duty of the people to obey him, and through the whole history of the ten tribes, notwithstanding the dynasty was often changed, the civil magistrate was invested with power from on high. The same thing was true under the New Testament. The Roman emperors were as vile a class of men as could well have been found in the empire, and yet the Savior and his apostles honored them, and treated them as God's ministers, and charged the people to respect and obey them, as such.

This, we believe, is the true theory of human government, and this the source of all human authority.

THE
ELEMENTS OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BIBLE.

If what has been said in the introduction be true—if civil government is indebted to the holy scriptures for a knowledge of its origin, and for the authority of its rulers, it would follow that nations should look to them for the fundamental laws of their administration; and that a knowledge of the Bible and a high regard for its authority must be an element in the national character of any people who would be free and happy.

The history of the world abundantly confirms this conclusion. There has never yet been a nation which did not possess the holy scriptures,

or possessing, did not venerate and study them, in which civil and religious liberty have found a home. The pure atmosphere of truth and love, as it comes down to us through the medium of God's word, is the only one in which liberal institutions can subsist, and where this is not enjoyed, the people must be ruled with a rod of iron, as in Russia and Austria, or in the wild collisions of the masses, they will be dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel. All that is valuable in international law, or in the municipal regulations of any people will be found, on examination, to have been derived from the spirit of the decalogue, and to fall within the range of Bible precept; and all that is lovely or of good report in the character of individuals, may be traced to the same divine source.

It may, perhaps, be objected to this, that heathen nations have sometimes had good laws, and a good degree of subordination to them among the people.

Without stopping to examine the value of heathen institutions, or the purity of heathen morals, we would remind the objector, that the inhabitants of "the world which now is," de-

scended from Noah; that his sons lived to instruct his descendants till after the calling of Abraham, and that the migratory life of that patriarch, and of his descendants, gave the nations such abundant means of borrowing from revelation, that we rather wonder that they have not retained more of the excellency of divine wisdom, than that they should have occasionally enacted a good law. Zoroaster, the prophet of the magian sect in Persia, was a Jew, and is thought by many to have been a servant of one of the prophets in Israel. This same Zoroaster, while in Babylon, was the preceptor of Pythagoras, from whom Socrates and the other masters of his day derived much of their knowledge of politics and morals.

We may therefore safely conclude, that any *oasis* found in the desert of paganism is indebted for its brightness and fertility to the sun of righteousness, shining upon it through a traditional revelation. Nations as well as individuals must take heed to God's sure word of prophesy if they would be either wise or happy.

France, at the commencement of her revolution in 1789, had cast off this wisdom which cometh down from above. She had been

brought to despise and reject the holy scriptures, and by that means the lusts and passions of the people had been set free from all restraint, and she commenced her conflict for liberty, an infidel nation. She needed a revolution as much as America did in 1776, and had she engaged in it with the hearts of her people imbued with the wisdom and the morality of the Bible as the minds and hearts of our fathers were, the scion from the tree of liberty, carried from this country by the hero of Legrange, would have taken root and sent forth its branches, and the fairest portion of Europe would before this have been reposing under its shadow, and eating of its pleasant fruit. But her principles had corrupted her manners, and her wickedness disqualified her for being free; and after expending hundreds of millions of treasure, and sacrificing millions of her people, she fled into the arms of a despot to be protected from herself, or, in the language of Franklin, from the tiger which her infidelity had unchained.

Nor was the effect of the rejection of God's word by this refined and polite nation any more friendly to her individual and domestic happi-

ness than it was to her national prosperity. The prevalence of infidelity had caused such a dereliction from the path of virtue, that, in 1801, when the rage of the revolution was over, and the government settled in the hands of an emperor, the single city of Paris reported four thousand eight hundred and eighty-one illegitimate births, seven hundred and twenty divorces, eight thousand two hundred and fifty-two deaths in poor-houses, and two hundred and one found dead in the streets. In 1803, the prefect of police reported to the grand judges, from the same city, six hundred and seven suicides, one hundred and fifty murders, six hundred and four divorces, one hundred and fifty-five executions, twelve thousand and seventy-six common prostitutes, one thousand five hundred and fifty-two kept mistresses, and three hundred and eight licensed brothels.

Here we see the natural tendency of casting off the authority of revelation. There was no cause why, in a single city, there should be in one year, seven hundred and twenty wives divorced from their husbands, four thousand eight hundred and eighty-one daughters become the wretched mothers of illegitimate chil-

dren, one hundred and fifty murderers, eight thousand two hundred and fifty-eight deaths in poor-houses, two hundred and one found dead in the streets, and fifteen thousand one hundred and eighty miserable women be dragging out lives of prostitution, but that the restraints of religion were taken off from the people.

Many years subsequent to this dark epoch, when this infidel nation had restored and deposed a member of the house of Bourbon, Lafayette said that France was not prepared for a republican form of government; and the subsequent history of that illfated nation goes to prove that she is not yet prepared, and never can be, until her population shall have been renovated by the moral discipline of the word of God.

It was this discipline which prepared our fathers for self-government; and if we their sons, would be the honored instruments in the hand of the Almighty of preserving this inheritance of liberty to our children, and extending it to other nations, we must be prepared for it by the same moral training. Our knowledge of the word of God, and our proficiency in the self-denial and benevolent efforts which it in-

culcates, must keep pace with those physical improvements and intellectual achievements by which the world is preparing for those mighty changes which must precede the latter day glory. No man who shall spend his time in poring over that light and trashy literature which is being spread broadcast over the land, and in the self-indulgence to which such reading will lead, can reasonably expect to have his soul imbued with principles which will prepare him to aid in perpetuating those noble institutions which were wrought out by the wisdom and self-denial of our Bible-reading and Bible-loving progenitors. The world in which we live is a dark world. It has apostatised from God, and its inhabitants have become selfish and sensual, and nothing but the hiding of God's word in the heart can check them in their downward course, and enable them so far to restrain their lusts and appetites as to prepare them to live under liberal institutions.

The Psalmist tells us, that the only way in which the young can keep themselves from the pollutions of the world, is by taking heed to their ways according to God's word. This is not only true of the young; it is true of all.

Men must make themselves acquainted with the holy scriptures, and regulate their conduct according to these divine oracles, or they will wax worse and worse, until they will need the rod of iron to keep them within such bounds that they can exist at all in a social state.

It was the native depravity of the human heart, unchecked by the sanctifying influences of revelation, which so corrupted and polluted the old world, that in sixteen hundred years from the creation, it became necessary to destroy all the families of the earth, except that of righteous Noah. The same cause reduced the five cities of the plain to such a low state of degradation, that it was not safe for a stranger to lodge in them, and led them to attempt to do violence to the angels, who came down in human form, to deliver righteous Lot and to burn up the guilty inhabitants with the places in which they dwelt. The tendency of our fallen nature is downward. "Evil men and seducers wax worse and worse," and God's word, accompanied by his Holy Spirit, is the only remedy. To this sure word of prophesy, nations as well as individuals will do well "to take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark

place." ' They must take heed to it, not as a cunningly devised fable, nor as a moral essay, nor as a specimen of human eloquence and human ingenuity; but as *a light shining in a dark place*. A light sent down from heaven to guide fallen man in the pathway of duty and of safety here, and to prepare him for happiness beyond the grave. It is the only light that has ever dawned upon the minds of sinners with sufficient clearness to purify their hearts, keep them back from outward abominations, and show them the way to heaven.

It is a principle in the philosophy of mind, that men will become assimilated to the objects of their habitual contemplation. If they suffer their thoughts to dwell constantly upon low and grovelling subjects the mind will gradually lose its power and contract its dimensions, until it becomes incapable of grasping anything lofty or sublime. So, if it shall for a long time be employed in contemplating impure and polluting objects, it will lose its delicacy of feeling, the conscience will become seared as with a hot iron, and one moral restraint after another will be broken down, until the soul becomes like a cage of unclean birds.

So, on the other hand, when the soul lifts itself above those low and abasing themes which are crowding upon it from the world, and employs itself in the contemplation of those pure and elevated subjects which are presented in the word of God, "while it beholds as in a glass the glory of the Lord, it will be changed into the same image."

In confirmation of these truths, I would ask the reader to look into the history and biography of the past. What was the literature of those nations whose fallen palaces and crumbling towers now mark the places of their former glory? It was impure and polluted as the character of the gods whom they worshiped. Who were the men whose writings have moulded the character of the French people since the regency of the profligate duke of Orleans? They were such men as Voltaire, Rosseau, Diderot and Frederick Second. The people were taught by their literati that the Bible was at war with their liberties, and that they could never be free and happy until they had broken down every throne and every altar. By the writings and the example of such men, the lusts and passions of the people were set free

from the restraints of christianity; and the bloody history of that nation, and the abortive nature of all their struggles for liberty, furnish ample proof that a corrupt and polluting literature will make a corrupt and a polluted nation, and will render them incapable of being free.

Again, I would ask who were the men that have shone as lights in the world—that have rolled as orbs of light, reflecting the wisdom and beneficence and glory of the sun of righteousness, and taught the nations how to govern themselves and be free and happy? They were men who took their lessons of wisdom at the foot of the cross, washed their robes in the blood of the LAMB, and kindled their intellectual fires with coals from the christian's altar. They were men who studied the holy scriptures, and considered them the wisdom of God and the power of God to pull down the strong holds of wickedness, and to reform and build up, beautify and bless, nations as well as individuals. The Bible, in its doctrines, is elevated, dignified, and glorious. In its tendency it is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

This is the only system of morality that takes cognizance of the heart, and by purifying that fountain of moral action, secures a holy and a useful life. It is not more true, that the man who takes the pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating dinks, will remain sober until he violates his pledge, than it is, that the man who takes the holy scriptures as his guide, will pursue a blameless life so long as he abides by its precepts.

If we could persuade our citizens to take heed to their hearts and their lives, according to God's word, our nation would soon be delivered from those factions which are now rending it asunder, and from rulers who like Harpies are sucking the life blood of the body politic; and would be placed under the supervision of men endowed with that wisdom which is pure, and peaceable, and which cometh down from above.

The Bible in the hands and in the hearts of a few reformers in the sixteenth century, effected a reformation which imparted new life and vigor to the mind of the nations which came under its influence. It laid the foundation of all the constitutional liberty which exists in the

Island of Great Britain, and on the continent of Europe, and prepared our *protestant* and puritan fathers to establish and maintain those liberal institutions under which the germ of a christian republic, brought over in the Mayflower, has become a mighty and a happy nation.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

The sabbath was made for man, and is necessary to his well-being, in his national as well as his individual and social relations. The history of the world will prove that the prosperity and happiness of nations have been about in proportion to their regard for the christian sabbath. Where that day is kept holy, it unites the hearts of the different grades and classes in society, by bringing them together in the same places once a week, to meditate upon their common origin, and their common interests, and to hear from their common Father who is in heaven, to whom the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, are alike dear, and who is encircling them all in the arms of his paternal kindness, and offering them all an inheritance in the christian church in this world, and his kingdom of glory in the world to come. It calls the

worshippers of mammon, and the wily politician, and the votaries of pleasure, from the noise, and the strife, and the collisions of a selfish and a sensual world, to the quiet enjoyments of the domestic fireside, and to the spiritual services of the house of God, and to the contemplation of those heavenly joys, in comparison with which the riches, and honors, and pleasures of the world sink into insignificance, and are shorn of their power.

The sabbath is not a day of indolence and mental inactivity, but a day of sacred rest from bodily labor, and from worldly thoughts—a day of intellectual and moral training, by which a mighty impulse is given to the national mind, by bringing simultaneously before the whole people themes which are calculated to strengthen the intellect, ennoble the conceptions, and purify the heart. A proper observance of this day would enable the minister of Christ, one day in seven, to sow the good seed of God's word broadcast over the whole land—would bring the children of the different grades in society together in the sabbath schools, and the households in the several neighborhoods together in the sanctuary, there to forget those

distinctions which may have kept them apart through the week, and while they mingle their voices in the song of praise to their common Savior, learn to love God, and to love one another, and to practice that righteousness which exalteth a nation, and to avoid those sins which are a reproach to any people.

It is the non-observance of the christian sabbath, or the degrading it to a level with the fasts and feasts of a formal church, which has dissipated the national mind, destroyed the energies and corrupted the morals of the people, wherever popery and formalism has prevailed. The sabbath, in such countries, is a day of idleness, dissipation, and wickedness, instead of a day of holy rest and moral culture.

But the sabbath is not only a means of moral and religious instruction and of elevating and purifying the national mind, but it is God's institution, and those nations who honor him by its proper observance, he will honor by making them prosperous and happy, while those who dishonor him by trampling it under their feet, though he may bear long with them, will ultimately be given up to eat of the fruit of their own doings.

If we disregard the sabbath and desecrate its sacred hours, we shall break down a wall of safety which the kind providence of God has built around us, and open the way to all those evils which prevail among the nations where popery and the other modifications of formalism prevail. Our citizens should, therefore, if they love their country, and esteem the blessings which we as a nation enjoy, not suffer themselves to neglect, or profane this holy day. They cannot indulge in any kind of sabbath desecration without being deeply injured in their own moral sensibilities, and getting into a downward course, from which if not rescued by the grace of God, they will descend lower and lower, until they commit acts at the thought of which they would now tremble. Burke, in his *Political Disquisitions*, remarks, "That he has never known a man to be sent to Newgate, who did not commence his career in guilt by the violation of the sabbath;" and I could say, that in the course of a long life, I have never known an individual who was a careful observer of the christian sabbath, to be convicted of any crime. The sabbath was made for man, and the interests of a nation re-

quire, that it should be loved and revered by all her citizens. But there is no class who need it so much as the youth. Childhood and youth are to riper years and to old age what time is to eternity. It is the seedtime of life, and what we sow then we shall reap in after years and through our whole being. If the young would keep the sabbath, as they should, it would keep them from those hateful and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. Its hallowed influence would follow them through the week, and aid them in forming characters which would make them ornaments to society, and pillars in our republic. The sabbath, like the gospel which is its usual accompaniment, will be "a savor of life" unto them, if they will keep it as they should, but, a "savor of death," if they disregard and desecrate it. The fathers and founders of our republic understood the value of the christian sabbath, and made provision in the fundamental law of the nation for its sacred observance by our chief magistrate. They felt that the fourth commandment was as binding upon men in high places as it was upon the private citizen, and excluded the sabbath from the ten days which they allowed the president to

sign or return a bill passed by congress. They knew, what every citizen in this nation should know, that the correct observance of this day is, not only necessary to the health and strength of our physical organism, but to the existence of religious purity in the heart, and religious morality in the life; and they thought with our first chief magistrate, "that religion and morality were the firmest props of national prosperity and happiness."

CHAPTER III.

SELF-DENIAL.

Selfishness lies at the foundation of the character of fallen man, and is the cause of all the misery and crime which exist in this world. Self-denial must, therefore, lie at the foundation of whatever is lovely and of good report among the children of men. It is the beginning of all true virtue, and is, not only a very important, but an essential element in the character of a good citizen. It was by the practice of great self-denial that our fathers wrought out for us the inheritance of liberty; and that rich inheritance can be preserved by their children in no other way than by the practice of the same virtue. There is no nation in the world, in which there are so great temptations to the indulgence of selfish feelings as in our own, and there is none that stand in so great need of the practice of self-denial.

The celebrated author of the Spirit of Laws says, "There is no great share of probity necessary to support a monarchial, or despotic government. The force of laws in the one, and the prince's arm in the other, is sufficient to maintain order; but in a popular government another spring is necessary, viz. virtue." This principle is recognized by the political writers of eminence in all ages, and was insisted on by the fathers of the revolution, but especially by the immortal Washington.

Nations must be governed or they cannot maintain their organic existence; but there are only two generic forms of government in the world. The one is the government of the people by laws of their own enacting, the other is the government of the people by men who are exalted over them, and govern them by physical force. Our own government is of the former kind, and presupposes a high regard for truth and righteousness among the people composing the nation.

Our institutions were formed for men who knew how to govern themselves, but no man knows how to govern himself who does not know how to deny himself, and consequently

no nation is prepared for self-government that is not composed of a large portion of self-denying men.

Self-denial is used in the holy scriptures, and I would use it in this place, to mean renunciation of that supreme regard which selfish men have for what they consider their own individual interests. It is the permanent purpose to sacrifice personal gratification to higher and more important ends.

As the element of a lofty patriotism, self-denial implies laying one's self with all his individual interests upon the altar of his country. As the element of a true philanthropy, it implies laying one's self and one's country too, upon the altar of the world at large; but as the element of a christian benevolence, it implies the merging of one's self, and one's country, and the world too, in the glory of God and the lofty interests of his universal Kingdom. In this latter relation, self-denial is an element of that love which warms the bosom of Jehovah and brings every intelligent being in God's mighty empire, who exercises it, into sweet communion with himself, and with his son Jesus Christ. This is the principle which unites the whole family in

heaven together—the golden chain which binds the universe to the throne of God; and it is the only constituting principle which can secure the permanence or promote the glory of our country.

The world has been experimenting for almost six thousand years to see whether any nation could be permanent and happy without this pervading element, and the result has been the overwhelming evidence that unrestrained selfishness is incompatible with the existence of a republic.

Our government was designed by its founders to prove that a nation is capable of governing itself. The hope of the world for civil liberty, seems to hang upon the success of this experiment, and its success depends, under God, upon the prevalence of a self-denying spirit among our citizens.

Much has been said, and truly said, of the importance of the general spread of intelligence among the people as a means of preserving our republic. But this alone can never save it. The education of the intellect alone may make Catalines, but it can never make Washingtons. Mere intellectual endowments will enable men

to seek their selfish ends with more prudence and adroitness. It will train the selfishness of the human heart for a more skillful pursuit of the gratification of its own lusts and appetites, and the more we have who are thus trained, the more our country will become the gladiatorial arena for opposing factions, under the name of political parties, to engage in desperate conflict. The nation must be educated, the masses must be enlightened, but this is not enough; the training of the heart must keep pace with the intellectual culture, and men must be taught in the school of Christ to deny themselves and lay their individual interests on the altar of their country, or our institutions must fall.

The selfishness of man has already, to a fearful extent, converted the business operations of the people into desperate games of chance, and the service of the nation into a miserable scramble for office. It is leading our citizens into indulgencies which are impairing their health, wasting their substance, blasting their reputation, corrupting their morals, and weakening, and in many instances destroying their minds.

It is the indulgence of this selfish principle

by the gratification of the lower propensities of our nature, which makes the glutton, the drunkard, the libertine, and the sluggard. And it is to furnish the means for the gratification of these propensities, or to extricate themselves from difficulties which such indulgencies have involved men in, that leads them to become rogues, liars, thieves, traitors, and murderers. There is not one single crime in the black catalogue which does not owe its existence, directly or indirectly, to self-indulgence, and would not have been prevented by the possession and exercise of the virtue which I am now inculcating. But if this be so, then self-denial is not only essential to the well-being of individuals, to the peace of families, and the order and happiness of the social circle; but it is indispensable to the prosperity and permanence of our republic, and must be an element in the character of every good citizen.

No man can claim the tribute of patriotism, or pretend to be the friend of his country, who possesses a character that leads to all those crimes which are the reproach of our nation, which weaken the arm of her power, under-

mine her liberal institutions, and tend to her final overthrow; and yet this is true of every man who does not possess the virtue of self-denial.

The man who will not deny himself for the public good does not differ essentially from a rational brute, and if he is governed at all, it must be in the same way in which brutes are governed; and when such men shall compose a decided majority in our nation we will furnish another lesson in the world's history to admonish mankind that liberal institutions cannot be long maintained, or a people be prosperous and happy, where self-denial does not enter largely into the national character.

A clear perception of the danger of self-indulgence to individual respectability and happiness, together with the reflex influence of the benevolence of others, and the direct influence of the word of God, and of the institutions of religion, upon the conscience, sometimes leads men to put a curb bit upon their lusts and passions, and to deny themselves many sinful indulgencies for the sake of themselves, their families and their country. This is the self-denial which enters into the domestic and social hab-

its, and constitutes the patriotism of the well instructed and well balanced impenitent mind.

It was this kind of patriotism which enabled Greece and Rome to maintain many of the features of a republic; and this was the patriotism of many who stood forth in defence of our liberties during our revolutionary struggle, and which enabled the thirteen independent colonies to give up their sectional interests, and sacrifice their state rights for the sake of a general government which should protect the whole. And this, too, is the patriotism which has enabled our country to sustain its republican institutions down to the present day.

We have always had much sterling piety in the nation; the Bible has been generally received as the word of God, and the sabbath and the other institutions of religion have been recognized as of divine appointment. These, upon the well balanced American mind, have kept alive the national feeling of which I am speaking.

But this kind of patriotism is founded upon a well regulated self-love, and it holds so precarious an existence among the boisterous and turbulent passions of the human mind, that it

needs the constant influence of religion, and of religious men, to sustain it.

The republics to which I have alluded, had ingrafted many of the doctrines and duties of revelation which they had received by tradition, upon their systems of idolatry. Greece, in the palmy days of her republic, believed in a future state and a superintending providence, and practiced some of the cardinal virtues from the fear of the gods. In Athens, chastity was held in such reputation, that a man who frequented the company of lewd women was not allowed to address the popular assemblies.

The Romans, too, believed in a state of future rewards and punishments, and in a superintending providence, and like the Athenians, were governed to a considerable extent in their moral conduct, by the doctrines of their religion.

