

# Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

EBENSBURG, MARCH 15, 1855.

VOL. 2, NO. 24.

## TERMS:

THE DEMOCRAT & SENTINEL, is published every Thursday morning, in Ebenburg, Cambria Co., Pa., at \$1 50 per annum, in ADVANCE, if not \$2 will be charged. ADVERTISEMENTS will be conspicuously inserted at the following rates, viz: 1 square 3 insertions, \$1 00 Every subsequent insertion, 25 1 square 3 months, 3 00 " " 6 " " 6 00 " " 1 year, 12 00 " col'n 1 year, 30 00 " " " " 15 00 Business Cards with one copy of the DEMOCRAT & SENTINEL, per year, 5 00

## LETTER OF

HON. WILFRED P. HARRIS,

Col. J. F. H. Clairborne, of Mississippi, ON FOREIGN IMMIGRATION, THE NATURALIZATION LAWS, AND THE SECRET ORDER OF KNOW NOTHINGS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 6, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—My answer to your letter of the 24th December, has been deferred, in the expectation that a proper occasion might arise in the House of Representatives for expressing my opinions on the subjects to which you directed my attention. But the pressing nature of much of the current business of Congress, and the limited time within which it must be acted upon, have inclined the House to discourage the discussion of mere political topics, not immediately connected with the subject under consideration; I have, therefore, concluded to give you my opinions in this form.

You ask me to give my views upon the subject of foreign immigration generally, and especially you ask my views respecting the new party with which this subject is blended in the public mind, and whose extraordinary course of action, and no less extraordinary progress, have awakened an unusual degree of interest throughout the country, and much alarm in some quarters.

The interest which this party has awakened, is not to be ascribed to the evils, real or imagined, which flow from foreign immigration, but to the fact that it is a secret political brotherhood, whose purposes, names and numbers are hidden from the public eye, and to the further fact that where they have the power, no exhibition of public virtue or private worth, no services, however meritorious, and no abilities, however commanding, are sufficient to exempt a man from secret proscription, if he fails or refuses to unite with them, or to sanction their proceedings. If the progress of this party is such as it is represented to be, we may well consider the propriety of waiting in quiet unconcern, or under the benumbing influence of fear, until such a party shall have subjugated the country. I have no fears of this result, if any serious opposition is made. But that opposition must be presented, not in the form of denunciation, but in the form of deliberate reasoning publicly addressed to the people.

Persons who judge from outward appearances, without reflecting that such appearances are often deceptive, and in the present instance designed to be so, are inclined to jump to the conclusion that the Know Nothings are irresistible. The formation of a new party, in this country, always produces striking effects for the time being; the fear of being unpopular, or being in a minority, pervades all classes of people. It operates as well upon those who do not seek office as upon those who do. So much of all that is important to us is tested by the ballot-box, that that has become, in a paramount degree, the standard by which every thing is measured.

The cardinal principles of our government is that the majority shall rule; and the practical application of this principle has given a strong coloring to all our social and political affairs, to all our habits of thought and action.

This feeling of deferential awe of majorities, and of antipathy to minorities, has been cultivated to such a degree, and has grown to such rank maturity, that it may be said, without exaggeration, that the desire for popular applause is as strong in our public men as it is in the actor, in whom it glows with all the intensity of a passion.

This is an inherent tendency, and it causes men to regard any movement by which they may possibly be left in a minority with an anxiety which sometimes borders on phreny. Men in the sore and yellow leaf of political life are apt to join in the movement in the hope of being rejuvenated. Neglected men, long baffled by anxious exclusion, find their merits at length acknowledged, and, of course, go over. Of those who remain, some resort to devious courses, and to double dealing; some fight boldly, but often recklessly; but all, are for a time unheeded, disturbed, anxious and bewildered.

These are the ordinary effects. We can easily account, therefore, for the extraordinary symptoms which prevail all over the country, when we reflect that in these times this natural tendency has been aided by peculiar circumstances. A general upheaving of all the political elements in one section of the Union, has infused a distrust of the stability of existing party organizations, and a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty amongst politicians.

The advent of a new party at such a time, with novel features to excite the curiosity of the careless and unreflecting, and the veil of secrecy to screen the timid from exposure—taking hold upon strong social and religious antipathies—the numbers left to be magnified by fear or by misrepresentation, is well calculated to produce temporary indecision and confusion. There are some men who think there is no life, if it be not public life. In times like these they see a Trojan horse in every proposition, and their fears magnify a "paper of this into the spears of a Macedonian phalanx."