As this sense of religious obligation passed away, their patriotism grew cold, and they passed from a state of anarchy and misrule, under the iron sceptre of a despot.

This kind of patriotism is liable to decay. It is like that diseased action in the human body which sometimes supports life for many

years, but has the seeds of destruction in the elements of which it is composed. Let the gospel and the institutions of religion once lose their hold upon the conscience of the nation, as it has upon the consciences of many individuals among us, and this kind of patriotism will cease to hold the nation together.

But the self-denial which is enjoined in our text, and which I would recommend to citizens of our country, is not of this spurious kind. It is a self-denial which flows spontaneously from a benevolent regard for the glory of God and for the happiness of his creatures.

This kind of self-denial will produce a lofty and indestructible patriotism, and will be the source of a pure and ever-enduring morality, "a morality of noble deeds, springing from noble hearts—the spontaneous offering of forgiven children to a forgiving parent."

This was the kind of self-denial which was possessed and practiced by our protestant and puritan ancestors. It is to this noble principle burning and shining in the hearts of the English puritans, that Great Britain owes all her constitutional liberty, and it is to the same principle in the pilgrim fathers, that America and

the world are indebted for our political institutions.

South America was colonized at a period when there was not enough of this virtuous self-denial in the world to purge out from the hearts of men that avarice, and bigotry, and despotism, which has so degraded and oppressed mankind. The consequence was, "that the monarchical institutions of old Spain were planted under the despotic influence of the papal hierarchy, in the fresh and luxurient soil of the southern continent." This seed, like the dragon teeth which Cadmus sowed, has produced a generation of armed men. Armed, not for their country's defence, but for her oppression, dismemberment, and ruin.

But our own continent was settled by men who were trained and disciplined in the virtue which I am inculcating. They were not brought to these shores, as the Spanish adventurers were to the southern coast, by a thirst for gold, but came here that they might, among the rocks and in the forests of New England, lay the broad foundations of a christian republic, where the glory of God and the happiness of mankind might be sought and promoted,

without molestation from a tyrannical court or a bigoted church hierarchy. They came here not to seek, but to establish, "a church without a bishop, and a state without a king." They were a self-denying race, and we their children are this day eating of the pleasant fruit of that self-denial which they learned, and cherished, and practiced.

But, unless this principle of our fathers is more cherished by the people of this land than it has been of late years, that halo of glory which has encircled our country will depart, and the causes which are now operating to weaken the band of our union, and alienate the different classes and the different sections of this country from each other, will grow stronger and stronger until selfishness, like the fabled bird of hell, shall eat out the vitals of our republic, and that nation which is now the dread of tyrants and the hope of the lovers of liberty throughout the world, will become both a beacon and a byword to the nations of the earth.

Selfishness has always been the nursing-mother of civil discord and the procurer of domestic broils. It has been the remote, if not

the proximate, cause of the overthrow of all the free governments that have existed, and the history of our own country admonishes us that we can plead no exemption from its disturbing influences.

It has already greatly weakened the bond of our national union. It has arrayed the different sections of our land, and the different classes in the same sections, against each other. It has divided the American people into factions which seem more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to unite in seeking the general good. It has begotten the conflicting policy of the free and the slaveholding states, and excited the jealousies and the bitter feelings which exist between them. It has furnished the facilities for political demagogues to promote a factious spirit, and present indications lead us to fear that it may at no very distant day bring on a civil contest which will be as fatal to the happiness of our rising republic as the Peloponnesian wars were to the Athenian commonwealth.

Would you be the conservators of our national safety? You must possess the reliable quality of a virtuous self-denial. You must

not consider yourselves as isolated beings who are to live for and to yourselves, but as members of that great family on earth and in heaven, of which God is the father. You must look at your country in the relation in which she stands to the millions who now occupy her soil, and to other nations, and by your self-denying efforts and examples, endeavor to make her "the salt of the earth and the light of the world."

Do you ask how, amid the temptations by which you are surrounded, you are to attain to this high and lofty eminence? The answer to this question will be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

PERSONAL REGENERATION.

In the last chapter, we endeavored to show the importance of a christian self-denial as an element of national character. In the present, we propose to answer the question, How our citizens, under the pressure of their lusts and appetites, and surrounded on every side by temptations to evil, can attain to this cardinal principle.

This will bring under consideration another element of national character which, though it has been but little thought of by the common place politician, will be found to be indispensable to the permanence and happiness of our republic. This element is the renewal of the heart by the Holy Spirit. Without this the self-denial of our citizens will be limited, partial, fitful, and unenduring; and the patriotism of which it is a constituent will, like the patri-

otism of the oriental republics, be overborne and broken down by the lusts and passions of fallen man.

The individual regeneration of the citizens of this great nation is the only thing which can awaken and discipline the public mind to such an extent as to bind together the heterogeneous materials of which our country is composed. This is a cause, the power of which has been very little felt in any nation except England and America, and even in these favored nations it has been very much overlooked, and the blessings which have flowed from it, have been attributed to other causes. But its necessity is becoming more and more obvious to the careful observer every day, and must soon be understood by all who are interested in the experiment which is going on in this country. It is perfectly idle to suppose that the mixed multitude of human beings who have been thrown together in this nation, can ever harmonize so as to live together under our free institutions, without some common element as a bond of union. But there is no reliable common bond but that of christian love, which is produced alone by the regenerating influences of the

HOLY GHOST. This, and this only, can unite the hearts of our people, enable them to discipline and govern themselves, and dispose them to merge all their conflicting private interests in the welfare of their common country. Without this, the causes which have been making breaches among us, will continue to widen those breaches, until the different sections of the country, and the different classes in the same section, will no longer be able to hold together.

The halls of our national legislature are already the arenas where conflicting parties meet, more in the spirit of hostile forces, than of brethren belonging to the same great political family.

Whole sections of our republic have for years been resisting the laws, and in their resistance have committed every conceivable outrage, destroying the property, and taking the life of the law-abiding citizen. The people are taking the law into their own hands, and while some are resisting the officers of justice, others are executing the sentence of the mob. For these outrages our institutions are too liberal to afford a sufficient remedy. In St. Louis a few

years since, a human being was taken by a mob from the prison, and burned alive within the precincts of the city ; and the next grand jury were charged by Judge Lawless, that when an individual, or a few individuals, were guilty of an outrage, it was a proper subject for the presentment of a grand jury ; but when the mass or multitude were in the transgression, the grand inquest of the county had nothing to do with it. This charge at the time seemed strange to the law-abiding people of the older states, but the history of the anti-renters of the state of New York has practically established the same doctrine. In one county in Illinois, the mass of the inhabitants agreed among themselves that no man should be convicted of murder, in that county, while the death-penalty existed. This determination was known in the surrounding country, and a murderer in an adjoining county on some pretence, got the venue changed to the one in which this combination was formed, and though it was clearly proved on the trial that he had shot the husband in the presence of his wife, yet the jury not only acquitted him, but the fraternity were ready with a band of music to take him from

the prison to a public house, with every demonstration of joy.

I mention these things to show that the laws of a republic are only capable of protecting the innocent, or punishing the guilty, so long as the great mass of the community are virtuous, law-loving and law-abiding men. Where it is otherwise we need the arm of a despot with an army of mercenaries at his heels to preserve the peace.

The beautiful framework of our republic must have the spirit of God to imbue it with power. It must have the heart and the arm of a virtuous constituency to sustain it, and to impart to its institutions the life and vigor which are needful to make them a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them who do well.

Our laws were not made for the government of the masses and the millions who compose our republic, but they were made by them, for the government of the lawless and the disobedient individual who might be wickedly disposed to infringe the rights of others, or disturb the peace of society. There is no power in our institutions to punish an anti-capital punishment county for suffering the bloody-handed

murderer to escape with impunity. We can not punish a state for repudiating or defrauding its creditors, nor can we hang twenty thousand anti-renters. Burke, in his graphic language, says, "It is written in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their chains." The celebrated author of the *Spirit of Laws*, well remarks, "That the man who has no religion at all, is like that terrible animal, who perceives his liberty only when he tears in pieces and destroys."

General Washington remarks in his farewell address, that "both reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle," and he very pertinently asks, "Where is the security for property, for reputation, or for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in our courts of justice?" This question may be answered by the case that I have alluded to from the anti-capital punishment county in Illinois, and by the growing disposition to trifle with an oath, which may be noticed in our courts of justice.

This venerable patriot, after the observation of an eventful public life, remarks that, "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are the indispensable supports," and he then adds, — what I wish that the citizens of our country would ponder well — "In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness."

The opinion of this great man that national morality cannot exist without religious principle, is, as he says, attested both by reason and experience, nor is it any less true that a republican government cannot be long sustained without a national morality.

So long as a people submit to the moral government of God, they can govern themselves, and be happy and prosperous under republican institutions. The eternal principles of right and wrong laid down in the scriptures are impressed upon their hearts, and qualify them for civil liberty. But when a people reject the moral government of God, they will not long submit to the government of law.

But aside from the incapacity of such people

to govern themselves, it is written in the unerring word of God, and inscribed in blazing capitals upon the fallen palaces and crumbling shrines of kingdoms, empires, and republics that have passed away, "That the nation that will not serve the Lord shall perish." O, how I wish that I could impress upon the hearts of the people of this nation a sense of our country's dependence upon God, as that truth was impressed upon the hearts of our patriotic progenitors.

The congress of Seventy-six, when they were entering upon the struggle for independence, in a proclamation for a national fast, used the following language: "Resolved, that it becomes the indispensable duty of these hitherto free and independent colonies, with true penitence of heart, and the most reverend devotion, publicly to acknowledge the overruling providence of God. Congress, therefore, desirous of having the people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a sense of God's superintending providence and of their duty to rely on him in all their lawful enterprises for aid and protection, do earnestly recommend that Friday, the seventeenth of May next, be observed as a day

of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, that we may, by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, through the merits of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon, and if our unnatural enemies, continuing deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, are inflexibly bent on war, it may please the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, to animate our officers and soldiers, earnestly beseeching him to bless our civil rulers, and the representatives of the people, preserve and strengthen their union, inspire them with an ardent, disinterested love of their country. That he would graciously bless all the people, and grant that a spirit of incorruptible patriotism and pure and undefiled religion may prevail universally among us." The same venerable body at another time, after premising that "true religion and good morals were the only solid basis of public liberty and happiness, recommended to the several states to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for suppressing theatrical amusements, horse-racing, gaming, and such other diversions as were productive of idleness, dissipation, and depravity of principles and manners.

When the convention which formed the con-

stitution had been sitting for two or three weeks and made little or no progress, Benjamin Franklin arose and declared his conviction that their want of success, and diversity of sentiment and feeling, were owing to the fact that they had neglected to invoke the blessing of God upon their deliberations.

General Washington in his first message to congress under the new constitution, says, "We ought to be persuaded that the propitious smiles of *Heaven* can never be expected upon a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and righteousness which *Heaven* has itself ordained."

These were the sentiments and feelings of the men who devised and achieved our independence. They not only felt, and publicly acknowledged, the nation's dependence upon God, but were persuaded that his smiles could only be expected to follow a regard for his holy institutions and laws. They were deeply impressed with the necessity of a disinterested love of country, and an incorruptible patriotism, but were also sensible that these qualities of the national mind must come from God. They perfectly understood that the holy prin-

ciple which binds the inhabitants of heaven together, must be the constituting element of both the morality and the patriotism of our republic, if it would be either permanent or happy.

There is no hope for us as a nation but in the prevalence of a pure and undefiled religion. Such a religion as the congress of Seventy-six directed the people to pray for, such a religion as they considered the only solid basis of public liberty and happiness. Not a religion of rites and forms, but a religion of faith and love; not a religion which rested upon the traditions and commandments of men, but one that was founded upon the revealed will of God. A religion which makes God our Father, and unites in the bond of brotherhood, all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. A religion which will lead men to love one another as they love themselves, and to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. A religion that cometh down from above, and is "pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." The author of the Spirit of Laws, to whom I have already

more than once referred, says, "The christian religion which ordains that men should love each other would, without doubt, have every nation blest with the best civil and political laws, because these, next to this religion, are the greatest good that men can give or receive. The history of the world will bear this distinguished writer out in this high commendation of the christian system.

Infidel writers who would prejudice men against religion, usually refer us to the havoc which popery, and other modifications of formalism, have made of civil liberty, in the countries where they have prevailed. We are ready to admit that a corrupted christianity has often been made use of by the despots of the earth for the purposes of oppression. The mere political tyrant lacks one great element of power, he needs the sanction of some religion to enable him to govern the consciences of men. Hence popery and Mahomedanism have developed a darker form of despotism than was ever known to the pagan world. But that man must be blind indeed who would make christianity responsible for the acts of either the one or the other of these systems. The

Prophet of Mecca was the avowed enemy of christianity, and the Pope has long been known as that man of sin, the son of perdition prophesied of in the holy scriptures. He has usually acted in concert with infidelity in opposing the progress of pure and undefiled religion, and has always wielded the perverted authority of heaven against the Bible and against the duties which it inculcates, and must be considered as an anti-christian power.

But we are told there has been much persecution and blood-shed on account of religion in Great Britain since the reformation from popery. This we are not disposed to deny ; but we ask, who were the persecutors? And who the persecuted? The persecutors were men who were steadily engaged in extending the royal prerogative, trampling upon the sabbath, opposing the simple worship enjoined in the Bible, and endeavoring to get back to the church of Rome. The history of Great Britain, from the reformation down to the accession of William and Mary, is the history of a contest between a formal and a spiritual religion. But who were the friends and who the enemies of civil liberty? We will let David

Hume, who was the inveterate enemy of the reformation and of the puritans, decide this question. That historian tells us that the chief circumstance which subjected the English puritans to the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth was their attachment to civil liberty. This opinion is supported by the words of the queen herself, who, in a speech from the throne, charges them with daring to exercise their private judgment and to censure the actions of the prince. Private judgment in matters of religion, and in matters of state, are two kindred rights, the possession and claim of which have always been a distinguishing mark of the protestant religion, and the denial of these rights has ever been the mark of the papal despotism. This great protestant principle was contended for by the English puritans, not only as essential to their religious liberty, but as an element of national freedom. The same historian tells us, that in the reign of Charles the First, "The puritanical party were disgusted with the court, not only on account of restraints imposed upon them by the established hierarchy, but from their attachment to the principles of civil lib-

erty." Again, he tells us that "James the First was induced, if possible, to prevent the growth of puritanism in England by his having noticed in the Presbyterians of Scotland a zealous attachment to civil liberty." This attachment he considered as nearly allied to the religion which they professed, and therefore he was their enemy through his whole reign. In a conference which he had with them at Hampton court in 1604, he publicly declared "that there was no more agreement between presbyterianism and monarchy, than there was between *God and the devil*."

We do not mention the puritans here, because they were the favorers of the Presbyterian or the Congregational church polity, but because the contest in which they were engaged was a contest for the right of reading the holy scriptures and interpreting them for themselves, and worshiping God according to their own consciences. They would not be bound by the decree of the court, or any church hierarchy, in matters of conscience, but insisted upon the holy scriptures as the only unerring rule of faith and practice.

This was the religion which resisted the intolerance of a spiritual despotism, and the encroachments of a political tyranny, and these were the men, who, as David Hume informs us, "came to America, and here laid the foundation of a government which possessed all the liberty, civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country."

Yes, this was the religion of our venerated progenitors—the religion of the holy scriptures; and of this religion we fearlessly assert, that its tendency has always been, what the perjured James said it was in Scotland, "towards civil liberty." We may perhaps be told that the burning of Servetus in the city of John Calvin, and the persecution of the Quakers in New England, are exceptions to this principle. It was not religion which produced this intolerance, but the tendency of another principle, to wit:—the union of church and state. This union in its very nature is hostile to civil liberty, and we believe that God permitted these instances of persecution, under the influence of a pure religion, as a monition to the world never to suffer such an unholy alliance to be

formed. The state knows of no other way to deal with offenders than by the infliction of pains and penalties, and when she undertakes to enforce obedience to her religious formalities, or submission to her legalized system of faith, she must do it as she enforces obedience to her political ordinances. She can deal with no other than carnal weapons, and should therefore be forever kept entirely separate from any entangling alliance with the church.

Religion forbids such an alliance. The Savior himself declared, that though he was a king, his kingdom was not of this world, and when he was asked to interfere with the department of the civil government, he pertinently inquired, "Who made me a judge and a divider among you."

The church must be kept separate from the state or the state will persecute. Where this unholy connexion exists, whether it may be in papal Rome, or in protestant Geneva, in monarchical France, or republican Switzerland, its fruits will always be the same. The cases referred to are not, then, exceptions to the general rule, that pure religion always tends to

liberty, and qualifies nations to be free. The preaching of the gospel, just so far as it is cordially received, is, in a political as well as a religious sense, "Liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison door to those who are bound."

CHAPTER V.

THE UNITED STATES A CHRISTIAN NATION.

We could never have conceived it necessary to write a chapter to prove that we are a christian nation, if we did not know that there were a class of politicians among us, who are laboring to cut our government loose from the fear of God, and try over again the experiment which has several times been made in France, of sustaining free institutions on infidel principles.

In 1829, a committee of the senate of these United States upon the subject of the sabbath mails, reported in substance, "That we were not a christian nation, and that our government had *no right to know what religion was true or what was false, and that congress ought not even to inquire what the law of God was.*" Three thousand copies of this report were sent out by the senate, and it was published by nearly every newspaper in the United States.

To show the absurdity of such sentiments will be the subject of the present chapter.

The committee above referred to, and those men who sympathize with them in these sentiments, do not pretend that the great majority of our nation are pagans, Jews, Mahomedans, or infidels; or that as a mass, the American people do not profess a belief in the christian system, but they would make a distinction between the people and the nation which is composed of the people, and would endeavor to prove that whatever might be the character of our citizens, in our political capacity we are not a christian nation, and our government is not at liberty to acknowledge the authority of any religion. These are the sentiments clearly taught in the celebrated report to which I have referred.

It may assist the reader to perceive the sophistry of this distinction, if we should inquire what a republican government is, and from whence the enactments of its legislature are supposed to emanate. It will be perceived by a reference to the enacting clause, that they are nothing more or less than the constitutional expression of the will of the people. The laws are considered as enacted by them through

their representatives. By what logic, then, can it be proved that there is such a difference between the religious character of the people at home and the religious character of that same people "*in Congress assembled*," that though when at home they may be ready to acknowledge the authority of the christian religion, when they are assembled by their representatives at Washington they must be denuded of all religion, or in other words, if when they are dispersed though the nation they sustain the character of a christian people, what is there to change that character when they are assembled in the persons of their representatives at Washington? Suppose the committee, with Colonel Johnson at their head, were elected to the senate of 1829, by a genuine christian constituency, did they fairly represent that constituency when they repudiated God and religion from the nation, by their anti-christian report? Burke once remarked, "that men who were christians in England became unbaptized when they went to India;" but the class of politicians of whom I am speaking, would persuade us that christian Americans should not only become unbap-

tized, but should put on the garb of infidelity when they go to Washington.

We are gravely told by these men, in support of their doctrine, that the people of these United States have adopted a written constitution, that they have not in that instrument acknowledged the authority of any religion, and that they cannot therefore in their political capacity be a christian nation, or acknowledge the authority of the christian religion.

Now we will admit for the present, what is here assumed, that the constitution does not acknowledge the authority of any religion, and see whether the inference gravely drawn from that assumption can be maintained.

A national constitution, so far as it goes, is the highest evidence of the original public will, but that instrument is nothing more than the general outlines of the national compact, and when it is silent, or of doubtful construction on any point, other evidence is admissible and necessary to supply its deficiencies. It could not be inferred, therefore, though it should be silent on this subject, that it was the will of the framers of our government to cast off the authority of God and reject the christian religion,

any more than it could, be inferred, that because it does not prohibit adultery, it was the will of its framers that our representatives should live in promiscuous concubinage while they were at the seat of government.

The fathers of our nation descended from a people who were professedly christian, and most of them emigrated to this country for the sake of religious liberty. When they came over they brought with them their christian institutions and their religious attachments. While they were colonies the christian religion was a part of the law of the land, and they uniformly expressed their belief in it and their love for all its institutions.

When they cast off the authority of the mother country and engaged in the war of the revolution, they publicly proclaimed their reliance upon, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. In the minutes of the congress of '76, we find the following interesting record. "Congress desirous to have people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence, and of their duty, devoutly to rely, in all their lawful enterprises, on his aid and protection, do earnestly

recommend, that Friday the 17th of May next, be observed by the said colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, that we may, by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, through the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon; and if our unnatural enemies, continuing deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, are inflexibly bent on war, it may please the LORD OF HOSTS, the GOD OF ARMIES, to animate our officers and soldiers, earnestly beseeching him to bless our civil rulers, and the representatives of the people, and strengthen their union, inspire them with an ardent, disinterested love of their country, and direct to the most efficacious measures for establishing the rights of America; that he would graciously bless all the people, and grant that a spirit of pure and undefiled religion may universally prevail."

This was the character of the people of '76 in congress assembled. They had not discovered then, that "*Congress had no right to know what religion was true and what was false,*" and can anything short of an explicit declaration in their fundamental law, or constitution, justify the belief that they intended that our govern-

ment should cast off the authority of God and trample under foot his holy religion?

No such explicit declaration can be found, but on the contrary the convention who framed that instrument, not only recognized the christian sabbath as a day of rest, by excluding it from the days given to the President to sign or veto any bills passed by congress, but acknowledged Jesus Christ to be their Lord and the Lord of the people whom they represented, by the very date affixed to that instrument: "In the year of our Lord, 1787."