I have determined to oppose the Know Nothings. No personal risk can deter me from this course. The effect of their success upon

the open and manly simplicity of the republican character, and the integrity of the Constitution, has decided me to resist them. I do not approve the course of action which they have adopted, and am satisfied with my principles and the principles of my party. This is the ground I stand upon.

There is a good deal said by Know Nothing organs and sympathizers of the corruptions of the two old parties, and of abuses in the conduct of public affairs. I have not been able to perceive the one or the other. The Whigs may confess the soft impeachment if they choose, but for the Democratic party I enter a general and unqualified denial. Under Democratic guidance, the thirteen colonies have expanded into a great empire of republican States. The wings of commerce have been unfettered, and the national treasury filled to overflowing, without oppression to the people. Every branch of industry and enterprise, and all the great interests of the country have been stimulated to a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations. All this has been accomplished by legitimate means, and we are now in the enjoyment of the fruits of these achievements under a Constitution unimpaired, and which no temptation of advantage has ever induced the Democratic party to infringe. And if that party panes not for a moment in its career, it is because it would seem that there are no more triumphs for patriotism to achieve. I have made up my mind to adhere to this time-honored party—to cling to the old ship as long as there is a single plank above the water.

It seems to me that if a man is capable of serving his party at all, he can serve it as a member of the Democratic party, and that neither his capacity nor his integrity is likely to be improved by entering a Know Nothing lodge. The Democratic party has not presumptuously assumed her title of "American party," and yet it has fairly won that title by an unwavering devotion to American interests, through good and evil report, in war and in peace, through a long period of years.

It was the American party in 1812, when there were Americans amongst us who gave aid and comfort to a foreign enemy. It was the American party during the war with Mexico, when a native-born American expressed the hope that Mexico would receive the American volunteers with "bloody hands and hospitable graves."

I do not credit the exaggerated accounts of the numbers and resources of the Know Nothings. Captain Marryatt, speaking of the military strength of this country, said that twenty thousand British regulars could march from one end of the Union to the other, without much serious resistance, but he added a most important hint, and it was, that he doubted whether a single one of the twenty thousand would ever get back. His idea was that, being without a standing army, the country taken by surprise, with no time to concert plans of resistance, the twenty thousand regulars might by rapid movement traverse the whole length of the Union; but in attempting to return, they would find the aspect of things materially changed. The whole land would literally bristle with bayonets. The Know Nothings, like the British regulars, in the midst of confusion and unconcern, may march through the country; but the return trip will test the quality of their mettle. The *revocare gradum* will be "an uphill business."

More numbers are not the test of the strength of a party, certainly not of its stability; something more is required. It must be organized on right principles; it must have a basis to rest upon, and substantial and rational objects in view. In these respects the Know Nothings are deficient; and even as to numbers, are weaker, by far, than is generally supposed. The recent elections only show, in their general results, that where other parties are nearly balanced, the new party has succeeded in turning the scale.

There is one significant feature in these elections, however, which we of the South ought not to overlook. Efforts have been made by persons of opposite opinions to deduce from these elections opposite results; but there is one general fact connected with them, and it is, that the liberal portion of the Democratic party of the free States has been crushed almost to a man. It matters not what elements were combined to produce this result; they were all equally at war with our institutions.

It is with a feeling of profound regret that I allude to the fact, that almost every liberal-minded man of the North and West has been overthrown, and every spark of liberal sentiment, as respects the institution of slavery, utterly trodden out. Our friends seem to fare as badly at the hands of one party as of another. They are literally, between "hawk and buzzard." If they are fortunate enough to escape the vengeance of the Free Soilers and Abolitionists, they are sure to fall by the unseen hand—the covert stab of the Know Nothings. This new party, in almost every locality where its influence was felt, sided with ultra anti-slavery men. I do not know whether there is any limit to human credulity. I fear there is none. Certainly, those who deal in imposture act upon the hypothesis that it is boundless. There is an effort being made to convince southern men that northern Know Nothings are not unfriendly to slavery; nay, that they are fighting its battles against such men as Seward and Sumner. Seward attacked the Know Nothings because he wanted no rivals in his peculiar vocation, and the Know Nothings fought in sheer self-defence.