The constitution, then, not only does not repudiate christianity, or exclude it from our government, but recognizes the christian sabbath, and the christian's Lord. The conclusion is irresistible that its framers and the people who adopted it intended that our government should be a christian republic, free from all religious tests and religious establishments, but under the moral discipline and salutary regulations of the word God.

CHAPTER VI.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE VALIDITY AND BINDING INFLUENCE OF THE ELEVENTH SECTION OF THE POST OFFICE LAW OF THESE UNITED STATES.

The writer is aware that this is not only a vastly important inquiry, but that it is a very delicate one for an humble individual to discuss. He would love to transfer his responsibility to the supreme court of the United States, if that august tribunal could have the subject fairly brought before it. But as this has never been done, and is not likely to be done, he feels that he will be excusable for calling the attention of the people of this nation to the subject.

The first question which presents itself for our consideration is, whether an act of congress which requires any class or portion of our citizens to violate the precepts of christianity, is

binding, or whether such an enactment is **not** null and void.

No nation, either ancient or modern, **with** the monitory exception of revolutionary France, ever attempted to organize a government **with-**out recognizing some religion; and no government ever existed in any civilized nation **which** did not consider itself bound by the religion of the nation over which it presided.

"Juris prudentiæ est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia." (The exercise of jurisprudence extends to divine as well as to human affairs,) was a maxim of the ancient philosophers and lawgivers. In accordance with this maxim, every christian nation on the other side of the Atlantic considers christianity as the very foundation of its political institutions. Great Britain, the nation from which our own descended, has engrafted her constitution and laws upon the christian system, and acknowledges the authority of divine revelation paramount to all human enactments. In the case of the King against Norton, (Strange, 834,) the court of King's Bench would not suffer it to be debated, whether defaming christianity was an offence which was punishable at common law,

alleging that whatever struck at the root of the christian religion tended to the dissolution of civil government. In Taylor's case, reported in 1st Vent. 29, and 3d Kep. 607, and Tremmen's Pleas of the Crown, 225 S. C., the court of King's Bench held, that "christianity was a part of the law of the land." The same doctrine was maintained by Lord Kenyon, in July, 1797, in the case of *The King vs. Williams*, for the publication of "*Paine's Age of Reason*."

But it is said by those who would resist this doctrine, "that as our government is free from religious tests and religious establishments, it is not bound by one religion more than another." It is truly the glory of our country that it has cast off the religious establishment of Great Britain, as well as the claims of the crown. But it by no means follows that in doing this we have repudiated christianity, and so thrown the nation out from under the divine authority, that the law of God must not be regarded in our halls of legislation or courts of justice. We might as well argue, that because we have cast off the regal form of civil government, we are bound by no municipal laws—as that, by casting off the politico-religious establishment of

England, we acknowledge the authority of no religion. Our fathers had tasted the bitterness of religious persecution—they had seen the perverted authority of heaven used as an instrument of oppression; but to have sought a remedy for this evil by casting off the authority of Jehovah, and, like the French people in 1793, endeavoring to establish an atheistical government, would have been as wild an experiment as to have shut the vital air out from their dwellings, because in England it was sometimes infected with deadly pestilential vapors. Such an absurdity is not chargeable upon the founders of our republic. They knew how to guard against the abuses of human government without abolishing all rule and authority; and they knew, too, how to guard against the oppression of a *priestly caste*, or *politico-religious* hierarchy, without drawing down the judgments of heaven upon their country by rebelling against the ALMIGHTY. In their constitution, they kept clear of all religious tests and religious establishments, and guarantied to every citizen the undisturbed enjoyment of his religious opinions; but they could never have intended to strike at the root

of all moral obligation by attempting to take the departments of government from under the authority of the divine law. Chancellor Kent in his valuable "Commentary on American Law," says: "*We have the authority of all the lawyers of antiquity, as well as of some of the first masters of the modern school of public law, for placing the moral obligation of nations and individuals upon the same ground, and for considering individual and national morality as parts of the same system.*" This doctrine is dictated by common sense, and results from the nature of things. Nations, in their political capacity, are moral persons, and as such must be the subjects of moral government, and must have some rule of moral action. But what rule can they have if they deny their obligation to obey the *King of kings*! The Almighty, in the second Psalm, as we have had occasion to show in a former chapter, calls upon all the "rulers and judges of the earth to serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling," and not only so, but "to kiss the son, or recognize the Savior, lest they perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little." Here is an explicit claim made by the Sovereign of the universe

upon all nations, in their political capacity, not only to yield a vague acknowledgment to some abstract principle, as some of our governors and presidents have done, in their proclamations, when they have spoken of *Deity*, or the *Supreme Being*, but to acknowledge and serve that personal and intelligent God who has manifested himself to us in his word, and in their homage to him to acknowledge the Savior who is at the head of all principalities and powers. Can we suppose that our fathers intended to disannul this claim? or shall we their children reply to it as the impious king of Egypt did, by saying, "Who is the Lord that we should obey his voice?" or shall we join with the heathen who are mentioned in the same Psalm, by saying of the Lord and his annointed, "Let us break their bands, and cast away their cords from us?" Such was the language of the French revolutionists in the "*reign of terror*," but such was not the language of our pious forefathers, and such is not the language of our constitution.

The entire history of the American people, from their first settlement in this country to the forming of the federal constitution, shows them

to have been a christian people, and there is nothing in that instrument to contradict this historical evidence. We are therefore bound to conclude that it was their intention in their organic law to establish a christian republic under the moral discipline of the religion of God's word. We are supported in this conclusion by the constitution itself, and by the acts of the government since the adoption of that instrument. The question then returns, whether in this christian nation congress possess the authority to require our citizens to violate the acknowledged precepts of christianity. If they do possess this authority, our religious liberty is in their hands, and the American people hold their dearest privileges at the will of their representatives. But if congress possess this power, they must have derived it either from *heaven* or of men. But as heaven has granted no such power, and men could not confer it, it is evident that they do not possess any such authority.

The next question for our consideration is whether the said 11th section of the post-office law does require any of our citizens to violate any one of the precepts of our holy religion. It will not be denied that this section requires

postmasters to transact secular business on the first day of the week; the only question therefore necessary to decide the last, is, whether the first day of the week is the christian sabbath. This point has long been settled by the voice of every christian nation in the world. Though the sabbath has been shamefully secularized by most christian nations, yet they have all of them acknowledged the first day of the week to be the christian sabbath.

In the case of *Levan vs. Brown*, (Bur. 1595) Lord Mansfield says, "As early as 517, a cannon was made to prevent judicial business being done on the Lord's day, or first day of the week; that this cannon was engrafted into the imperial constitution by Theodosius, adopted by the emperors Carolus and Ludovicus, taken into the cannon law by Gratian, and afterwards confirmed by William the Conqueror and Henry the Second, and so became a part of the common law."

Nor is the first day of the week, as the christian sabbath, unknown to our constitution. That instrument, as we have before shown, makes provision for the chief magistrate being free from executive business on that day.

The question being thus settled that the first day of the week has been judicially acknowledged as the christian sabbath, the law which requires the citizen to transact secular business on that day requires him to violate one of the precepts of christianity, and thus conflicts with the revealed command of the almighty God, and is consequently void.

But this section is not only void upon the ground that in all christian nations the divine law is paramount to any human enactment, but we think we can show that it is void upon the ground that it conflicts with the constitution itself.

The first article of amendment of the constitution guarantees to every citizen the free exercise of religion. The law in question prohibits postmasters from keeping the sabbath day holy. Under this law no man who believes in the holiness of the sabbath, can enjoy the free exercise of his religion without being deprived of one of the rights of an American citizen, viz., the right of holding an office in the post-office department when regularly appointed thereto. The people of these United States have as much right to enjoy the honors and

emoluments of an office to which they are regularly appointed, as they have to enjoy a freehold estate when they become possessed of land in fee, and it is as much a breach of the constitution to require them to break the sabbath or be excluded from office, as it would be to require them to desecrate that holy day or be deprived of the right of being freeholders.

The right to observe the sabbath is a part of our religious liberty; and the right to hold an office, when duly appointed thereto, is one of the franchises of an American citizen; both are secured to us by the constitution, and yet it is obvious that both cannot be enjoyed under the law which we have been examining. But this is not the only constitutional objection to this law.

The third section of the sixth article of the constitution provides that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States." The law under consideration requires every citizen, on becoming a postmaster, to obligate himself to violate the sabbath every week in the year. Now there can be no doubt that a law requiring any man before he became a post-

master to obligate himself to keep the sabbath day holy, would be inconsistent with this clause in the constitution. But if it would be a violation of the constitution for congress to require men to obligate themselves to keep the sabbath holy, as a qualification for being postmasters, it can be no less a violation of that instrument to require the breaking of the sabbath as a qualification. The rights of a christian are as sacred to the constitution as the rights of an infidel, and if congress are restrained by it from establishing a test which would exclude the latter they can have no right to make one which would exclude the former.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LINE OF DEMARCATION BETWEEN THE SECULAR KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD AND THE CHURCH OR SPIRITUAL KINGDOM OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

The Scribes and Pharisees for the purpose of bringing our Savior into conflict with the Roman government, sent their disciples with the Herodians to him to inquire whether it was lawful for the people of God to pay tribute to Cæsar.

Jesus in his reply, instead of answering the specific question, settled the great principle of secular and spiritual jurisdiction which should govern both the church and the world under the New Testament dispensation. He recognized the existence of two separate and independent governments, to both of which his people owed allegiance and subjection, and showed that obedience to the legitimate pow-

ers, and prerogatives of the one would never interfere with submission to the other.

By the things which belong to Cæsar, we are to understand the prerogatives and powers of the secular governments of this world; and by the things which belong to God, that spiritual service which the members of his spiritual kingdom must render to him.

As both these kingdoms are ordained and recognized by the Almighty—as they must coexist in the same state, and as they possess prerogatives and powers separate and independent of each other, it is of great importance to the well-being of both, that the line of demarkation between the two should be plainly defined and the prerogatives and powers of each be well understood.

To trace this line and show what are the prerogatives and the powers which belong to each of these coexisting governments, shall be our business in the present chapter.

Among the prerogatives and powers of the secular government, are those of making and executing all laws and regulations relating to the life, liberty, and property of the people.

It is certain that the Roman government in

the time of Christ and his apostles, exercised these powers; and it is no less certain that these inspired teachers recognised them as legitimate, and taught the people to submit to them.

Nor is it less clear that the Almighty has a spiritual kingdom upon the earth which we call the Church. This kingdom was set up in the family of Adam soon after the fall, and continued in the world under different dispensations until the coming of the Messiah, when it was remodeled, and permanently established by him as the kingdom which should never be destroyed.

To learn the nature of this kingdom under the last or christian dispensation, and to know what are its prerogatives and powers, we must go to its divine founder and his inspired apostles for information.

First of all, we would invite your attention to the testimony of the Lord himself. When he was arrested and carried before Pilate, he was arraigned upon the charge of high treason; and the specification in the indictment was that he had subverted the nation, by forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that

he himself was Christ a king In this specification the whole charge turns upon the allegation that Jesus claimed to be the Christ who was to come. This was the gist of the indictment; and was all that was relied upon by his accusers to make out what would now be called constructive treason. The Jews had long expected and taught that Christ was to be "a temporal prince, to rule with secular power over the Jewish nation. It was such a belief which led Herod to seek the life of the infant Savior; and it was upon this interpretation of the prophecies, that the chief priests and pharisees expected to procure his conviction before Pilate. Their reasoning was, that as Christ, when he came was to be the king of the Jews, the claim of Jesus to be the Christ was a claim to royal authority over the Israelites, and was virtually forbidding them any longer to give tribute to Cæsar. Pilate who understood the prevalent opinion in regard to the character of the Messiah, was prepared to take cognizance of this cause, and accordingly when he had sit down upon the judgment seat, he called upon Jesus to answer to the charge. This he did by what lawyers would now call a special plea, in which

he admitted that he was the expected Messiah, and as such, was a king; but avoided the conclusion drawn in the indictment that this claim to royal authority interfered with any of the secular powers or prerogatives of Cæsar, by alleging that his kingdom was not of this world. The question now before Pilate was whether this plea was a satisfactory answer to the charge brought against the Savior by his accusers. Upon this issue the Roman governor gave judgment that the prisoner was not guilty of the crime alleged against him, but was entirely faultless in this matter.

Here, the first question which presents itself to us is, whether Pilate understood the matter of the defence set up. If he did not, it must have been either because Jesus was incapable of making himself understood, or because he wished to deceive; but as either supposition would be revolting to every christian feeling, we must conclude that Pilate did understand him.

The next question is whether Pilate would have entirely acquitted his prisoner and proposed to let him go, if he had not understood him to say that the regal authority which he

claimed and the kingdom which he set up did not at all conflict with the claims of Cæsar to civil or secular power. Such a supposition cannot be entertained without imputing to the Roman governor a criminal disregard to the Roman authority, and to the interests of Cæsar under whom he held his office. Will any man in his senses come to this conclusion? If not, then we have arrived at the following facts:

I. Jesus was charged before Pilate with claiming to be a king, and with having come to set up a kingdom which would conflict with the secular authority of the Roman government.

II. He admitted that he was a king and had come to set up a kingdom, but defended himself from the charge of constructive treason, by alleging that his kingdom was not of this world.

III. That Pilate understood the import of this plea, and being satisfied with its truth came to the righteous decision that Jesus was not guilty.

Now if these things are so, we have the testimony of the Son of God, that the christian church or kingdom which he has set up, has

nothing in its constitution or powers which will conflict with the secular affairs of any civil government.

It is a spiritual kingdom; though it exists in the world, it is not of the world. It possesses no jurisdiction over the men of the world, and has no right to interfere at all with the secular affairs of any state or nation.

But though the christian church or kingdom of Christ has no right to interfere with the secular affairs of the state, it is clear that she possesses privileges, and is under obligation to perform duties over which the secular government has no control.

While it is our imperious duty to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's we are under equal obligation to render to God the things that are God's—while the Savior on his trial gave Cæsar the entire control of the secular affairs of the empire, and submitted his body to the jurisdiction of the governor, he renounced none of his spiritual privileges. He did not renounce his authority as king of Zion, to rule in and reign over the hearts of his people. He would not allow his servants to fight for him, that he should not be delivered up; but he

commanded them to disciple the nations, and to teach them to do all things whatsoever he had said unto them. They were to preach his word—to gather converts into christian churches—administer the ordinance of baptism and the Lord's Supper—to watch over and govern the churches thus planted—to admonish or expel disorderly members, and in all things to maintain a life of holiness, as they had him for their example. These were privileges and duties belonging to christians, as such. These were things which belonged to God; things which his people must render to him whether the civil ruler would consent or not.

Here, then, is the line which Christ has himself drawn between the two kingdoms. The one is the secular kingdom of this world; the other the spiritual kingdom of Christ. The one has jurisdiction over the bodies and property of men; the other over the hearts and consciences of the people of God. The one can make and enforce laws relating to the property and liberty, and life of its subjects; the other can only administer the law of Christ touching the government, discipline, and worship of his people.

The secular power, as we have already said, has a legitimate authority over the property, and liberty and life of the members of the state. As the representative of the nation, it not only may, but must have cognizance of these things. It belongs to the legislator to enact laws, to the judge to expound them, and to the executive to see that they are carried out and enforced. These powers are essential to the very existence of civil government; and though the ruler, or rulers, are amenable to God for the manner in which they may exercise these powers, yet there is no earthly tribunal to which they are responsible except to the nation itself. With these things neither the church in her ecclesiastical capacity nor her members, as such, have anything to do.

On the other hand, the church has power to administer the laws and carry out the instructions of her spiritual head. It is her peculiar province to expound the scriptures, to preach the gospel, to disciple the nations, to administer the sacraments, to receive into and expel from her communion, and in all things, to superintend and regulate the worship of the Most

High, according to the directions of his holy word. Over these privileges and prerogatives of the church, or spiritual kingdom of Christ, the state has no legitimate control.

The civil government may be tyrannical, despotic, cruel, but still it does not belong to any ecclesiastical tribunal, or to any ecclesiastic to interfere.

So, on the other hand, the church may become corrupt and unsound and oppressive, and yet so long as she does not intrench upon the secular rights of the subject, or the citizen, the civil government has no legitimate control over her. The state may confiscate my property, imprison my person, or take away my life, and the church has no right to interfere.

So, on the other hand, the church may depose me from the ministry and cut me off from the communion of saints, in the most unrighteous and oppressive manner, and the civil government has no legitimate power to interpose for my relief.

These principles were uniformly received and adopted, and acted upon by the apostles, from the time that they learned that their master's kingdom was not of this world. They were

fearless and untiring in the work which their Divine Lord had committed to their hands; but they scrupulously abstained from meddling with the prerogative of the civil power. They rendered to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's and to God the things which were God's. When the civil government interfered with those duties which the christian owed to Christ, the apostles would always obey God rather than man; but when that government spoiled the property, imprisoned the persons, or took away the lives of God's people, their inspired teachers taught them both by precept and example to be "subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake."

Had the christian dispensation been ushered in at the time when the secular government was in the hands of good men, who governed the people in the fear of God, it might be said that the directions to submit to and honor the civil ruler would not be binding when the wicked were in authority, and the laws were unrighteous and oppressive; but as the Almighty was pleased to organize the church at a time when the secular power was in the hands of the most cruel and oppressive man that ever dis-

graced a sceptre—a time when the people were groaning under the most absolute and unrestrained despotism that was ever dignified with the name of civil government, we have both the example and the precept of inspired men to guide us in the most extreme cases that can ever occur in our fallen world. It was not the righteous, God-fearing ruler to whom Christ and his apostles directed the men of their day to yield honor and obedience, but the gory-handed monster who trampled upon the “inalienable rights” of his subjects; nor were they equitable enactments to which christians in those primitive days were charged to submit themselves, but the ordinances of wicked rulers, which, like the laws of Draco, were written in blood. Under these ordinances the apostles, all of them were most cruelly persecuted, and all but one brought to a violent death. The disciples, like their Lord, were led as sheep to the slaughter, and like lambs before their shearers, they were dumb, and opened not their mouth.

But it is still said by some, that the apostolic instruction and example on this subject, are not applicable to us in this land of liberty. “Under the Roman emperors,” they tell us, “that

christians possessed no political power, and consequently could only submit to the edicts of the despot; but under our republican institutions, the christian, in common with other citizens, is himself clothed with political power." All this is undoubtedly so, but still it does not alter his duties as a citizen of Zion. It remains true, that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and that it is the duty of all the subjects of that kingdom to yield a quiet subjection to the civil constitution and laws, by whomsoever they may have been framed, or by whomsoever they may be administered. The change in political institutions may change our political relations, and vary our political duties; but so long as the church, or kingdom of christ, is unchanged, our duties as *members of this kingdom* remain the same. The church, *as such*, has no more right to encroach upon the prerogatives of the state, under a republic, than it has under a despotism. The laws of Christ, by which his church must be governed, do not vary, like the policy of some churches, with the peculiar forms of civil government; but are the same now that they were when they were first published. If the civil ruler is a Pagan or Mahom-

edan, he possess prerogatives and powers with which the church may not interfere; and if he should be a christian, this does not change the relation between the secular government he administers and the church or spiritual kingdom of Christ. So if the civil government be a despotism, a monarchy, or a republic, the duties of the church of Christ towards it are the same. The christian and the christian church must submit themselves "to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," whatever may be the form of government under which those ordinances shall be made. The church and the state are two distinct kingdoms, both recognised by God, and both amenable to him; and though the same men may belong to both, yet, when they act as members of the one, they derive their authority from its constitution and laws, and have no right, while so acting, to interfere at all with the constitution and laws of the other.

But here it may be asked whether the members of the church must lay aside their religion when they act as members of the state, or engage in political affairs. I answer, by no means. A man may never lay aside his religion; it

must govern him in all the various duties of his life. The same man may be called, in our country, to act as a father, as a legislator, as a judge, as a sheriff, and as an elder in the Presbyterian church. He must act as a christian in all of these capacities; but who does not see that he must act in different relations, and that the immediate sources of his authority are as separate and distinct as the nature of his duties? His religion requires him when acting as a father, to correct his disobedient son; when acting as a legislator, to make good laws for the state; when acting as a judge, to sentence the convicted murderer to be hung; when acting as a sheriff, to take away the life of the sentenced criminal; and when acting as a ruling elder, to receive members into the church and expel disorderly persons, &c.

Now what would be said, if this man, in the capacity of an officer in Christ's church should correct children, make laws for the state, condemn men to be hung, or hang men? If he was not cleared upon the ground that he was insane, he would be liable for assault and battery and for murder; while the laws that he should enact, and the judicial decisions he might make, would

be given to the wind. Nor would the laws of Christ's house justify him any more than the laws of our state. And yet if he had performed each of these acts in his appropriate relation, the laws of the state and the laws of God would have upheld and justified him.

Just so with a man who as *a member of the church or a ruler in the church*, meddles with the political affairs of the state; he is out of his place and is guilty of intrenching upon the prerogative of the secular power; while the same man might, in the capacity of a citizen of the state, have done the same thing and have been blameless.

A few practical inferences from our subject, will close what we have to say in this chapter.

I. We may infer that the church of God in her ecclesiastical character has no right to enter the political arena, either by constituting a distinct organization, or by espousing the cause of any existing political party, however pure such party may be or however corrupt the men to whom it may stand opposed. As we have already shown, the christian man as a member of the state, possesses all the rights and privileges of any other citizen, and may without vio-

lating the laws of Christ do everything which it would be lawful and proper for other citizens to do; but when he enters the political arena he must enter it as a member of the state, and not as a member of the church.

II. We infer that the christian church has no authority either in her primary assemblies or in her ecclesiastical judicatories, to array herself against any constitution or laws of any state or nation. It is not the business of the spiritual kingdom of Christ to change the constitution or laws of the state, nor to sit in judgment upon the political institutions of any nation. These are things which belong to Cæsar; they bear his image and superscription as much as the tribute money did, and must under the direction of Christ be left in the hands of the secular power.

The christian church was not constituted to govern the world, but to save the world; and it is only when she confines herself to her appropriate work, that she can expect the approbation of her Lord. It is not becoming the bride of Christ to engage in the political contentions of the men of this world. The political arena is not the place which the Lord has assigned her.

No individual church that has occupied this ground has long maintained her spirituality; and no state that has submitted to such encroachments has for any considerable time maintained its integrity.

The right of private judgment and of independent action in our political affairs, and the right of thinking and acting for ourselves in matters of religion, are both essential elements in national freedom; they are the warp and the woof of the web of liberty, and neither of them can be withdrawn without leaving the other at loose ends. But let the church obtain an ascendancy over the state, let the civil ruler cringe and cower before the denunciatory bulls of ecclesiastical tribunals, and you will have destroyed them both, and have laid the foundation of a *politico-religious* despotism in which the sword of civil power may be directed by a spiritual hierarchy, which to enforce its commands, may call to its aid the fury of the wildest fanaticism.

I know it will be said that there is nothing to fear from these fulminations. Their advocates tell us that they are not binding, and are designed to correct public opinion; but I

know, too, that when the Jesuits were expelled from Europe for their interference with the government of the nations, they could have made the same apology; they only wished to correct public opinion. The bulls of the papal hierarchy are designed to correct public opinion; and they have done it so effectually that even to this day, in papal countries, the man who falls under the anathemas of the spiritual power, is cut off from all the sympathies and from all the compassion of his fellow-men and is an outcast and a vagabond upon the earth.

These proclamations of ecclesiastics, or ecclesiastical bodies are evidently intended, not only to control the action of our spiritual courts, but to tell upon the ballot-box, by extending their influence over the votes of our citizens. It is in fact the shaking of the rod of spiritual power over the heads of our civil rulers, and telling our presidents, and governors, and legislators, and all our political functionaries, that if they wish to secure a re-election, they must study the records of our ecclesiastical tribunals.

Such a course, if it should become general, must either subject the civil to the ecclesiastical power, or it must bring the church into a

conflict with the state. If our ecclesiastical bodies take upon themselves to denounce and bring the influence of their spiritual power to bear against any of the political institutions of the country, the secular government must modify or remove the offensive institution, or defend itself against the assault. To do the first would be to make the secular government in our republic, what it has long been in all papal countries, the mere tool of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. To do the last, would be to make two of God's institutions the enemies of each other, and in this way subvert the authority of both.

As Americans and especially as American christians, we should abhor all commingling of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. We should remember that the bloody despotism of Rome was nothing but the natural consummation of the secular power becoming subservient to a spiritual hierarchy. In every instance, where the church can control the state, there is a virtual union of the two; and where that control is exercised without any constitutional recognition of the right on the part of the controlling power, it is so much the more dangerous, because it is the exercise of power by an irre-

sponsible body, over a responsible one. This we hesitate not to say, was the commencement of that great corruption of christianity which for more than one thousand years spread her raven-colored mantle over an enslaved world. If protestant Americans will suffer their ecclesiastical bodies to sit in judgment upon the political institutions, and municipal laws of the state, and condemn them, and then publish their sentence to the world through the press, with a view to bring about the removal of the obnoxious institution, and the repeal of the offensive laws, we must award the same privilege to the papal hierarchy. But we have seen some of the fruits of such interference of the spiritual with the secular power, in the destruction of the noble fabric of the New York common school system; and we shall probably have enough of it from the successor of St. Peter, without having our protestant churches encourage that hierarchy by the influence of their example.

But there is another evil, growing out of this ecclesiastical encroachment upon civil prerogatives; which is the division of our churches and the introduction of contention and disorder.

der among the ambassadors of Christ. The protestant churches are not compressed and bound together by the bondage of a sworn allegiance to one man, as the papists are. They have been accustomed to think for themselves, and to bow to no authority but that of the Almighty. They submit to the secular magistrate because God has commanded them to be in subjection to "every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," and they only feel themselves bound to submit to ecclesiastical authority, when our churches keep within the prescribed limits of their divinely delegated powers. Hence, it has been that the claim which is put forth by some of our ministers and churches, to the right of sitting in judgment upon the constitutions and laws of the states has been the means of producing more division, and strife, and alienation of feeling among the people of God, than any one thing that has ever happened.

If these things are so, shall we not use all our influence to call the church back to the limits prescribed to her by the blessed Lord? Shall we not, by rendering "to Cæsar the

things which are Cæsar's and to God the things which are God's," get rid of our alienations and divisions about the political institutions and the municipal laws of the state, and as christian churches and christian ministers "follow the things which make for peace; and things whereby one may edify another?" Let the monitory example of the iron despotism of the papal church admonish us to avoid every thing which will tend to bring the kingdom of Christ down from the elevated station where her Lord has placed her, to a level with the secular kingdoms of this world. If you take away her spirituality, you divest her of her beauty; if you secularize her you despoil her of her glory; and if you incumber her with any of the political interests of this world, you will have shorn her of her power. The *man of sin* can wear two swords, but the soldiers of the cross, in their spiritual warfare, can wield only the "sword of the spirit." Our weapons must not be carnal, if we would have them "mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds."

This is "the glorious gospel of the blessed

God, which is committed to our trust," and if we will keep close to our divine commission and proclaim it in all the holy strictness of its requirements, in all the amplitude and richness of its provisions, and in all the fearful weight of its sanctions, we shall do more to correct and remove the evils which prevail among men than the united church if she were consolidated under one pontifical head, could ever accomplish by meddling with the prerogatives of the secular power.

Let us then who hope that we have been redeemed by the blood of Christ clothe ourselves in the panoply of his gospel, and keep the spiritual glory of his unearthly kingdom constantly before our minds; let us care for the prosperity of that kingdom infinitely more than for the triumph of any earthly scheme or measure: let us have our minds so imbued with the spiritual and eternal interests of men that no difference of opinion about minor matters can divert us from the united pursuit of that object, alienate our affections from each other, or cause us to fall out by the way. And may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep,

through the blood of the everlasting covenant
make you perfect in every good work work-
ing in you that which is well pleasing in his
sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glo-
ry forever and ever. *Amen.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WORLD DEPENDENT ON THE CHURCH.

The Psalmist, in the fifty-third Psalm, says:
“O that the salvation of Israel were come out
of Zion!”

Israel was a highly favored nation. It was for many generations the only depository of those holy scriptures which are able to make men wise unto salvation. They were a peculiar people, chosen of God to bear his name, sustain his institutions, maintain his worship, and give birth to one who should be a light to lighten the gentiles and the glory of his people Israel.”

This nation was the focal point for the light and life of the world, and the impassioned exclamation of the Psalmist was not prompted merely by a patriotic love for his country, but

by a benevolent desire for the glory of God in the salvation of the world. He desired the salvation of Israel not only for Israel's sake, but because the redemption of the human family from the thralldom of sin depended upon an influence which must go out from that people.

Since the Psalmist uttered the words which I have quoted, the Messiah has come into the world; Israel, for its iniquities, has been deprived of its national existence; the new testament church has been set up; and a nation has arisen in this new world, almost as peculiar in its ancestry, in its institutions, its character, its privileges, and the influence which it is exerting and is destined to exert, as Israel itself was.

If there ever was a nation that should be thankful to God for its parentage, it is the one to which we belong. Our fathers, to whom we are indebted for our national character and our national institutions, like Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, were men who left their country, and their kindred, and their father's house, for the sake of their religion. Like those patriarchs they were taught the evil nature of civil and religious despotism by living in

the midst of them, and seeing and feeling the evils which were inseparably connected with them. The discipline which formed the characters of those men, commenced and went forward under the influence of causes which a benignant God was from time to time putting in operation to prepare the world for an era of light and liberty based upon the sure foundation of an uncorrupted christianity. They endured sore persecutions that they might learn the evils of religious intolerance, and know how to appreciate true christian liberty. They felt the heavy hand of civil oppression that they might learn the danger of trusting civil rulers with too much power, and endured the pains and penalties of a politico-religious establishment, that they might know the consequences of a union of church and state. In short, their discipline was just what infinite wisdom saw was necessary to prepare them for laying the foundation of a nation which in its character, institutions, and government, would be "the salt of the earth and the light of the world."

Nor was this discipline lost upon our fathers, but it was eminently instrumental, in the hand of God, of preparing them to work out the prob-

lem — how a nation might maintain the authority of its government while all its citizens were equal in rank and in rights, and how it could sustain its religious institutions while every man was left free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

We are a peculiar people in regard to our institutions. The framework of our government is diverse from that of any other nation. It is founded upon the principle "that all men are born free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of freemen; and that governments are instituted, not to confer privileges, but to secure to individuals their inalienable rights." Toleration and indulgence, which are as familiar as household words to the nations of the old world, have no place in our national vocabulary. They will do for the "shepherd of the valley," and for other emigrants from despotic schools, but they are exotics which are not indigenous to our soil. In this country, the people are the sovereigns, and the men whom they elect to administer the government and make their laws are their public servants who act in their name and by their authority.

Our religious institutions, too, so far as they are American, are peculiar to our own country. Our churches are associations of christians, organized according to what each believes to be the model furnished in the New Testament. These churches are supplied with the word and ordinances of God, not by a *priestly caste*, but by a christian ministry chosen and supported by themselves, who acknowledge no ecclesiastical subjection to any state, lord, prince or potentate, except the LORD JESUS CHRIST. We are a christian republic, but are free from all religious tests and religious establishments. We recognize the Bible as the word of God and make provision in our organic law for the observance of the christian sabbath by our rulers, but leave all men free to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. While we render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's we render unto God the things which are God's.

We are a peculiar people in respect to our national character. As a nation we are distinguished from all other people by our regard for the word of God as the only rule of faith and practice. Though there are many individ-

uals in other nations who regard the holy scriptures as we do, yet the great mass of the population of other nations obtain their rule of faith and practice from the formularies and canons and rubrics of their national church establishments. But with us the supremacy of the Bible is an element of our national character which enters into and modifies all our national institutions. We not only acknowledge the holy scriptures as the word of God, and appeal to them as the rule of our faith and the guide of our life, but we claim the right to interpret them for ourselves.

It is true that there are individuals and some whole denominations among us who are not allowed to admit this vital element of freedom among them, but have to suffer their priests to dictate to them how they must understand the word of God. But these are men who though they live in our country and enjoy many of the blessings of our protestant institutions, are not protestants or American in their sympathies; but are under the influence of anti-protestant, and anti-republican prejudices, which they have received from Oxford or from Rome; but as a nation our religious opinions are not bound by

the decisions of any court, or council, or hierarchy. We claim the liberty exercised by the *noble Bereans*, and when we hear the opinions of our oldest and ablest divines, we search the scriptures to see if these things are so.

Again, we are a peculiar people in regard to our privileges. As a nation we are in this respect, exalted above any other people. We have government without oppression, and the largest liberty without anarchy and insubordination. We sit under our own vine and our own fig-tree and have none to make us afraid. As our laws emanate from ourselves, and those who enact and execute them are our public servants, they can only be a terror to evil-doers while they are a praise to those who do well. The road to riches, to honor, and to happiness lie open to all, and the sons of the poor as well as the rich, may hope by a life of honesty, industry and economy, to acquire a competence, if not an abundance, to occupy an honorable position in society, and if they will add to the several virtues which I have mentioned, the grace of faith in the Redeemer, they may all, after enjoying the temporal blessings consequent upon well doing, receive at death the

welcome of good and faithful servants into the joys of their LORD.

Finally, we are a peculiar people in respect to the influence which we are exerting and are destined to exert upon the nations of the world. It seems to me that God's providential care over us in times past is a cheering indication of his purpose to make us a distinguished instrument in his hand of bringing on the predicted era of the world's glory. He kept our coasts and country hid from the adventurous voyager until he had, by the light of the reformation, and the struggles of the puritans, prepared in Great Britain the materials for a pious and a patriotic colonization. From the landing of the Mayflower and the settlement of Jamestown to the declaration of independence, he kept our fathers in the furnace of affliction that he might burn out the dross which they had brought over from Europe, and perfect them in the great lessons which they had begun to learn there.

After our revolutionary struggle was over, he settled us in our present happy form of government, and kept us from foreign wars and other desolating judgments until we became strong enough to defend ourselves against any

assault from without ; and to unite us together at home, he has continued to pour out his spirit upon us, and thus make the bond which binds the family in heaven together, the constituting principle of our national union.

In these ways God has been preparing us to teach the nations of the earth that *they are men*, and that as the children of a common parent they were *born free and equal*, and are endowed by their creator with the precious inalienable rights of civil and religious liberty ; but that nations to be free and happy must “serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling, and must kiss the Son, or recognize the Savior and submit themselves to him.

We have already, by the influence of example, taught the people that they are men, and as men, have rights, and they have begun to stand erect before their rulers and demand these rights. The learning of this first lesson has led to revolutions and bloodshed, and has made every despot tremble upon his throne. But because they had not learned that as men they were amenable to God and must act in obedience to him, when they have thrown off the yoke of their imperious masters, they have

been unprepared for liberty and the wild collisions of the masses have brought on a reaction, and they are again bound by the yoke of despotism.

Now we who have taught them that they are men and have rights, must teach them the other lesson before the first will avail them anything. We alone of all the nations of the earth have experienced the blessedness of the practical working of civil and religious liberty under the benign influence of the religion of the Bible, and the inhabitants of the old world are beginning to look to us, as the wise men of the east did to the lone star that hung over Bethlehem, to know where they may find him who alone can save them from being "ruled with a rod of iron, or dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel."

God has given to us an influence and the means of exerting it, as he has to no other nation under the heavens. Our territory extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and will in a few years be the highway of nations. The ports on our western border, are in the neighborhood of Polynesia, and on the direct route to the Chinese empire, and the other oriental

nations. On the Atlantic we can have an easy access to Europe and to benighted Africa, where we have already planted a colony of freemen, who have grown into an independent republic, sympathizing with us in our love for civil and religious liberty, and having learned from us how to be free.

We have the wealth and the enterprise to do any thing that man can accomplish, and in a few years, if the Lord continues to smile upon us, we shall possess a physical and a moral power which will give us a controlling influence over the world.

If, then, the influence of Israel over the nations was such as to lead the pious psalmist to breathe out the pathetic desire which I have quoted, for her salvation, what ought to be the feelings of an American citizen, and especially of an American christian, in regard to our own country?

Though we are descended from a godly and a patriotic ancestry, and are blest with institutions founded upon that wisdom which cometh down from above, yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the great body of our nation, like Israel of old, are destitute of an experimen-

tal acquaintance with that holy religion which lies at the foundation of our national character and privileges, and has given us an influence, which if rightly directed, must ultimately emancipate the world from its civil and religious thralldom.

The law-abiding feelings, the domestic and social enjoyments, and the patriotic aspirations of our citizens, are to a fearful extent the effects of a cause which is passing away. They are the results of that protestant and puritan piety which burned in the bosoms of our godly progenitors, and are kept alive by the reflex influence of men who are sleeping in their graves, and of the sterling piety which still exists among us, and of the direct influence of our religious institutions.

How important then, not only to ourselves and our children, but to the world at large, is the salvation of our country from that false religion which is paralyzing the public conscience, and those outward evil practices which are poisoning the morals of the people, but especially from the power and dominion of sin over the heart. The position which we occupy among the nations, and the responsibility which that

position imposes, call for something more than the reflex influence of the piety of a small part upon the whole. We need an atmosphere of religious thought and feeling pervading the whole nation. We need a national religion, not produced by human laws creating a religious establishment, and punishing non-conformists; but a religion which is wrought deep down in the heart of the masses and the millions, by individual regeneration, which as it extends, will become national and will bind the hearts of our citizens to God and to one-another with the golden chain of a disinterested affection. Such a baptism of the spirit is what we need as a nation, and what we must have if we would be the honored instruments in the hand of God of proclaiming liberty to the captive nations, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.

But this salvation of our nation, like the salvation of Israel of old, must come out of Zion. That pure river of water of life which proceedeth out from the throne of God and the Lamb, must flow to the nation through the church.

How fearful, then, is the responsibility of the people of God in this highly favored land!

How high and holy are the motives which urge them to action! The salvation of a nation which stands connected in the providence of God with the redemption of the world, depending, instrumentally, upon the example, the prayers, and the efforts of the church.

When we view the greatness of the work to be performed—the difficulties to be overcome, and the comparatively small number of evangelical christians to whom we must look, we may well tremble, and inquire, “who is sufficient for these things.” Contemplate for a moment the numerous systems of false religions which are intrenched behind the corruptions of the human heart—the numerous modifications of infidelity which are being warmed into life by men who “love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil,” and the millions of all classes who, though they have as yet embraced no particular system of error, are suffering the “god of this world to blind their minds so that the light of the glory of God, shining in the face of Jesus Christ, cannot shine in unto them,” and you will have a birdseye view of the work which is before you, and will find abundant occasion to cry unto God for aid.

But you must remember, for your encouragement, that the work is the Lord's and that you are only the instruments which he has chosen to accomplish it, and that he can cause the very wrath of men to praise him, and the remainder he will restrain. Take courage, then, ye children of God—the holy angels are all ministering spirits to aid you in your work—and the friends of our race in all parts of the earth are praying for your success. Though the weapons of your warfare are not carnal, yet they are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds. The work is arduous, but the reward is glorious. The emancipation of the nations from civil and ecclesiastical oppression, and the salvation of your own land and the world from sin, are the prize for which you are fighting, and you have the assurance that you shall be conquerors, and more than conquerors, through him who loveth you. Put on then the whole armor of God. Let christians all arise and plead with the Most High to restore unto them the joys of his salvation, that they may teach transgressors his ways, and that sinners may be converted unto him. Having obtained a fresh baptism of the Holy Ghost, begin at

home and labor and pray for an extensive, and pure, and powerful revival of religion to reanimate, and re-enforce the sacramental host of God's elect, to prepare it to go up upon the breadth of the earth, and take possession in the name of the Lord, and plant the standard of the cross in all those dark places which are now full of the habitations of cruelty. Adopt as your motto the apostle's aphorism: "I can do all things through Christ, who strengtheneth me." Let the redemption of the world—the *whole world*—be your aim, the arm of the Almighty your confidence, and the love of Christ the constraining and stimulating principle, to urge you forward and sustain you in your work.

Remember, for your encouragement, that every soul you may be the means of leading to Christ, is not only an obstacle removed out of the way of your progress, but another soldier enlisted in the cause of the Redeemer to aid you in your work and labor of love.

But may I not, in a cause like this, appeal to American citizens who are not christians? General Washington, in his farewell address to the people of the United States, expressed it as his opinion, that no one could claim the tribute of

patriotism, who should do any thing to weaken the bonds of religion and morality, which he considered the firmest props of our national edifice. But my fellow citizens, remember that by a life of impenitence, you are not only severing your own hearts from those bonds, but are by your example weakening their influence upon the hearts of others. If you would merit the name of a patriot, you must not only cease to subtract from those moral habits and feelings which sustain the life of our republic, but must do what you can to multiply their power; you must not only cease to do evil but learn to do well; you must not only yield to the restraining and conservative power of godliness, by letting its reflex influence keep you back from open acts of wickedness, but you should, by your individual godliness, throw the reflex influence of your own piety around others of your fellow citizens. There was a time when ten righteous men would have saved Sodom, but for the want of that number she was destroyed. There have, hitherto, been righteous men enough in our land to save it from destruction, and make it a great and happy nation, but the time may come when like the cities of the plain, there will not be

piety enough in it to preserve it from a fearful overthrow, and it becomes all its friends to enlist on the Lord's side, that they may "strengthen the things that remain, that are ready to die." It is righteousness which has exalted our nation to its present eminent position, and there is nothing else that can carry it forward from glory to glory. ' If its citizens forget the Lord God of their fathers, and say with the wicked mentioned in the second Psalm, "Let us break their bands, and cast away their cords from us," *Ichabod* will be written upon the doors of our capitol, and the glory will depart from our country.

But if, as we humbly hope, it is the purpose of heaven to save us and make us a savor of life to the other nations of the world, will you, my impenitent fellow citizens, be willing to have your influence adverse to her prosperity? Are you willing that she should be saved, if saved at all, in spite of your example? Remember that in this case the very mercy of the Lord to our country and the world may lead him to destroy those whose lives are spots and blemishes upon our country's glory. It was the goodness of God that brought the flood upon the antide-

luvian world, and rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom, and his designs of mercy to our country, and through her to a dying world, may lead him to bring a miserable destruction upon those whose influence would prove her ruin if they were permitted to remain in her.

With dreadful glory God fulfills
What his afflicted saints request,
And with almighty wrath reveals
His love to give his children rest.

CHAPTER IX.