The only perceptible change wrought by the Know Nothings in the free States, is a change from bad to worse. They have imparted a deeper shade to Abolitionism. Can any sane man believe that the opposition of a portion of the Know Nothings to Seward's election was on account of his opposition to the admission of slave territory into the Union, or because he is in favor of the repeal of the fugitive slave law, and the restoration of the Missouri line? Is it reasonable to suppose that at the time when the people of the North are more thoroughly aroused against Southern

slavery than at any former period, when they regard the South as attempting to encroach upon territory "consecrated to freedom," to use their own language, a party could be formed, that a powerful party as this new party professes to be, could be based upon such an issue with Seward? In Massachusetts, the Know Nothings have complete ascendancy. Is it possible to conceive anything so absurd as the idea that the dominant party in Massachusetts is even tolerant of slavery? Fortunately for the cause of truth, at least, the Know Nothing Governor and Legislature of that State, and the newly elected Senator in Congress, leave no doubt on this point. Massachusetts, in the hands of the Know Nothings, has abandoned the position in which Mr. Webster placed her, and has taken a step backwards to the position occupied by Sumner. Wilson, the Know Nothing Senator elect, publicly approved and endorsed the following language of Mr. Burlingame, employed on the 2d instant in the city of Boston. Mr. Burlingame is a Know Nothing member of Congress elect from Massachusetts.

"I asked to state specifically what I would do. I would answer: 1st, repeal the Nebraska bill; 2d, repeal the fugitive slave law; 3d, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; 4th, abolish the inter-State slave trade; next I would declare that slavery should not spread to one inch of the territory of the Union."

Giddings never expressed a more thoroughly sweeping and malevolent purpose towards the South. I undertake to say, that powerful as this new party may be at the North, it dare not avow its opposition to the repeal of the fugitive slave law, or the restoration of the Missouri compromise line. The announcement of such opposition would be the signal of its dissolution; it would melt away like the army of Sennacherib.

The South has been so often the victim of deceptive appearances and hollow professions—suffered so much from delusions of this kind—that it is a cruel mockery thus to sport with her infirmity. Will the South abandon the Constitution? Will she cease to contend, in open day, for the rights which it was intended to secure, and take refuge in a Know Nothing lodge, and the guide of midnight councils?

You are right in ascribing Abolition tendencies to this new party at the North. It is now evident that, so far from being a national intervention party, it has become the representative of the most determined, unrelenting and aggressive anti-slavery spirit. The hope once entertained, that, with all the objections to which their organization was obnoxious, the Know Nothings might still effect some good by neutralizing the anti-slavery feeling in the free States, has been completely destroyed. The truth is, the Democratic party is the only party which has the least claim to nationality. It has displayed a devotional heroism in defence of the constitutional rights of the States; and in the perilous hour when Whigs, Abolitionists, and Know Nothings combined for their destruction, Democrats of the free States maintained, with inflexible fortitude, those rights, and fell nobly fighting in their defence. What excuse can Southern Democrats offer who, in the very hour which witnessed the self-sacrifice of our friends, and the destruction of the last barrier to anti-slavery fanaticism, join the very party whose secret machinations wrought their destruction.

Let us, however, look into the origin and progress of this new political order, and penetrate as far as possible into the mystery which surrounds it. We ought to know what opposition it involves on the score of principle, and what consequences will attach to those who oppose it. If we are to be hanged for refusing to join it, it is a matter of some concern to know what is the grade of the offence, for I agree with the old couplet,

"To be hanged for treason is a common evil,  
But to be hanged for nonsense is the devil."  
Know Nothingism is not the growth of the slave States. It had its origin at the North. I do not believe that it is the effect of prejudice which leads me to regard this as an objection to the new party. I have conceived a very high regard for many northern men, and admire many of the qualities of the northern people very much, and with all the natural feeling which prompts a man to prefer his native land, I am still inclined to avoid comparisons in things which at last may be mere matters of taste. At least I will say no more than was once said by Dan Marble, the comedian, to a southern audience: "I have heard a great deal said about the advantages of the North and the advantages of the South; for my part, I think that one country is about as good as another, and a great deal better."

The northern people, however, introduce a great many of these small contrivances—too many entirely; they start a great many queer doctrines. It is not long since a very noted man, Mr. Hale, delivered a lecture in Boston in vindication of the principles of Agrarian laws. Now, if these things suit the northern people I am not disposed to question their right to enjoy them; but I am disposed to prevent their introduction to the South. Their blue buckets, bone buttons, and the like we accept thankfully, but against the introduction of their principles, dogmas, creeds, theories, and platforms, in morals, religion, and politics, I enter my most emphatic protest. This is not said in any unkind spirit. The structure of society in the two sections of the Union is radically different, and what may be good for one may be poison to the other. To shorten on the matter I would have liked Know-Nothingism better if it had come from some other quarter.