FORMALISM.

While it is true that the christian religion is necessary to the permanence and happiness of a republic, it is no less true, that christianity itself may be so corrupted by the traditions and commandments of men as to make it the hand-maid to intolerance and oppression.— This was the case with the Jewish religion at the coming of Christ. The apostle Paul in the fourth chapter of Galatians speaks of it on this wise: “Tell me, ye who desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond-maid was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an alegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the

Mount Sinai which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is the mother of us all." Here we have an alegorical description of two antagonistic forms or generic kinds of religion, between which the world has always been divided. The one is a carnal religion, consisting of rites and forms, and addressing itself to the sensuous nature of man. The other is a spiritual religion consisting of the righteousness of faith and addressing itself to the heart.

The former of these religions has, at different periods presented different phases, and under varying circumstances has undergone various modifications, but its elementary principles have always been the same, and it has ever possessed certain characteristic marks by which it can be traced from the earliest periods of its history down to the present day. These marks are,

First: Its subjects, or votaries, like the son of the bend-woman, are born only after the flesh. The terms of admission to its commun-

ion are not spiritual regeneration, but something which is outward and formal.

Second: Its foundation is the traditions and commandments of men instead of a revelation from Almighty God.

Third: It consists in rites and forms, and carnal ordinances, which address themselves to the sensuous nature of its worshipers.

Fourth: It is opposed to religious liberty, and gendereth to bondage.

Fifth: When it possesses the power, it will persecute those who are born after the spirit and worship God in spirit and in truth.

As true religion has existed under three dispensations, so this formal system has presented to the world three different phases, or existed under three generic forms.

The first phase or form of this carnal worship was paganism. This was a corruption of revealed religion under its first dispensation:

“When they knew God they glorified him, not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made

like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts and creeping things." This, upon the testimony of an apostle, was the origin of paganism. They did not like to retain God in their knowledge, and therefore substituted for his holy and rational worship a system of unmeaning and polluting idolatry.

Under this type, or phase of carnal religion, the world was filled with gods made with hands which were worshiped according to man's devise, and the people became the willing slaves of an unprincipled and aspiring priestly caste, who constituted a bloody and oppressive hierarchy, which consumed the property, trampled upon the liberty, and tyrannized over the consciences of men.

No one who is at all acquainted with paganism, either ancient or modern, will deny that it possesses all those characteristic marks which we have mentioned as belonging to the carnal system.

The second phase or type of this carnal religion, was *Judaism*, as it existed in the days when Paul penned the words which I have quoted. When God called his chosen people out of Egypt, and established his covenant

with them at Mount Sinai, the great body of the congregation had a strong disrelish for a pure, spiritual worship. They wanted a religion which would address itself to their outward senses and excite their carnal minds. To meet this state of feeling, and in due time to overcome it, so far as this could consistently be done, God gave them a code of ceremonial and typical observances, which, while it was exceedingly expensive and burdensome, was eminently calculated to teach them their need of a Savior, and to prepare them to receive him at his coming. In the state of mind in which the Israelites were at this time, the Hebrew ritual was at once a remedy for idolatry, a test of obedience, and a "schoolmaster to bring them to Christ." The whole system bore the marks of incipency, and showed that it was only designed as the precursor to another and a final dispensation.

Under this economy of revealed religion, the true Israelities worshiped God, in spirit and in truth. They traced the shadows to the substance, the types to their antitypes, and under the outward ordinances of the ceremonial law received the remission of their sins through

the great atoning sacrifice which was to come. They, like Abraham, saw Christ's day, and rejoiced.

But "all were not Israel who were of Israel." The great mass of the Jewish nation, in the days of Christ and his apostles, had corrupted the revealed religion under its second dispensation, as the pagan world had done under the first; they had made void the law of God by their traditions, constructed a religion out of the husks of an institution which had passed away, and cast out of their synagogue all who trusted alone in the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is what Paul calls "Jerusalem which now is and is in bondage with her children." These were carnal worshipers, who, like the son of the bond-maid had only been born after the flesh; their religion was based upon the traditions of men; it consisted in rites and forms and outward ordinances; it was opposed to liberty, or gendered to bondage, and persecuted all who were born after the spirit.

The third phase or type of this carnal religion we will designate by the name of *prelacy*.

When the Son of God made his appearance in

the flesh to institute the christian dispensation by setting up that spiritual kingdom for which he had been preparing the world ever since the fall, he found mankind divided between the two great rival hierarchies which were composed of the Jewish and the pagan priesthoods. As his religion was, under the gospel, what it always had been, a spiritual religion, and as it was now to be divested of all that outward grandeur which had been thrown around it by the typical observances of the former dispensation, it was opposed to and was opposed by, both the Jew and the Greek. To the one "it was a stumbling block," and to the other, "foolishness," while to the simple-hearted follower of the Lamb, it was "the wisdom of God and the power of God."

The new testament church, instituted by the order of Christ, was composed of spiritual men, who were all taught of God. They neither relied upon that circumcision which was outward in the flesh, nor upon that baptism which is outward on the flesh, but upon that circumcision which was of the heart, in the spirit whose praise is not of man but of God," and

upon that baptism which the Holy Ghost imparts to those who receive Jesus Christ by faith.

By this community the Savior was received and in the mediatorial offices of "Prophet, Priest King." As prophet, he was the instructor, and his word was the only acknowledged rule of faith and practice. As priest, he had, by "the one offering, perfected forever them that are sanctified;" and as King, "he ruled and reigned over them as their only rightful potentate." To minister in this church, Jesus appointed two classes of men, viz. presbyters and deacons. The first are sometimes called bishops, sometimes evangelists, and sometimes pastors and teachers. These several titles all belong to the same grade of office, and are used to designate the particular aspect in which they were viewed, or the particular employment in which they were engaged. When they were contemplated simply as ambassadors for Christ, or officers in the church, they were called presbyters, because that was the name given to the ambassadors of the eastern nations, and the rulers in the Jewish church. The primary meaning of the word is, a man advanced in years; but as the oriental nations were in the habit of employ-

ing old men in their councils, and appointing them as their ambassadors, it came to be a name of office, and as such was applied to the rulers both of the Jewish and the christian church. When these same presbyters were contemplated as having the oversight of the churches, they were called bishops or overseers; when they were contemplated as itinerants going from place to place to preach, they were called evangelists; and when contemplated as shepherds, feeding and taking care of the flock, they were pastors. The presbyterate was the office, and the other names were only descriptive of the particular phases in which the office was presented.

The deacons were appointed to take care of the poor, and to serve tables, and were endowed with no more spiritual authority than other laymen in the church. This was the order of Christ's kingdom, as established by himself. It was purely a spiritual kingdom of which he was the sole head. Its rulers were simple presbyters, some of whom labored in word and doctrine, and others confined themselves to the business of ruling, as our elders do now, but they were all of one grade in of-

fice. They were meek and humble men who claimed no greater honor than being the servants of the church, and no other authority than to minister the word and ordinances of their divine master. They claimed no right to sacerdotal functions only as all christians are kings and priests unto God, and offered no sacrifices except when they presented their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto him.

But the apostle Paul forewarned the church that this primitive simplicity would not always continue. In the second Epistle to the Thesalonians, ii. 7-10, he admonished them of their danger in the following words: "The mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let until he be taken out of the way, and then shall that wicked be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." The spirit here spoken of under the name of "the mystery of iniquity," was doubtless a lust for power, which though it was then repressed and kept in check by the jealousy of the Roman government, would, when that restraint was removed, go from one usurpation to another, until it should



result in the establishment of a spiritual despotism over the church of God.

The first step in bringing about the state of things predicted in this passage, would naturally be to break up the parity and increase the power of the christian ministry. The simple presbyterate possessed but few attractions for carnal and ambitious men, and could never satisfy that lust for power which inspiration saw at work in the apostolic days. A *priestly caste* must take the place of the christian ministry, and a spiritual hierarchy must be substituted for the presbyterial assembly, or such an event as that foretold could never take place. Such a change did come over the churches. The mystery of iniquity, which was at work in the apostles' days, continued to work until the man of sin—the son of perdition—was seated upon the throne of the Cæsars, and the mystical woman who sat upon the scarlet colored beast became drunk with the blood of the saints.

The circumstances of the early disciples were favorable to such innovation. Churches were at first formed in the large cities, and the pastors and members of these churches being god-

ly men, were active in converting the smaller towns and villages to the christian faith. When churches came to be formed in these less important places, they and their pastors would naturally have a high regard for the mother churches, and in case of difficulty would look up to them and their pastors for counsel and assistance. This filial confidence laid a foundation for the pastors of these metropolitan churches, when they became ambitious and aspiring to claim as a right what had at first been conceded as a matter of affectionate regard, and those smaller churches were in time claimed as part and parcel of the larger ones, and the pastors of the latter exercised a supervisory control over the pastors of the former. In this manner prelacy crept into the church, and though its advances have been so insidious that it may be difficult at this distant period to see sufficiently clear through the darkness of the middle ages to fix upon the precise time when it came to be openly claimed as part of her polity, yet it is easy to prove that it was introduced long after the apostolic age.

Bishop Onderdonk of Pa., in a tract entitled

“Episcopacy tested by scripture,” which has since been stereotyped and published by the “Episcopal Tract Society” in this country, and may therefore be considered as containing the sentiments of that denomination, or at least of the hierarchy, says, “All that we read in the New Testament concerning bishops is to be considered as pertaining to the second grade.” Now we all know that by the “second grade,” is meant *the presbyter*. Again he says, “It was after the apostolic age that the name bishop was taken from the middle grade and appropriated to the first.” Here it is admitted by a high church prelate, and the admission is endorsed by authority of the whole denomination in this country, that all that we read of bishops in the New Testament, pertains not to prelates, but to simple presbyters, or such bishops as we have in all our non-prelatical churches, and that it was after the apostolic days that this innovation was made. If, then, we wish to read any thing respecting diocesan bishops, or prelates, under that name, we must not only look somewhere else than in the New Testament, but must look into some book or canon, or decree which was written subsequent to the apostolic age. The

apostle Paul tells us that the Holy Ghost made all the presbyters of the church of Ephesus bishops. Acts, xx. These and all others who were called bishops in the New Testament, the tract admits were mere presbyterial bishops, and that somebody, since the apostolic days, has taken the name from those to whom the Holy Ghost had appropriated it, and given it to a class of men to whom that name is never applied in the New Testament. These admissions are in accordance with the word of God. There is nothing in the New Testament which pertains to prelates or diocesan bishops. The Holy Ghost constituted the simple presbyter the bishop or overseer of his own church, and the New Testament speaks of no other men as ever bearing that name, or being entrusted with that office. The conclusion must therefore be, that prelacy, as it exists in the papal and all other prelatical churches, is an innovation upon the simplicity of the apostolic church. We have only to inquire whether this church possesses the marks which belong to the other branches of the carnal system, in order to determine whether it belongs to the same family, and is included in the apostolic allegory. The

first distinctive mark to which we would call your attention is the carnal or sensual character of its votaries. Are they, like "the son of the bond-maid," born *only* after the flesh? The inquiry is not whether there are not spiritual men in most of the prelatical churches, but whether this is the general character of their worshipers, and whether spiritual regeneration is required as a test of membership. It will not, I think be pretended that the great body of the members of the prelatical churches are spiritual men, nor that spiritual regeneration is required as a term of admission to their communion. Having the sign of the cross made upon the forehead by the priest at baptism, and the bishop's hands laid upon the head at confirmation, constitutes any man a member of their church! In this respect they compare well with paganism and with Judaism.

The second distinctive mark of the carnal religion of which the apostle speaks, is its traditional foundation. The pagan and the Jewish hierarchies both made void the law of God by their traditions. The commandments and the traditions of men were the support of their hierarchies, and were uniformly appealed to by

their priests to sustain them in their opinions and in their practices. This mark adheres to the prelatical, as clearly as it does to the pagan and the Jewish branches? We venture to say that there is not a single peculiarity of the prelatical church which can be sustained from the simple word of God. They cannot find in the entire New Testament any authority for divesting the presbyters of the title of bishop, and appropriating it to another order of men. This is admitted in the tract to which we have already alluded. But we will go further than the tractarian goes in his admissions, and deny that they have any more authority for the thing than they have for the name. The reason why the name of bishop in the New Testament pertains to the presbyter, and not to the prelate, is because the New Testament knows nothing about prelacy. To convince our readers of the truth of this remark, we will briefly examine the prelatical arguments. We are told that the apostles, though they are never called bishops in the word of God, were such in fact, and that the bishops of prelatical churches are the successors of the apostles, in the apostolic office, and as such are apostles

in fact, and exercise their episcopal functions by virtue of their apostolic office.

To make good this modest claim, three things must be proved, viz. that the apostolic office was prelatical, that it was the design of Christ that it should be perpetual, and that the present race of prelatical bishops are the successors of the twelve apostles in the apostolic office. First it must be proved that the apostolic office as held by the original twelve was *prelatical*, that Peter, James and John, and their co-peers, exercised the functions which are now claimed exclusively for prelatical bishops, by virtue of their apostolic and not their presbyterial office. But how can they establish such a fact? The Greek word which we englisize apostle simply means messenger, or one who is sent. It is used in 2 Corinthians, viii. 23, for those whom the church had sent to carry their benefactions to the poor saints, and is translated messenger. It is used in Phillipians, ii. 25, for one who was sent to comfort the brethren, and is also translated messenger. It is used in Hebrews, iii. 1, to designate the Lord Jesus Christ, and is there englisized apostle. You will perceive, therefore, that nothing can be

determined from the mere name as to the peculiar prerogatives of the office. We must then look to some other source for information on this point. But where shall we be so likely to find it as in the appointment of the twelve by the Redeemer himself? In Mark, iii. 14, 15, we read that Jesus "ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach and to have power to heal sickness, and to cast out devils." Here the nature of the office, and the object of the Savior in instituting it, are pointed out by an unerring pen, and yet we can find nothing which looks like prelacy. There is not a word in the whole passage about their being authorized to ordain bishops and an inferior clergy, or to administer the sacraments, and yet if these were the appropriate duties of their office, this was the very place where we should expect to have found them recorded. Again, in that chapter of Acts, where the one hundred and twenty disciples, at the request of Peter, selected a man to fill the place of Judas, it seems to have been the opinion of one of the twelve, which was concurred in by the electoral college, that they must choose one who had

seen Jesus both before and after his resurrection, because he must be a witness to the things which he had seen. The language of Peter on the occasion was, "Wherefore of these men who have accompanied with us all the time, that Jesus went in and out before us, beginning with the baptism of John, until the same day when he was taken up from us, must one be appointed to be a witness with us of his resurrection."

In perfect accordance with these two passages, is the language of Ananias, who was sent by God to deliver his will to Saul of Tarsus. "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will and see that just one, and hear the voice of his mouth. for thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard."

Now in all these cases we have, clearly pointed out, the nature of the apostolic office, the design of its appointment and the necessary qualifications of an incumbent, and yet in neither of them do we find the slightest intimation that anything like prelacy was wrapt up in the commission.

The truth is, that the apostles, *as such*, were

neither bishops nor presbyters of the christian church, but a select number of witnesses who were chosen by Christ, and sent forth to testify to the great and fundamental truths of christianity, and to confirm this testimony by miracles. There is not the slightest evidence that, *as apostles*, they were authorized either to ordain christian ministers or to administer christian ordinances. If we except Paul, at the time they were appointed and invested with their office, there was no christian church existing, and consequently there could have been neither a christian ministry nor christian ordinances. Christ was himself, during his life-time, a minister of the circumcision. It is true, that after the christian church was set up, the apostles did ordain a christian ministry and administer christian ordinances, but this was not by virtue of the apostolic office, but by virtue of the presbyterate, an office which they received at a subsequent time.

In Matthew, xxxiii. 16-20, we are told that the eleven went into a mountain of Galilee where Jesus had appointed to meet them, and that he there commissioned them to "go into all the world and to disciple the nations, and

to baptise those whom they discipled, in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Ghost." Here they were invested with a new office. It was not the apostolic office, for they were apostles before; but the presbyterial office, the only one ever authorized in the christian church which carried with it the authority to ordain a christian ministry or administer christian ordinances.

The same thing is true of the apostle Paul. He tells us that he was made an apostle, not by man, but by Jesus Christ. But we are informed in Acts, xiii. 1-4, that he was afterwards ordained as a presbyter by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery at Antioch. The apostolic office and the presbyterial commission were separate and distinct from each other, and when they were held by the same individuals, they were conferred at different times. Where is the evidence, then, that the apostolic office was prelatical. It cannot be found in the word of God.

But if we should admit, for the sake of farther testing the episcopal claims, that the apostles were prelates, in the sense contended for by the prelatical church, how could they prove that

Christ designed that the office should be perpetual, and that the apostles, as such, should have successors.

Before we enter upon the prelatical argument on this subject, we would premise two things which the scriptures clearly teach, viz. that no man could be an apostle without having seen Christ, at least after his resurrection, and that the original apostles were all called and appointed by the Lord, personally, and not by men.

In order, then, to prove that Christ designed that the office should be perpetual, and that the original twelve should have successors in the apostolic office, it must be proved that Christ has so varied the qualifications, that men who have never seen him, may be apostles, and that they may be invested with their office by men, or we must assume the fact that Jesus designed to come down from heaven as often as an apostle was to be appointed, to show himself to the candidate, and invest him with the office. But we believe that there are few if any in our day, who will contend for either of these things. How then, do they prove the perpetual nature of the office? Their first argument

is drawn from the first chapter of Acts, when the one hundred and twenty men and women, at the suggestion of Peter, chose Matthias to fill the vacancy in the apostolic college occasioned by the death of Judas. Bishop M'Crosky, and others, tell us that the first act of the apostles was to transfer the very same power which they had received from Christ to Matthias as a successor of Judas.

My answer to this argument, put forth with so much confidence, is,

First, that it was not the act of the apostles, but of one hundred and twenty uninspired men and women, who happened to be present on the occasion, and we have no account in the New Testament of its either being authorized or owned of God.

Secondly, that if the act was an authorized one, it was merely filling a vacancy in the college while it existed, and proves nothing in regard to its perpetuity. The legislature of the state might appoint twelve trustees to take the charge of the Erie canal fund for seven years, and empower them to fill any vacancy which might occur, and their doing so would not prove that this board had the right to perpet-

uate itself. The case of Matthias can be no better evidence that the apostolic office was to be perpetual.

Their next argument is drawn from the fact that Barnabas and others were sometimes called apostles in the New Testament.

Our answer to this is, that as the name is generic, which we have already shown, and is applied to any one who is sent on any errand by another, its use proves no more than that the individual to whom it is applied was thus sent.

Another argument which we would notice, is the address of Christ to the angels of the seven churches. These we are confidently told, were bishops.

We are ready to admit, that they were seven bishops, but the question is, whether they were such bishops as bishop Onderdonk and the Episcopal Tract Society in America say we read of in the New Testament, and such as the apostle Paul tells us the *Holy Ghost* made at Ephesus, or whether they were such ones as uninspired men have foisted into the church since the apostolic days. Ephesus was one of the seven churches, and inspiration tells us that their presbyters were all bishops and the prob-

ability is that all the other churches had just such a bench of presbyterial bishops, and that the president of each of these primitive presbyteries, who was also the pastor, was the angel of the church, or as the word imports, their messenger.

We have thus briefly examined the leading arguments of prelacy for the perpetuity of the apostolic office, and we leave it for the reader to judge with what success.

But if we should admit that they had proved, both that the apostles were prelates, and that Christ intended the office should be perpetual, it would yet be necessary for them to prove that the present race of bishops are their successors. Where is the evidence of this? Bishop Southgate is reported to have said, that he had seen the record of the list of bishops of Antioch, from the apostle Peter down to the present incumbent of that see, but he afterwards denied having made any such statement. Aside from this, I suspect none of our prelates, except the bishop of Rome, will undertake to tell which of the apostles he is the successor of, and yet, if there is any legitimate succession, each must be the successor

of one of the twelve. Christ limited the number of his apostles to twelve, corresponding to the twelve tribes, and promised that they should sit upon twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. If, therefore, this college was to be perpetuated by the original number filling the vacancies which might from time to time occur in their body, then when one died, his place should have been filled by the survivors, so as to keep good the original number, just as all close corporations are perpetuated. Such a kind of succession as this we can understand, but to have an official board appoint an indefinite number of men to be their successors while they live, to fill their places before they become vacant, is a kind of succession known only to the advocates of prelacy. We have now endeavored to prove, in a very brief manner, that prelatists must depend upon tradition and not upon the Bible, for their diocesan bishops, and we ask the reader if we are not justified in saying, that we can find nothing of prelacy in the Bible except in prophetic vision, warning the church of an approaching apostacy? Here, then, is one of the leading peculiarities of pre-

lacy which must have its foundation in the traditions and commandments of men.

We now ask whether this is not equally true of all her other peculiarities. Where in the holy scriptures do we find anything in support of their baptismal regeneration, their holy days, their preaching deacons, their rite of confirmation, their forms of prayer, their sign of the cross, and their priestly vestments? Richard Whately, D. D. archbishop of Dublin, in his "Kingdom of Christ Delineated," says, "No such a thing is to be found in our scriptures as a catechism, or elementary introduction to the christian religion; nor do they furnish us with anything in the nature of a systematic creed; nor do they supply us with any liturgy for ordinary worship, or with forms for administering the sacrament, or for conferring holy orders, nor do they give any precise direction for these and other ecclesiastical matters—anything at all corresponding to a rubric or set of canons."

The truth is, that every thing which is peculiar to the prelatical church, is matter of tradition and not of revelation. The tradition of

the fathers, and not the revelation of God, is the foundation on which that church, whether papal, Grecian, Anglican, or anglo-American, must rest. And who are the fathers? and what is this tradition? The fathers are a class of converted and uninspired heathen, who came into the church just as young converts do now, with all their old prejudices to contend against. They were men of some distinction in their days, but by no means infallible either in their opinions or practice. And what is their tradition? It is all that they are reported to have believed and practiced upon apostolic authority.

Of the works of the fathers, archbishop Whately says, "That a very large portion of the works of the orthodox fathers are lost, or some fragments or reports of them by other writers alone remain." Again he says, "What has come to us is so vast in amount that a lifetime is not sufficient for the attentive study of even the chief part of it. These authors are not agreed with each other, or with themselves upon all points, and learned men are not agreed in the interpretation of them, and still less agreed as to the orthodoxy of each, and the

degree of weight due to his judgment, nor are they agreed by some centuries as to the degree of antiquity which is necessary to make the authority of each decisive." He then adds:—"Every thing, in short, pertaining to this appeal, is obscure, uncertain, disputable, and actually disputed, to such a degree, that those who are not able to read the originals, may yet be able to perceive how unstable a foundation they furnish." But the reader will be better able to judge of the value of these old tomes when he is informed that the papal hierarchy palmed a book upon the people in the dark ages, "The Decretals of Isidorus," in which ancient bishops who were the contemporaries of Tacitus and Quintillion, are made to use the barbarous latin of the ninth century; the customs and constitutions of the Franks are attributed to the Roman emperors; ancient popes, who lived three centuries before St. Jerome, are made to quote the Bible from his latin translation, and Victor, bishop of Rome in the second century, is made a correspondent of Theophilus, who was bishop of Alexandria towards the close of the fourth."

Such impostures were practiced by the pa-

pists through the dark ages, and yet they were the keepers of the pretended works of the fathers, and the manufacturers of those traditions by which their successors would now make void the law of God. Who would vouch for the correctness of any work of the authenticity of which they have no other evidence than that it has come down through this polluted channel? and yet the works of the fathers, and the traditions of the church, thus handed down, and thus obscure, uncertain, and contradictory, when obtained, is the court to which our opponents would appeal, from that sure word of prophecy to which inspiration informs us we shall do well to take heed.

This appeal, you will perceive, takes the subject out of the hands of the people, and leaves them no means of determining what the polity of the church should be, or what are its ordinances, or who are authorized to administer them, but by implicitly relying on the word of their priests. If you should ask your priest, when you are about to become the godfathers and godmothers of your neighbor's child, and to covenant with the great God that that child shall forsake all the ways of the devil, where

there is any authority for your so doing, he would tell you it was supported by the tradition of the church and by the works of the fathers. If you should answer him that this was a solemn affair, and you wished to see the authority for yourselves, he would reply, if he was an honest man, that this was not possible, because, first, you could not have access to them if you could read them. Secondly, a lifetime would not suffice for your studying them. If you should ask him on what authority you must then rely, he would tell you that all the evidence you could have was that the prelati- cal churches now practiced in this way, and you were bound to believe that they were correct.

This is the kind of testimony on which prelatists must rely for the authority of everything that is peculiar to themselves.

The third mark of the carnal religion, allegorised by the apostle, is that it consists in rites and forms.

Is not this true of prelacy, as it is of the other two branches of the carnal system? Take away from any branch of the prelati- cal church those rites and forms which are not enjoined in

the holy scriptures, and what would be left?—Take away her diocesan bishops, her preaching deacons, her sign of the cross in baptism, her godfathers and godmothers, her confirmation, her priestly vestments, and her holy days, and she would loose her identity.

The fourth mark of the carnal religion is, that “it gendereth to bondage.” The natural tendency of the system is adverse to liberty. If we look abroad into the world, and take an impartial view of history, we shall find that prelacy has always, and everywhere, been the antagonist of liberty. In the language of Dr. Eck, in his dispute with Luther, “It ascends hierarchially towards its sole head.” Its constant tendency is to the centralization of power. The perjured James understood this when he gave as his reason for favoring prelacy in England, that where there was no bishop, there could be no king.

We will point out one more characteristic mark of the carnal religion which is found upon prelacy. That is, “that as he that was born after the flesh persecuted him who was born after the spirit, so the prelatical church, like the pagan and the corrupt Jewish hierarchies,

has usually, when it has possessed the power, persecuted the spiritual worshipers of the true God. The religion allegorised by the son of the bond-maid, has lost none of its hostility to those who were born of the spirit by its baptism into the name of christianity. Under this phase as well as under the two former, it has deluged the church with blood. It is true, that the most desolating and bloody persecutions of the people of God by Episcopal authority have taken place under what we have been in the habit of calling the papal hierarchy. But we should remember that the papal hierarchy is only the consummation of prelacy. The pope is only a diocesan bishop. He is bishop of the world, as Dr. Onderdonk is bishop of New York. If the doctrine of prelacy had not prevailed, the papal hierarchy could never have existed. It is prelacy, therefore, and not popery, which is the foundation of the evils, and it is prelacy that is responsible for all those persecutions which have been practiced by the professed church of Christ. Persecution was never known in the church until after the parity of the clergy was broken up and prelacy established, and it will never cease till prelacy shall be put down

and parity restored. They who are born after the flesh will persecute those who are born after the spirit, until the son of the bond-woman be cast out. Prelacy is the root, and the papacy of the west and the patriarchal despotism of the east are its most towering branches. The reformers understood this. Luther, and his compeers never hoped to get rid of the papal doctrines or the papal despotism while the doctrine of prelacy was suffered to remain. They understood the philosophy of history well enough to trace the abominations of the papacy up to that priestly caste which was set up when the parity of the christian ministry was put down, and they were wisely disposed to lay the ax at the root of the tree. But while the reformers were laboring nobly in France, in Germany, and in Switzerland, to bring the church back to its primitive simplicity and its primitive purity, one of the most debauched and unprincipled tyrants that ever disgraced a sceptre, Henry the eighth, after obtaining the title of defender of the faith for opposing the reformation, because the pope would not divorce him from his lawful wife, broke off from the papal see, and placed him-

self at the head of the English hierarchy. In this new attitude he found it for his interest to act, partially and nominally with the reformers. Reformation was not what he wanted, but power. He wished to be in England what Leo X. claimed to be throughout the world, the head of the church. To satisfy those holy men who stood at the head of the reformation, so far as to get them to acknowledge the reformed character of his church, he was obliged to lop off some of the abuses of the papacy, but prelacy remained, and the polity of the church continued the same as it had been under the see of Rome. England only became an independent branch of the prelacy, retaining all the distinctive features of the priestly caste; and if we trace her history from Henry Tudor down to the accession of William and Mary, we shall find that its secession from the see of Rome had divested it of none of its lust for power, nor cured it of its persecuting spirit.

But it will be said that prelacy in America is not obnoxious to the charge of persecution, and is not to be held responsible for the cruelty of the English church.

To this I answer, that it is not true that pre-

lacy in America is not obnoxious to the charge of persecution. In 1642, a law was passed in Virginia, forbidding any but Episcopal ministers from officiating in that colony. Between 1730 and 1740, some of the people in the neighborhood of Hanover, were awakened by reading Boston's Fourfold State, and some other evangelical books, and being dissatisfied with the teaching of the Episcopal clergy, used to meet together to read such books at each others' houses, and when private dwellings became too small for them, they erected a house to meet in, but this called down the rage of prelacy upon them, and they were harrassed in every way that the law would permit. In 1743 multitudes were awakened and many converted, and the new converts and awakened individuals sent for some godly ministers, among whom were Messrs. Tenant and Findley, to preach the gospel to them. But in a short time a proclamation was posted up calling upon the magistrates to forbid all itinerants from preaching. The venerable John Rodgers, D. D., who died in 1811, leaving his praise in all the churches, was in the early days of his ministry, forbidden to preach in Virginia, under the pen-

alty of five hundred pounds, and a year's imprisonment.

In the colony of New York, the same spirit prevailed. The Presbyterian church in Jamaica had their house of worship and parsonage forcibly taken from them by a few Episcopalians who settled in that town.

The first Presbyterian minister who preached at a private house in the city of New York and baptized a child, was pursued to Newton, and brought back, and committed to prison in New York, and could not be released till he had extorted from him, in the form of fees and costs, between two and three hundred dollars. When the first Presbyterian church in New York was organized, they had for the most of a century, in addition to supporting themselves, to be taxed for the support of Trinity church, and when they applied for a charter, they were defeated by the influence of the vestry of that church, and were obliged to convey their lot and house to the moderator of the general assembly of Scotland.

These persecutions and exactions continued until the revolution deprived the son of the

bond-maid of the power to persecute the son of the free woman.

But let it be remembered, that we are not charging the sins of prelatists before the revolution upon the prelatists of our own day, but are merely showing that prelacy, whenever it has possessed the power, has, like the other two forms of the carnal religion, allegorised by the apostle, persecuted the spiritual worshiper.

The nature of the lion and tiger cannot be learned from what we see of them in their subjugated state, but from studying their history as they roam in their native jungles, prowling for their prey. It is just so with prelacy, when viewed as shorn of its power by our republican institutions. Bishop Hughes, presiding over his archiepiscopal see in New York, seems as harmless as the lions and tigers in Van Amburgh's menagery, but you must take off the restraints of our free institutions, and place him in Spain or in Portugal, if you would know what a papal bishop is. In like manner we must judge of the tendencies of prelacy under its mildest forms, by studying its history in places where it is clothed with power. We must contemplate it as it was in England in the

reign of Elizabeth and her successors, and as it manifested its tender mercies in this country before the revolution. We must study it from the prisons, and the pillories, and the scaffolds of the puritans, if we would know what it is.

We should look at this subject, not with the feelings of sectarian pride or party zeal, but as Americans, as patriots and philanthropists, and as christians. We should calmly and candidly contemplate the evils which have resulted from the violation of the simplicity of primitive christianity, in breaking up the parity of the christian ministry, and establishing in its place an ecclesiastical hierarchy. We should consider what these innovations have done. We should contemplate them in the bloody history of papal Rome—in the intolerance of the Armenian, Nestorian, and Greek hierarchies—in the persecutions, imprisonments, and executions of the puritans by the church of England—in the intolerance and cruelty of a branch of the same church in this country, before the revolution,—and in some developments which have been made by the hierarchy of that church in America recently.

It is only a few years since the senior bishop

in these United States, authorised an Episcopal missionary in the east to inform the ecclesiastics of the corrupt Armenian church, that all intimate fellowship with those protestants, who are opposed to prelacy, was impracticable.

Seven bishops of the same church, in a letter to the Armenian patriarch, informed that prelate that "the Episcopal church in America agree in all essential points with the Armenian hierarchy, but have no connection or fellowship with those sects who follow Luther and Calvin."

Now we all know that our pilgrim fathers were the followers of those reformers, and these bishops have by this letter declared that they can have no connection or fellowship with such men as these were; but they agree in all essential points with the corrupt and idolatrous Armenian hierarchy, who in every thing but subjection to the pope, is in agreement with the papal church. The Armenian church is an idolatrous and a persecuting church, and yet seven bishops of the American prelatical church stand pledged as agreeing with them in all important points, while they can have no connection or fellowship with any of the non-prelati-

cal churches of this country. If Rome, with her numerous papal princes in Europe, should ever assail the institutions of our country, where would the sympathies of these bishops lead them? Is it not as true now as it was in the days of Dr. Eck, that prelacy always ascends "*hierarchially towards a sole head? Its constant tendency is to the centralization of power.*" It may live where liberty and equality prevail, but it is not at home there. It can have no fellowship with such men as our pilgrim fathers. The perjured James was right when he said, "NO BISHOP—NO KING," and though prelacy may exist where there is no king, the hierarchial system is not complete. It is a natural appendage of the throne, and where it is separated from that parent stock it will never feel at rest. Lords temporal and lords spiritual belong to the same family, and the latter must be shorn of more than half their glory while separated from the former.

Bear in mind, gentle reader, what I have already intimated, that it is not prelatists, but prelacy, against which these arguments are directed. There are many of the former who are lovely christian people in spite of their religious

system, and those who have been spoiled by it have my kindest feelings. It is the system which has made them what they are. Believing in the *priestly caste*, and viewing baptism as securing to the baptised *the regeneration of the heart*, or considering it, according to their catechism, as taking the individual out from the kingdom of satan, and making him "a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," it is not strange that parents should be required by law, when prelatists have the power, to have their children prelatically baptized, nor that such men as Dr. Rodgers, of New York, should have been forbidden to preach in Virginia under the penalty of five hundred pounds fine, and one year's imprisonment, nor yet that a Presbyterian minister, for preaching at a private house in New York, and baptizing a child, should have been committed to prison and compelled to pay between two and three hundred dollars. The truth is, that a religion which makes salvation depend upon sacramental observances administered by a priesthood through whose hands alone the grace can descend, will be

very likely, if it possesses the power to coerce men into that lone way of salvation. It always has done so, and it is very natural to believe that it always will.

CHAPTER X.

WRONG VIEWS OF THE PAPACY.

The framers of our constitution, for the purpose of closing up every avenue through which religious intolerance could come in, introduced a clause into that instrument which guaranties to every individual in our land the free exercise of his religion. They had in their own minds separated a man's religion from his politics, and the religion of the nation from all entangling alliances with the state, and with this separation in view, they intended by the above clause merely to prevent the stepping in of any human authority between the worshiper and his God, to interfere with that spiritual service which Jehovah alone has a right to regulate.

This clause in the palladium of our liberties was canvassed at Rome, and was made a sub-

ject of correspondence between the Roman pontiff and the Jesuits in this country, and was considered a vulnerable point at which the freedom of our country could be most easily undermined. They learned by their residence among us, that catholics were considered merely a religious denomination, like the Presbyterians, or Methodists, and that they could, under the bland profession of practicing their religious rites, and teaching our sons and daughters, not only be permitted to concoct and prosecute any political enterprise, but could actually draw funds from our own citizens to aid them in their work.

Our revolutionary fathers, who had some acquaintance with the character of the papacy, and with the treachery of papal princes, have most of them fallen asleep, and a generation has arisen who, having never seen the machinations of papal despotism, nor felt the pressure of a political religion, are entirely unsuspecting, and look upon popery with as little apprehension as they do upon methodism or any other protestant denomination. They see their princely cathedrals, and colleges, and convents, and orphan houses, chartered, and

erected, and ornamented, and filled with swarms of foreign Jesuits, and nuns, and hear of their emigration, nearly equaling our natural increase by birth, and set it all down to the account of our country's prosperity.

This is a mistake which needs to be corrected. The papal system is not like the christian religion, which claims that its kingdom is not of this world, but like the Mahometan hierarchy it is a political organization.

The pope is at the head of the papal government, clothed with absolute ecclesiastical and secular power. He is surrounded by a consistory of cardinals who aid him in the administration of his ~~political~~ and religious governments which are so blended together that it is impossible to touch the one without interfering with the other. They both emanate from the same source, and are administered by the same individuals.

In all countries, the followers of the Roman pontiff are governed by priests, who are created by, and subject to, a class of men who are properly denominated "~~lord-bishops~~, and archbishops," who are the dependent vassals of the see of Rome. Every officer in the church

of Rome, wherever he may reside, is the subject of the pontiff, and may not be only removed from office, but may be called home to Rome at the pleasure of that despot.

Every private member, too, of the papal communion, belongs to a foreign government, and is under the most solemn oath of allegiance to a foreign potentate. In the confession of the catholic faith, to which all must subscribe, is the following clause: "*I acknowledge the most holy Catholic, apostolic Roman church, for the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise true obedience to the bishop of Rome, successor of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ. I likewise undoubtedly receive all other things, delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent. And I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church.*"

Here, Americans, you see an organization with a head seated in the papal palace at Rome, professing civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wearing a tripple crown, and armed

with two swords to signify his twofold authority, appointing, directly or indirectly, all the officers for his people in every nation, and making them all promise unwavering allegiance and obedience to his royal person; acknowledging him as the vicar of Jesus Christ, and covenanting to receive all that has been done, or may be done, at Rome. Is not this evidence of the political character of the organization?

But this will be still more clear when we consider the claims of the Roman court. — These claims we shall collect entirely from Bellermino, who was appointed by Gregory XIII. to deliver a course of lectures in the college at Rome, fourteen years after the council of Trent. In these lectures we find the following claim of temporal power: "The pope may possess, indirectly, supreme power in directing the temporal affairs of all christians, in order to the bestowment of spiritual good." Again: "The spiritual power does not intermeddle with temporal matters, so that the spiritual design is not hindered; but if anything of that kind takes place, the spiritual power may and ought to coerce the temporal power." Again: "If any civil law is necessary to the salvation

Early introduced by C. H. K.

of souls, and kings will not enact it, or if any civil law is injurious to the salvation of souls, and kings will not abrogate it, the pope may in the one case enact, and in the other annul." Again, "When the safety of souls is concerned, the pope may assume even temporal power." Once more: "The pope may and ought to compel all christians to serve God in that manner which their station requires, but kings are bound to serve God by defending the church and punishing heretics, therefore the pope may and ought to enjoin kings to do this, and if they neglect, compel them."

These are the claims of the pope, published by his lecturer in the sixteenth century, for which he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat.

These are some of the things "*Delivered, defined, and declared* at Rome," which all papists covenant to receive when they subscribe the confession of their faith and covenant.

But it may perhaps be thought by some, that these old claims have been given up. This is not so. The present pope has never disclaimed any power claimed or exercised by any of his predecessors. He claims that the

church is and always has been infallible, and he avails himself of every opportunity, to show that the principles of the dark ages are those by which the Roman see is still governed. On every holy Thursday he excommunicates all protestants and all who harbor them, in the following words: "We therefore, following the ancient and yearly custom, in behalf of Almighty God and of ourselves, excommunicate all heretics who adhere to or follow the execrable heresy of Martin Luther, and all who either favor or harbor his followers, or read and defend his works."

This does not look much like reformation, nor does the papal decree annulling the acts of the government of Don Pedro, of Spain, nor the present pope calling for the taking up a collection among his subjects in this country to carry him back by force of arms and place him upon the throne from which he had fled.

Take these facts in connection with the confession and covenant from which I have quoted, and you will see that the present pope claims all the despotic power ever exercised by the court of Rome over individuals and nations, and that all his subjects in this country

are made to promise true obedience and subjection to these preposterous claims.

Popery is the same now that it always was—it is a universal despotism claiming the right to dispose of all lands, and to take the charge of all the interests of men. Yes, Americans, every member of the papal church in this country, and some of them are high in civil office, are the vassals of a foreign despot, bound by a most solemn covenant, to “yield true obedience to him as to the vicar of Christ,” or a vice-God. And to “receive and profess all things delivered, defined or declared, by his *sacred* canons and general councils.”

This is popery. This is that *politico-religious* despotism which is sending over its sworn adherents by the hundreds of thousands, and these are the men for whom we are building colleges and convents—the men for whom some of our members of congress would provide by giving away our public lands.

I now propose to lay before you some facts to prove that the alliance of despotic princes in Europe is using the papal forces to undermine the foundation of our republican institutions. These princes have organized a society

avowedly with reference to this country, which has its swarms of secret agents in the persons of the Jesuits and other papal missionaries, six hundred of whom, it may be seen by the custom-house books, came over in one year. Through these emissaries the society are kept informed of all that is going forward in this land; and the papal despots, stimulated by this information, have been from time to time sending over large sums of money to further these designs. The emperor of Austria, from the best information that could be obtained, gave in 1833 and 1834, one hundred thousand dollars, to be laid out by this society in our country for the purposes of education. — What the other princes have given we are not informed; but from the magnificent and costly edifices they have erected and are erecting, and from the multitude of Jesuits and nuns that they are supporting, it must be immense.

Nor are the resources of this society in money alone. Papal Europe abounds in an ignorant and mercenary population, who will go anywhere at the bidding of their masters, who can therefore send to this country at any time

just as many men as they can find vessels to carry them, who will come as emigrants to our happy country, but will vote and act at the bidding of those who send them.

Can any one look at these facts and not believe that the "Leopold foundation," which is the name of this society, is a political institution intended to be used by the crowned heads of Europe to aid the Jesuits in this country to rid the world of that hated moral light which is reflected from our free institutions? Can any one persuade himself that these despots who let their own subjects live and die in ignorance and crime, should all at once turn their attention to the benevolent design of enlightening and purifying republican America? If they have their hundreds of thousands to expend for purposes of education, why not enlighten their own dark-minded sons at home? The answer is plain: light is the last thing that despots wish to have their subjects blessed with. They fear to enlighten their vassals, lest they should find out the truth, that "all men are born free and equal." But they know that Americans prize knowledge and will have an education, and their only hope is in controlling

this education, so as to make it subserve their purposes. For this they are furnishing us with colleges and convents under the direction of Jesuits, and Ursulines, and other orders of nuns.

Of the character of these colleges we may judge by comparing the alumni of papal and protestant colleges in Europe. C. Villers, in an essay which obtained the prize offered by the national institute of France, makes the following judicious remarks: "It will not, I am of opinion, be thought a very inconsistent paradox to say, that there is more real knowledge in one single university, as that of Gottengen, or Halle, or Geneva, which are protestant, than in the eight Spanish universities, which are popish. In these they teach what must with or without the consent of reason be believed; in the others they teach how a reasonable belief may be acquired. Here the decretals are given for infallible oracles; there no other oracle is acknowledged but reason and the best supported facts." The same writer observes in a note on the 141st page of the Philadelphia edition, "How many celebrated men of letters have sprung from Geneva? Berne, Lausanne, Basle, Zurich, Schaffhausen, have all their literary

annals filled with celebrated names. Catholic Switzerland, on the contrary, has not a single man of eminence of any description to mention." The same writer, speaking of all the Jesuitical colleges together, says: "It is their chief object to model science according to the interests of the pontifical power, and even to render it ignorant where it is requisite it should be ignorant; to produce certain objects in open day, and to keep others in profound night; to fertilize the region of memory and wit, by rendering that of the mind and reason barren; to form enlightened but submissive spirits, ignorant of that which might lessen their submission."

Here you see the use of this Leopold education fund. The men who furnish it know that they cannot persuade Americans to give up being educated, and they wish, by getting possession of our schools, so to control them that our institutions may become the nurseries of despotism and passive obedience.

This land is already laid out and divided into episcopal and archiepiscopal jurisdictions which are consigned to the government of archbishops and bishops appointed by the pope

and amenable to the court of Rome. All these prelates, or *lords spiritual* take the oath, which was framed by Clement VIII. which as near as I can translate it from the latin copy, which is before me, reads as follows: " I will be faithful and obedient to our lord the pope, and to his successors. I will not disclose to any one the designs of the pope, that may be made known to me. I will be a coadjutor to the pope of Rome, and to the government of holy Peter, to defend and protect them from all men. I will make it my chief care to preserve, defend, increase and extend the laws, worship and authority of the holy church of our lord the pope and his successors; and whatever in relation to these subjects I may discover that may be done or procured to be done, I will make known as quickly as possible. I will to the extent of my abilities persecute all heretics and schismatics and rebels against our lord the pope."

Now I ask if these men, with their millions of followers, should be regarded merely as a religious sect? are they not a political organization, who are under sworn allegiance to a foreign potentate, and as strongly bound to his service as the vassals of the emperor of Russia

are to that autocrat? They are bound by their oath of allegiance to make it their *chief care*, not to promote the interests of our republic, but to preserve, defend, increase, and extend the laws of the papal hierarchy, and when they discover that any thing can be done to promote these objects, they are bound by their oath to notify their master as quickly as possible. But this is not all; they are bound by their oath of allegiance to *persecute* to the extent of their ability all heretics, by which they mean protestants, those followers of Luther and Calvin, whom the pope curses every holy Thursday. The time has been when papists in this country would deny that their church wished to persecute; but that time has gone by. "The Shepherd of the Valley," the organ of popery at St. Louis, writes as follows: "The practical toleration to which we are accustomed in our age and country, * * * is owing to the fact that no denomination has the exclusive dominion; it will last only so long as this state of things continues. If the * * * * catholics at any future time, gain a decided supremacy, it is at an end." He closes this article in the following words: "We have said that we are not the advocates of religious free-

dom, and we repeat it, we are not. The liberty to believe contrary to the teaching of the church," that is, the pope, "is the liberty to believe a lie; the liberty to think otherwise than she permits, is the liberty to abuse the mind and pollute the imagination; from such liberty may we and those we love at all times be preserved "

In another article in the same issue, he says : "Certainly it is news to us that the man who defends the civil punishment of heresy advocates an anti-catholic doctrine. Our fathers did not think so, and we are no better than our fathers. The American catholic of the nineteenth century is not likely to be more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his religion than the European christian of the age of faith. The nineteenth century has no lesson of charity to teach the disciples of a St. Thomas, a St. Dominick, a St. Bernard, or a venerable Bellarmine. At any rate, we prefer their guidance to that of modern liberal catholics, who would rather see their friends go to hell, than offend their delicate sensibilities by warning them of their danger.

Here the civil punishment of those whom

papists consider heretics, is distinctly avowed by a leading catholic paper in our own country, and is defended by the opinions and practice of ancient papal writers.

But the Mirror, a Romish paper in England, is a little more explicit still, and openly avows that "The church is and ought to be intolerant; and that all declamation about liberty of conscience and of religious worship, uttered by catholics, is designed to deceive protestants, and that a man has no more right to his own religious opinion than he has to the money in his neighbor's pocket." This article, the editor of the Shepherd of the Valley says, "was probably imprudent, but certainly correct."

We see, then, that catholics of the nineteenth century, in our own country, are not the friends of religious liberty. They openly declare that to believe contrary to the teaching of the papal church, or to think otherwise than she permits, is the liberty to abuse the mind and pollute the imagination, and ought not to be allowed, and will not be, any longer than the catholics remain in the minority.

This throws some light on the reservation in the oath of the bishop. He does not swear to

persecute us poor protestants until papists become so numerous that he can do it with impunity. He only swears to "*persecute*" to the extent of his ability. When they have had the ascendancy in any country they have always kept their oath to the letter, and when they get it in this country—which may God in mercy prevent—the scenes of the days of *bloody Mary* in England, and of the papal massacre in Ireland, and of St. Bartholomew's day in France, will be acted over again.

What would be said if the New York Observer and the New York Evangelist, should come out and declare that they were not in favor of religious liberty. That to believe contrary to the teachings of the Presbyterian church, was to abuse the mind, and that if ever Presbyterians got the ascendancy, there would be an end to religious liberty? Our political editors from one end of the land to the other, would be loud and long in their denunciations against Presbyterianism, and would warn the nation against it. This would be right if the Presbyterian church did not openly disavow such sentiments, and withdraw their patronage from these papers. But catholics may publish these

sentiments, and history may show that these things are true of their church, and yet they will be courted by our political demagogues, for the sake of their votes, and without being required to renounce their allegiance to their foreign master, they may hold the most important offices in the nation. Archbishop Hughes may be governor of the state of New York while he remains the vassal of the pope of Rome, and is under the obligation of an oath to "persecute" to the utmost of his ability every protestant in the land. Surely popery is something more than a religious sect, and the American people will do well to pause for awhile and look at these facts.

But it will, perhaps, be said, that papists in this country form so small a portion of our population that there is no danger of their ever being a majority.

It is true that they constitute but a small portion of our citizens, but it is true, also, that a very large portion have no personal religion at all, and that it is to such a matter of small importance what sort of religion may prevail. We have a great many political aspirants in our land who would not hesitate at all to be-

come catholics if they could increase their political influence and multiply the probabilities of their own elevation to places of power. — The catholics, acting in a body under the direction of their priests, can give them the promise of such a result, and in this way may yet draw, we know not how many, to the standards of the man of sin. Beside this, most men feel their need of some religion. Infidelity is not a resting-place for the soul of fallen man. He must have at least the fig-leaf apron of a formal religion to prevent his cheek burning with blushes at sight of his own moral nakedness. This apron, or partial covering, to hide him from himself, the papacy has provided, and offers to supply, without any of those sacrifices or that self-denial which the gospel requires. The sinner may here have absolution from his sins, and the promise of eternal life, and yet be a worldly, selfish, wicked man. Being baptized by the priest, confirmed by the bishop, and paying his regular, or, in our country, his occasional visits to the confessional, will keep alive his hope while life endures, and the holy anointing on his death-bed will ease his conscience in that trying hour. This kind of relief for the

conscience, without becoming holy in heart and in life, is just what a very large portion of mankind want. It is this which has made it so easy to build up Universalism and Mormonism in our country, and this will make it easy, when the reflex influence of pure and undefiled religion shall lose its power upon the masses, for the demagogues of party to bring the rank and file of those whom they lead to unite with the catholics, and if they do not by these means get a numerical majority, which may God in mercy prevent, it will increase their power, and enable them to offer still higher inducements to other aspirants to join their standard.

But there is another point of view in which this subject should be looked at by every friend of civil and religious liberty in this country.—The contest for power is not between the catholics and the protestants of America, but between the protestantism and the popery of the whole world. The pope claims now, as he did when he sold Ireland to Henry II. the right to dispose of nations, and the despots of the earth are ready to make common cause with him in extinguishing the light of liberty which protestantism is causing to shine out from our fa-

vored land. Every pervert to popery in this country, and every papal emigrant from Europe is another soldier for absolutism, to be quartered upon us, until such time as the papal princes of the old world shall think they have a sufficient ascendancy at home to make it safe for them to co-operate with the *successor of St. Peter*, and his lord-bishops and archbishops in this country, with the hundreds of thousands of their rank and file among us, to build up the fortunes of some one of our many unprincipled demagogues upon the ruins of our country's liberty.

America united, with an humble reliance on the help of the Almighty, might face a frowning world. But America, divided by party feuds and having an army of two or three hundred thousand, or perhaps a million, of trained papal troops who are under sworn allegiance to the pretended vicar of Christ, and who believe that the salvation of their souls depend upon a scrupulous obedience to the orders from the court of Rome, our prospects would be vastly different. But if these soldiers of Rome, in addition to their being clothed and fed by our unsuspecting people, are placed by

them on the bench in our courts of justice, in the halls of our national and state legislation, and in the rank and file and among the officers of our army, the case would be still worse.

I would not be an alarmist, but I would have my fellow citizens look at things as they are, and understand what popery is, and not allow themselves to be rocked to sleep under the pacific lullabys of archbishop Hughes, as the huguenots of France were by the papal court on the eve of St. Bartholomew's massacre. The world is the field for which popery is contending, and, as I have already shown, there is not a true catholic on earth who does not feel himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the pope, to assist that despot by all means in his power to subdue it to his iron sceptre. However listless protestants in this country may be on this subject, Rome is not asleep. The argus eyes of this apocalyptic beast are never closed, and his swarms of sworn adherents will never tire in their efforts to bring our country down to a level with papal Spain, and papal Portugal, or to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, where men and women are now being con-

demned to long years of imprisonment and hard labor for reading God's holy word.

We would not have catholics deprived of any one privilege which other citizens enjoy, but we would have the friends of our free institutions see in them, not merely the misguided brethren of a false religion, but the subjects of a foreign despot, to whom they promise "true obedience," as to "the successor of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ." We would have Americans understand that every dollar they contribute towards the erection of the costly churches, or other public buildings of the catholics, they give to the Roman Pontiff to assist him in making papists of our sons and our daughters, and to bring our happy country under the influence of the darkest despotism that ever existed upon the earth. Such contributors, like the men who furnished money to carry Pius Ninth, at the point of the bayonet, back to his Quirinal palace in Rome, are accessories to all the persecutions which take place in papal countries. They say to the pope, "we approve of your intolerance where you have the power, and we give you our mite to aid you in extending that power."

They say to the poor imprisoned Madias, "we are sorry for your sufferings, but we feel bound to aid your oppressors to establish themselves in our own free country, and thus bid them god-speed in their work of cruelty at home.

If the catholics are hungry, feed them ; if they are thirsty, give them drink. Do all that you can to relieve their sufferings, but as you value your religion, and prize the free institutions of your country, do nothing to encourage them in their politico-religious organizations. When you are tempted to do this, remember the St. Bartholomew's, and the Irish massacre. Remember the very recent persecutions of the poor protestant Portugues in the Island of Maderia, in the result of which more than six hundred men and women, deprived of all their possessions, were driven in the most abject poverty to our hospitable shores, for no other offence than reading the holy scriptures, and interpreting them for themselves. God is now visiting that Island with famine, and the people who will not suffer a protestant to live among them, are sending to protestant America, as catholic Ireland has before done, to save them and their little ones from starvation. We

most heartily approve of the benevolence of the protestant heart in sending them relief, but we can never approve of protestants contributing their money to build up papal institutions any where, and least of all, in our own country. No man can do this without bidding the court of Rome god-speed, and thus making himself a partaker of its evil deeds. Their cathedrals and other mass-houses, in this country, are their recruiting stations, and their colleges, primary schools, and orphan houses, are the nurseries in which the young and unsuspecting minds of our sons and our daughters are imbued with those papal principles which will prepare them in riper years to act their parts in recruiting the army of the vatican. Oh, how many parents, who have been induced to send their children to these schools, are mourning over a son or a daughter lost to protestantism forever.

We do not find fault with the catholics in this respect; they act consistently with their public profession. If they believe, as they teach, that there is no salvation out of the papal church, it would be cruel in them not to do all they can to proselyte the children committed to their care. But we do blame protestants who know

that the papal system is the most gross and dangerous corruption of christianity that the world has ever seen, and the most deadly enemy of civil and religious liberty that can be found on earth, for committing the training of their children to such instructors. It is for this very purpose that the papal princes in Europe are sending over their hundreds of thousands of dollars to this country ; it is not to make liberal scholars of your children ; not to educate them to be men and women, to think for themselves, but to educate them to be the vassals of Rome. It is to keep them ignorant of what the pope would have them ignorant—the Bible, and all that part of the world's history which relates to the intolerance and bloody persecutions of the papal church.

For the benefit of those who cannot have access to the history of those persecutions, we will close this chapter with a short account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day in France, and the catholic butchery in Ireland.

The protestants, at the time of the former tragedy, were so numerous in France that the government were afraid of embroiling the nation by any new acts of open hostility, and

therefore resorted to the diabolical project of entrapping them by subtlety, and cutting them off without giving them time or opportunity to take measures for their defence. For this purpose a sham marriage was negotiated between the protestant prince of Navarre and the king's sister. At this mock union of a protestant prince and the sister of the papal king of France, "the admiral, prince of Navarre, with divers other chief states of the protestants, were induced by the king's letters, and many fair promises, to be present: and were received at Paris with great solemnity." This marriage took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was the means of quieting the fears, and lulling the suspicions of the hitherto persecuted followers of Christ.

While they were all joining in the festivities of the occasion, the work of death began with the cold-blooded butchery of the bridegroom, who was brutally murdered in his own chamber, thrown out of a window, and, after being beheaded, and otherwise mutilated, he was drawn through the streets of Paris to the place of public execution, where he was hung up by the heels. His head was embalmed and sent

to Rome, that the pretended successor of St. Peter might have ocular demonstration of what his servants had done, in his name, in France.

The martyrdom of this godly man, and distinguished protestant, had no sooner taken place, than the papal soldiers carried the work of slaughter from house to house, until more than ten thousand, men, women, and children, had been massacred in the single city of Paris, and their dead bodies taken in carts and thrown promiscuously into the river.

These murders for conscience sake, though begun in Paris, were not confined within the walls of that city, but were extended to other cities and towns, until, at a moderate estimate, thirty thousand protestants were slain, and among them many of their most distinguished leaders.

If the reader wishes to peruse the sickening details of this celebration of St. Bartholomew's day, he can do so by referring to the history of the martyrs, by Rev. John Fox, A. M.

The Irish massacre to which I have alluded, sometimes called the "Hibernian Saint Bartholomew," was equally unprovoked and no less bloody. The Irish catholics at the time had no

just cause of complaint. Charles I. had taken care that they should be disturbed in none of their religious privileges. But, though thus protected and favored, they like the French, at the time of which I have spoken, shrouding themselves in the deepest secrecy, plotted not only the butchery of the English residents and the Irish protestants, but, by the aid of the Spaniards, hoped to cross over into England and abolish the reformed religion in that Island.

The massacre being unsuspected, was terrible, both in its extent and its brutal cruelty. "The protestants," says Guizot, "were attacked unawares, ejected from their houses, hunted down, slaughtered, exposed to all the perils, and to all the tortures that religious and national hatred could invent." "In fact," adds the same writer, "they burnt the houses of the protestants, and turned them out naked in the midst of winter, and drove them like herds of swine before them. If ashamed of their nudity, and desirous to shield themselves from the rigor of a remarkably severe winter, these unhappy creatures took shelter in a barn, and hid

themselves in the straw, the rebels sat fire to it and burned them alive. At other times, they were led without clothing to be drowned in rivers; and if on the road they did not move quickly enough, they were urged forward at the point of the pike. When they reached the river or the sea, they were precipitated into it in bands of several hundreds." "Husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; wives and virgins were abused in the sight of their nearest relatives; and infants of seven or eight years old, were hung before the eyes of their parents. Nay, the Irish catholics even went so far as to teach their own children to strip and kill the children of the English, and dash out their brains against the stones. Numbers of protestants were buried alive, as many as seventy in one trench." The estimate of the number who perished in this butchery, varies from fifty thousand to two hundred thousand.

This is popery, and popery claims that it never changes, and we have evidence enough from the recent scenes in Maderia and Tuscany, to convince us that its claim is just.

Popery cannot reform. Individual catholics may, but we should require of them to renounce their allegiance to the unchanging hierarchy of Rome, before we trust them with the keeping of our liberties.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PUBLIC PRESS.

It is one of the fearful signs of our national degeneracy, and of our national danger, that our citizens have, to a great extent, become regardless of the character of the public press. Our political journalists are, with a very few honorable exceptions, strictly party men, who are employed, as the British were charged by Lord Chatham, with employing the American Indians, to tomahawk and scalp their brethren. Instead of discussing calmly and fairly those great questions about which the politicians of different names profess to differ, and analyzing the policy proposed by the different political leaders, and pouring the oil of kindness upon the troubled waters of sectional jealousy and party strife, they exhaust the whole vocabulary of personal abuse upon the most distinguished

men of the nation, who may happen to belong to a different party organization. We have had few candidates for any important place in the gift of the nation, for many years, who, if the opposition press could be relied on, were not more deserving of the anathemas of the American people, than of the honors and emoluments of office. Webster and Clay, in their life time, were vilified and abused by many of the public journals which now place them in the fore front of the great men of the age, and are willing to admit that they had few equals and no superiors among the statesmen of any nation.

While our party press is thus liberal in its abuse of our most worthy and distinguished American citizens, it is all subserviency and submission to the subjects of the Roman see. The papal press here may insult and pour contempt upon our nation; or the papal nations abroad may commit the greatest possible outrage upon the rights of their subjects, and you will scarcely have a murmur from the political press. If Great Britain happens to banish an Irish catholic, for what she considers treason against her government, our press is loud in its denunciation of British tyranny; but if the

grand duke of Tuscany condemns, not only good men, but delicate females, to hard labor and imprisonment, for no other offence than reading God's holy word, our public journalists are submissively silent. If an Irish convict escapes from Van Dieman's Land, or by some other means obtains his release and comes to this country, the very fact of his conviction will almost secure for him an ovation, but when six hundred protestants were banished from the Island of Maderia, and despoiled of all their possessions by papal intolerance, for merely reading the holy scriptures, the American protestant and republican press, have no word of sympathy for the sufferers, nor of animadversion upon the cruelty of their persecutors. Nay, when hundreds of these poor, despoiled, persecuted and exiled ones came to our hospitable shores, the political press did not know them, and when meetings were got up for them in New York, scarcely an echo of their story was found in any of the secular papers. The conductors of the public press fear the displeasure of the catholic archbishops and bishops, and of the rank and file of the papal army in this country, and to propitiate these subjects of the

pretended successor of St. Peter, and secure their influence for party purposes, the sufferings of the poor Portuguese must be kept from the knowledge of the people. The story of the sufferings of Irishmen under English law for political offences, when wafted across the ocean, will arouse the pretended patriotism of our political demagogues, and engross the columns of the press, but the narrative of the despoiling, imprisoning, and banishing of these hundreds of humble sufferers for righteousness sake, must be suppressed. No man can notice these, and similar facts, without seeing that the secular press is fearfully under the control of Romanism. The deference it pays, and the awe it stands in, to that foreign element of despotism, speak a language which the American people should understand. They should be jealous of any power from abroad which can command the influence of the public press; and if popery is allowed to control so powerful an agency in the two great divisions of our party men, it is time for the friends of civil and religious liberty to come out from them, and unite their energies to sustain a *virtuous and a national press*.

The nation is responsible for the character of its public journalists, and individuals are responsible for the paper they patronize and support. The conductor of a public journal is employed by his subscribers to do the very work in which he is engaged. The slanders which he promulgates, the falsehoods he utters, and the dangerous and mischievous sentiments which he scatters broadcast over the land, are the work of his patrons, done by him, as their agent. He is responsible for suffering himself to be so employed, and they are responsible for employing him.

The issues of the periodical press come every week, and oftentimes every day, into hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the families belonging to our republic, and constitute the principle light reading for very many, and the only reading of tens of thousands of our children and youth. How important, then, that this mighty agent, which is doing so much to mould the character of our sons and our daughters, should be sound in its morality, incorruptible in its patriotism, truthful in its statements, and national in its sympathies and efforts. It should be "a terror to evil-doers, and a praise

to those who do well." It should be based upon the immutable principles of eternal truth, and instead of being the tool of a party, should adopt as its motto, the aphorism of the great American statesman, "MY COUNTRY, MY WHOLE COUNTRY." Its aim should be to enlighten and purify, and elevate the masses and the millions who compose this great and growing republic.

With such a press, bearing such a motto, to supply the cities, villages and hamlets, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, with a periodical literature, illumined by a pure and undefiled religion, and teaching a morality and a patriotism emanating from the word of God, we might reasonably hope that our children and children's children would behold our time-honored banner, with "E PLURIBUS UNUM" inscribed in letters of gold upon its massy folds, floating in triumph over the increasing millions of peaceful and happy families, *sitting under their own vine and their own fig tree, with none to make them afraid.*

But if, instead of such a press, to go hand in hand with the pulpit and the common school, and the higher seminaries, to educate the public mind, and melt down the discordant materials

of which our population is composed, in the crucible of a common christianity, and bind them to their country and to one another by that bond which binds a holy universe to the throne of God ; we have an unprincipled, belligerent, party press, to sow the seeds of discord, excite jealousies, embitter sectional and party feelings, and by misrepresentations and slanders, break down the influence of our greatest and best men, our own children may live to see that beautiful and significant inscription blotted from the gorgeous ensign of our country's glory ; its stripes erased, its stars fallen, and its mutilated and polluted folds floating over revolted, dissevered, and belligerent states, reeking with fraternal blood.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFICK.

The Congress of '78, on the 16th day of October, passed the following resolution :
“ Whereas, frequenting play-houses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defence of the country and the preservation of its liberties, Resolved, That any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage or attend such plays, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed.” This resolution was based upon a principle laid down in one passed four days previous, viz: “ That true religion and good morals were the only solid basis of public liberty and happiness,” and that men who regarded the best interests of the na-

tion, should not only avoid, but do all they could to suppress every thing which had a tendency to "*promote idleness, dissipation, or depravity of principles and manners.*"

What would these tried men have thought if they could have lived to see the havoc which the liquor traffick is making, not only of principles and manners, but of every thing that is lovely and of good report among us? Would they not conclude that the theatre, *corrupting, dissipating, and ruinous as it has always been* to the temporal and eternal well-being of its votaries, is quite harmless in comparison to those human slaughter-houses in which intoxicating liquor is sold as a beverage? What would they have thought of the prospects of that country for the independence of which they had pledged their "lives, their property, and their sacred honors," if they could have looked down the vista of time, and have, in the last ten years, seen what we have seen, the nation taxed by the dealers in intoxicating drinks, six hundred millions of dollars directly, and six hundred millions more, indirectly, for sending three hundred thousand of our citizens to drunkards' graves, one hundred thousand to the different

poor houses, and one hundred and fifty thousand to our jails and penitentiaries, besides making two hundred and ninety thousand widows and one million orphans, and instigating one thousand five hundred murders, two thousand suicides, and the burning of ten millions worth of property?

I repeat the question. What would that venerable body have thought of the prospects of their beloved country, if they could have seen, by prophetic vision, these costly sacrifices made by our citizens upon the altar of this Moloch? Would they not have united drinking-houses with theatres and horse-racing, and earnestly recommended to the people of the several states to suppress them? Is not the drinking house more destructive to human happiness, to religion, to morality, and to true patriotism, than the theatre with all its demoralizing accompaniments? And would those men who resolved to dismiss from the service of the United States any officer who should in any way promote an attendance upon the latter, consider it inconsistent with good morals or true patriotism for men to license the former? And yet the nation, with the feelings of these fathers of our

republic spread out before them, and with the widow's tears, and the orphan's cries, appealing to their sympathies, are sleeping over this threatening abomination. The manufacturing and vending of this deadly beverage is so profitable, and the appetite of those who have been beguiled into the use of it, is so uncontrollable, that the sober part of community are too much afraid of injuring, their party organizations to assail it.

But it is my principle design in the present chapter to call the reader's attention to the danger to which our civil institutions are exposed from this traffick. An eminent political writer remarks, that "men of intemperate habits cannot be free, their passions forge their chains." This is true of intemperance in any thing, but above all, of intemperance in the use of strong drink. The drunkard can no more be governed by law than the maniac. Just in proportion as the appetite for strong drink is formed, the man is demented, and the mind becomes weak and imbecile, and all the amiable sympathies of our nature become deadened and torpid as this appetite gains strength. To gratify this worse than brutal appetite, he will bring the

gray hairs of his aged parents with sorrow to the grave, break the heart of a kind and affectionate wife, beggar his children, and bring his own bloated body to a premature and dishonored grave. Can such a creature be governed by law? Is such an one competent to exercise the elective franchise? Many of the states now treat the habitual drunkard as they treat the maniac; put him under the care of guardians, who are to take care of his property and his family, and yet, in these very states, this class of men is permitted to go to the polls and cast their votes for those who are to make laws for, and govern the nation. And when politics run high, and the two great parties are nearly divided, these men, and those who minister to their depraved appetite, hold the balance of power, and actually control our elections.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that "*men of intemperate habits*" are sometimes found in our national and state legislatures, deliberating and voting under the dementing and demoralizing stimulus of intoxicating drinks. That such cases have occurred is too true for the honor of the nation, and if we are not

greatly mistaken, they are becoming quite too common for her safety. The capital of our nation, and the seats of government of the several states, instead of being purified from pollution by the stern integrity and moral influence of our representatives, are proverbial for their dissipation and wickedness.

These evils can never be cured till the ax is laid at the root of the tree. The temptations held out by the liquor traffick, have proved themselves too strong for the resolution of fallen man. If our youth are compelled, when walking the streets, to "look upon the wine when it is red—when it giveth its color in the cup—when it moveth itself aright," the consequence will be what inspiration informed us it would be, "*In the end it will sting like an adder, and bite like a serpent.*" These temptations must be removed; the traffick in intoxicating drinks must be put down, or the number of drunken voters and drunken legislators will be multiplied, until the vital interests of the nation shall be committed to men who shall "*err through wine, and through strong drink shall go out of the way.*"

CONCLUSION.

ADDRESSED TO THE FRIENDS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Fellow Citizens :—I have, in the preceding pages, placed before you the elements of civil liberty. I have proved, I think conclusively, that government is an ordinance of God, deriving its authority from Him. I have shown you from his holy word, and from the history of the world, that a morality and a patriotism emanating from, and supported by a pure and undefiled religion, are indispensable to the perpetuity of free institutions.

Though I have warned you against a corrupted christianity which “gendereth to bondage,” and have exposed the error of the American people in considering and treating the catholics as a mere religious denomination, yet I have done so in the spirit of no sect or party,

but upon the broad principles of that christian patriotism which embraces in the arms of its national regard, the COUNTRY, THE WHOLE COUNTRY; and without assailing any party, or sect, or denomination, I have warned the nation against those things which tend to weaken the great pillars upon which the beautiful fabric of our republic rests.

In view of the truths which I have thus presented, permit me to call your attention to the danger of our country from the influence of that party spirit which has within a few years obtained such a fearful dominion over the minds of the American people.

General Washington, at a very early day, saw the danger to which his beloved country would be exposed from this source, and in his farewell address warned its citizens against this *hydra* in the following words: "The alternate domination of one party over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, which is natural to party dissension, which has in different ages and countries perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent one. The disorders and mischiefs re-

sulting from this state of things, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able, or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

“But without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, which nevertheless ought not to be entirely lost sight of, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party, are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

“It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjugated to the policy and will of another.”

The wisdom of this sage counsel of the polit-

ical father of his country must be very clear to any one who has been attentive to the working of this *demon* in our own land, since this venerable patriot has fallen asleep. The spirit of party has already distracted our public councils and enfeebled our public administration. It has agitated the country with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindled the animosity of one portion of the nation against the other, and opened a fearful door to foreign influence and corruption.

It has so nearly divided the nation between the two great political factions, that a small clique of two or three hundred thousand men who belong to neither, but will act together for their own selfish purposes, often hold the balance of power, and can govern this mighty nation, and may, at an important crisis, decide its destiny.

Would you wish to know how the catholics among us view this subject? Read an article from the "Freeman's Journal," a papal paper printed in New York, under the eye and control of an archbishop, who is under sworn allegiance to the successor of St. Peter, and is entirely conversant with all the plans and purpo-

ses of the papal hierarchy. This *politico-religious* organ of Rome, after calling upon the papal princes in Europe to crush England, and promising any one of them who will make war upon her, the prayers and the money of millions of catholics, says: "If Louis Napoleon wishes to reign in the hearts of another nation, as he rules over the minds and the bodies of the French, let him strike a bold blow at the very heart of England, and the Irish throughout the world will bless him. If he wants men, they will fill his ranks with the same kind of soldiers that chased five times their number on the plains of Mexico. If he wants skillful engineers, *there are enough of the very flower of the officers of our army, who are catholics, and who in such a case, would hasten to his standards.* If France does not furnish him with money enough, the contributions they will raise in the United States, and wherever else they are, will fill his coffers.

"But if not so, Irishmen in America learn to bide their time. Year by year the United States and England must touch each other more and more nearly on the seas. Year by year the Irish are becoming more and more powerful in

America. At length the propitious time will come ; some accidental, sudden collision—a presidential election close at hand. We will use then the very profligacy of our politicians for our purpose. *They will want to buy the Irish vote*, and we will tell them how they can buy it in a lump, from Maine to California, by declaring war against Great Britain.”

This development of the principles and purposes of Rome, from the organ of an American archbishop, is deserving of the careful attention of the American people. We may learn from it, that the catholics in this country are desirous of imitating Peter the hermit, and getting up a crusade against protestantism. England and America are the only nations upon earth that can present any serious obstacle to the re-establishment of civil and religious despotism throughout the world. They are the only nations of any great political influence, that can be called protestant. Take them out of the way, and the friends of civil despotism and religious intolerance will have a clear field. This Rome understands, and her vassals everywhere deeply anxious to have them removed out of the way, will unite in furnishing the means. —

That section of the papal army which is quartered upon us in this country, seems particularly thirsty for protestant blood. If any papal prince will crush protestant England, he shall have the prayers, the money, and the men to aid him in the enterprise. If Louis Napoleon will engage in the work, he has the assurance from an archbishop's organ, that the catholic officers and soldiers in the American army, with all the money he may need, shall be at his service.

But if the papal princes in Europe should be too tardy, there is another hope which the American papists are directed to take hold of and wait for. "*The propitious time may come*" when some "*sudden, accidental collision,*" between the officers and seamen of Great Britain and America, may happen on the eve of a presidential election. And what then? Why the Irish catholics in America will avail themselves, not of the virtue and patriotism of their adopted country, *but of the profligacy of her party politicians.* This is a game at which Rome is accustomed to play. She knows well how to turn the profligacy of mankind to her own advantage. But how does this champion of the papacy propose to have the Romanists avail

themselves of *the profligacy of our party politicians?* Why, by selling the *Irish vote*. The political parties will want to buy it, and the bishop's editor knows its price, and can tell them "how they may buy it in a lump from Maine to California." Only let one of the parties pledge itself to embroil two protestant nations in war with each other, and thus pour out upon the altar of the *man of sin*, plenty of protestant blood, and the catholic Irish vote shall be theirs in a lump. Is it possible that our country has sunk herself so low by her party contentions, that a vassal of Rome shall tell us that catholics are calculating to precipitate us into a war with the only other protestant nation of any considerable strength upon the globe, by selling their vote to one of the political parties! Is it possible that party spirit has already so divested our politicians of that high sense of national honor that used to burn in the bosom of our fathers, that after being told from such a source, that the catholics are calculating to take advantage of their profligacy to embroil the nation in a war for papal purposes, they will yet cringe and truckle to the papacy?

Yes, Americans, it is possible—it is true.

The demagogues who are allowed to manage your party politics, will receive this insult quietly, and still be the humble servants of the Roman see. You will find that this outrage upon every American feeling, will not be animadverted upon by the political press. To use the language of the archbishop's organ, *they want to buy the Irish vote,*" and they will barter away the national honor to procure it. If things are suffered to go on in this manner, the Irish catholics may safely calculate that "the propitious day will come," when the Irish vote will not only involve us in a war with England, but will place our protestant privileges, for which our fathers fought, and bled, and died, in the keeping of the VATICAN. The army, we are assured, in the article from which I have quoted, is extensively officered by Irish catholics, who are ready to violate the laws of our nation by joining with France in a crusade against England. And what security have we, if they are as base as the "Freemen's Journal" tell us they are, that when they shall have aided catholic Europe in crushing England, they will not assist these papal princes to bring the land of the *pilgrims* under the yoke of the *man*

of sin? Our party bickerings have already put it in the power of the pope to determine who shall be our president. Whichever party that despot shall direct his subjects in this country to unite with, will ordinarily elect their candidate. Catholics are at the disposal of their hierarchy, and one of their own journals, under the eye of a metropolitan archbishop, tells us they are for sale, and can be bought in a lump, from Maine to California, if our profligate politicians will only pay them their price. Their price now is the blood of protestant England, to enable cardinal Wiseman to bring back the palmy days of bloody Mary, when the eyes of papists could be feasted with the sight of archbishop Cranmer, and a multitude of others, burning at the stake. I say this is their price now, but if our party leaders will come to their terms, and help them to put Great Britain out of the way, their price may next be a similar reformation in protestant America. This shows us how party spirit "opens the door of foreign influence and corruption," and ought to send a note of warning, accompanied by a thrill of horror, to the heart of every true American.

Do you ask how you can rescue your country from her perilous situation ?

The first thing to be done is to disenthral yourselves from your party alliances ; to put your country where the common-place politician puts his party, and select from your fellow-citizens men to preside over the nation, who have too much of the fear of God and of the love of their country in their hearts, to tamper with the tools of a foreign despot about buying the *Irish vote*. You must place men at the head of your political affairs, who stand so high in the estimation of the nation, that the catholics will not calculate to avail themselves of party profligacy to aid the papal princes of Europe in a crusade against protestantism and civil liberty. But if you would remove the cause which has brought us into our present dishonored and perilous condition, you must do more than this. You must bring the nation back to that safe foundation upon which it was placed by the patriots of '76. You must, by your prayers and your example, and by all suitable means, labor to bring the country back to a sense of its religious obligations, and im-

bue the minds of our citizens with that wisdom which cometh down from above.

The nations of the world have always been, and now are, just what their religion has made them. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and all other catholic countries, are indebted to the papal religion for their imbecility, poverty, and wretchedness, while our own people owe all their freedom, and the greatness, and happiness of their country, to the religion of our protestant and puritan fathers. It was this holy religion which prepared our ancestors to be free, and to lay the foundation of the government under which we live. They built upon "the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone," and if we their children suffer an infidel philosophy, a papal superstition, or the profligacy of our party politicians to remove us from this foundation, our beautiful edifice will totter, and crumble, and fall.

A few words to the Irish catholics of our country, and I have done.

Is it true that the Irish catholics in America are so entirely at the disposal of their priests, that the organ of their archbishop in New York can advertise them as in the market to be sold,

or to have their votes sold, to any party who will be profligate enough to bid for them, and to give them their price, or rather the price which their priests have set upon them? Is it true that your votes can be bought in a lump from Maine to California? Is it true that you are so anxious to get up a crusade against protestantism, that you are ready to fill up the ranks of Louis Napoleon, and become his mercenary troops to crush protestant England? Is it true that the catholic officers in the American army are ready, if that despot will make war on Great Britain, to violate their oaths of allegiance to the United States, the laws of their adopted country, and all the rules of military discipline, to enable a foreign tyrant to force popery at the point of the bayonet upon the English people? Is it true that you are all ready at the bidding of your priests, to avail yourselves of the profligacy of party politicians, to involve your adopted country in all the horrors of war?

All these things are charged upon you, not by protestants, but by the "Freeman's Journal," a paper of your own, published under the eye and under the control of your archbishop

of New York. Are these things true? If they are, what has become of the boasted "*Irish heart?*"

Is it possible that Irishmen can look at the contrast between the papal governments of Europe, and the protestant republicanism of this country, and prefer the former? Is it possible that after having enjoyed the blessings of our free institutions you still wish to get back under the despotism of Rome? If so, why did you not emigrate to papal Mexico or some of the South American states, where the condition of the people is now just what Romanism would make it in this happy country? Why do you prefer the United States to all papal countries? Is it not because it is free, and abounds in those blessings which civil and religious liberty usually bring along with them? But what has made our country free, and rich, and happy? It is that very protestantism which the "*Freeman's Journal*" tells us you are ready to sell your votes to put down. — "The Shepherd of the Valley," another of your own papers, tells you that "If ever the catholics should get the ascendancy in this country, religious toleration will be at an end."

This is undoubtedly true, they have never had the ascendancy in any country where they have not put down religious toleration. But what will become of civil liberty when religious toleration shall cease? What liberty can the people hope for when they shall be disfranchised, imprisoned, or burnt at the stake for worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience? Believe me, Irishmen, or rather believe what universal history has always proclaimed, that the spirit of popery is the spirit of despotism. It has made Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and Austria, what they are, and if it could predominate in this country, our sons and our daughters might be burnt at the stake for daring to read God's blessed word, and interpret it for themselves. Your priests are beginning to throw off the mask which popery in our country has been accustomed to wear. They are coming out more plainly than formerly. The knowledge of what is doing in papal countries is compelling them to show their colors, and from the disclosures which they are making you can learn what they would do in this country if they had the power.

The Freeman's Journal, bishop Hughes' or-

gan in New York, has been compelled to admit that "while the catholic government of an entirely catholic community is not bound, in order to be consistent with its principles, to tolerate any other religious teaching, the protestant state, though having no catholics established in its realms, could not, without denying the essential principles of protestantism, oppose the introduction of catholicity or any other religion."

Here you have the distinction, drawn by the catholic organ of archbishop Hughes, between popery and protestantism. The latter may, without infringing its principles, be intolerant, the former cannot, without denying its essential principles, withhold from any one the liberty of worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

"The Shepherd of the Valley," another catholic paper to which I have more than once referred, endorses this sentiment, and says plainly that it is not the friend of religious liberty, and admits that when papists talk in favor of religious toleration, they only do so to deceive protestants. The Irish catholics in this country, (I do not mean the priesthood,) do not

know what popery is where it has the power in its own hands. In our happy land the priests are restrained by our laws, and by the public sentiment of the community, and if any of their subjects should renounce their religion, they are not at liberty to send them to the inquisition, nor to offer them any violence, unless it might be to kidnap and carry them away privately, or instigate their being handled roughly by the mob. The same thing is partially true in Ireland, for even there the English law, however unequally it may work in other respects, is a shield to protect the laity from the power of their priests. You must look into history if you would learn what popery is; but this your priests are unwilling to have you do. They excite your prejudices against impartial history, and in their own garbled publications they only publish what will suit their interests. But the communication between this country and papal Europe is becoming so direct, that you may, if you will read any other papers than those which are under the superintendence of your priesthood, learn much about what is doing at Rome and in other papal kingdoms. Rome being under the entire control of the

pope and his cardinals, is the best specimen of what popery will do for a nation where it can have its own way. What Rome now is, America would be, if the supreme head of the papal church could mould it according to his will. But what is the state of the city of Rome? Are the people free? are they happy? are they contented? If they are, why must their beloved, supreme pontiff, keep an army of French mercenary troops there, to guard his royal person from the hands of his beloved children? Why is he afraid to trust his catholic subjects with the keeping of his person? The truth is that the Italians, not only in Rome, but everywhere, are weary of the slavery, degradation and wretchedness, which papal despotism is inflicting upon them, and if the papal despots out of Italy would withdraw their troops, and let it be understood that they would not interfere with the wishes of that people, the days of the Roman hierarchy would be numbered, and the existence of papal intolerance there would soon be only a matter of history. Irishmen, do you wish to have America what Rome now is? Would you like to have the vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, and the inquisition trans-

ferred to this country, and an army of Austrian or French mercenaries quartered upon us to keep the Irish catholics from rising and asserting their liberty to think and act for themselves? This would soon have to be the state of things, if America could be made the royal residence of the head of your church. When the pope fled, in the disguise of a servant, from his quirinal palace, to Gaeta, what did the people do? Did they mourn his loss, and endeavor to sustain his form of government? By no means; they established a republic, as you would have done if you had lived there and been ground down by papal oppression as the Romanists had been. You complain of the English government oppressing Ireland, and there is, doubtless, many things to be complained of, but England has never oppressed Ireland half as much as the pope has Rome.

The Irish would never have been subject to the regal power of Great Britain, if it had not been for the pope. He sold your beautiful green island to Henry the Second, on the condition that the grantee should subject the people to the spiritual dominion of the grantor. Hume's account of this transaction is as follows :

“The Irish had, by precedent missions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to christianity; and what the pope considered as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian III., therefore, in the year 1156, issued a bull in favor of Henry, in which, after premising that this prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on the earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in the heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motive: he considers his care, in previously applying for the apostolic sanction, as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestable, that all christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the gospel, which might in the last day fructify to their eternal salvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly from every house a penny to the see of Rome: he gives him en-

tire right and authority over the island, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign, and invests with full power all such godly instruments as Henry should think proper to employ in an enterprise thus calculated for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men."

Here, Irishmen, you can see what your priests would never willingly tell you, that your hated subjection to England was procured by a bull from your pope. The Roman pontiff sold your ancestors to Henry II. for the paltry price of a penny on a household as a yearly tax. Your fathers were no catholics, they owed no subjection to Rome at this time any more than the United States now do, and Pius IX. has just as good a right to sell our country to Austria or France, as Adrian III. had to sell Ireland to Great Britain. He acted upon the assumption stated in the bull, "that all christian nations belonged to the patrimony of St. Peter," that is, to the pope, and as Ireland was a christian nation, and did not acknowledge this claim, and as Henry was moved by the pious desire of reducing this rebellious island to its proper subjection to Rome, and as the most easy way to

do this would be to conquer it and attach it to the kingdom of Great Britain, the pope not only gave him leave, but exhorted him to make the invasion, and gave him the entire right and authority over the Emerald Isle, and commanded all its inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign.

Armed with this authority, Henry subdued Ireland, and in virtue of this papal bull, JOHN BULL has ever since held possession. If the claims of the pope were good, so was the title of England, and Ireland must look to the arrogant assumptions of Rome as the cause of her subjection.

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