What first attracted public attention to this new party, was the startling feature, an oath or pledge of secrecy as to the objects of, and the persons composing, a political society. It was the first instance of the kind here. In a country where the freedom of discussion is secured by the highest guarantees, and where the wrongs of one man inflicted through a violation of the sacred principles of the Consti-

tution, instantly become the wrong of the whole nation, where a man may speak, write, and publish whatever seems to him right, and there is no one to make him afraid, this feature in a political society naturally attracted attention.

I have heard of such political organizations in other countries, and under different circumstances. When a foreign despot put his foot upon the neck of prostrate Italy, and the surviving friends of liberty groped at midnight amongst the fallen columns of the temples of freedom; when they were watched and hunted down with treachery and the gibbet constantly before them, they sought safety in a secret political society. They are known to history as the Carbonari, and flourished in the decline of the Italian republics. History, however, is full of such combinations where a virtuous ruler was to be assassinated or dethroned, or a legitimate government overthrown by a reasonable conspiracy. Such combinations, however, are new and uncalled for in this land of ours. It is not long since we had to lament the degradation of a people, who, after long years of odious, grinding tyranny, achieved their liberties, and then, as if weary of their burden voluntarily, and on bended knees laid them down at the feet of a despot. But liberty to them had been a sort of fever dream, fitful, agitating, and exhausting. They had felt the touch of the scorching and desolating lava of revolution, and fearing its recurrence, sought refuge in the calm of a frigid despotism whose icy bosom, like a frozen sea, is untossed by the tempest and unmoved by the tide.—This is their apology, such as it is. We, on the contrary, achieved our liberty, and organized it by a written constitution, under which we repose quietly, peacefully and prosperously. We have had but one serious struggle about the extent to which that constitution abridged our liberty. That struggle grew out of an attempt by the government to interfere with the freedom of discussion, the license of speech, and the freedom of the press, a matter deemed vital by our republican fathers. They resisted, and after great and earnest efforts, succeeded in establishing firmly these great privileges, so intimately interwoven with the very spirit of liberty, and, indeed, essential to its very existence. What excuse can we offer for contemptuously spurning these privileges now, or for surrendering them voluntarily in exchange for the dictation of secret irresponsible councils, for attempting to govern the country by means and by persons unknown to the people at large; none, none whatever. The exaction of an oath or pledge of secrecy and fidelity in this country by a political party, is a confession that the cause in which it is enlisted is incapable of inspiring attachment or respect.

I regard the suggestion of the apprehension of tumult and violence from foreigners as simply absurd. It could have no possible application except to a very few localities. It is not pretended that it applies to the well-ordered society of the South. Indeed, I do not know if, at last, the explanation of this strange feature in the Know Nothing organization does not lie nearer the surface than we have imagined. It may be that the early founders of the order, when they looked at their fellow-countrymen, experienced the same feelings with which Falstaff surveyed the results of that recruiting service in which he had "misread the King's press most damnably." Jack looked along those ranks which were filled by "discarded, unjust, serving men, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted lusters, and ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," where men of the stamp of Mouldy, and Bullcalf, and Pebble—Foreble Pebble—shone conspicuous; and he said to himself, "If I be not ashamed of my soldiers, I am a sone of a gunner. I will not march through Coventry with them, that's flat." This may be so; and it may be that, finding the new recruits but a slight improvement upon the earlier levies, they determined to wait until the public eye, dazzled by the imposing majesty of numbers, would overlook individual imperfection. This is not an accusation, but a conjecture, and a party which resorts to secrecy must submit to conjectures.

If we could get at the real origin of this party, I am inclined to believe that it would be found that at the outset it had but very limited aims—that it did not contemplate a national organization, and perhaps not a political organization. It is quite probable that opposition to foreigners was a leading feature in it; but it was rather a social than a political antagonism. Opposition to Roman Catholicism was resorted to because a large portion of the foreign population were Roman Catholics, and opposition to them was calculated to enlist the religious prejudices of the country in favor of the new party. It is not to be denied that foreign labor and skill affects the price of wages in some parts of the country. Nor is it to be denied that some foreigners have, at times, acted in a manner to provoke resentment. It is not to be denied that certain tenets of the Roman Catholic Church are repugnant to Protestant ideas of the right of private judgment and free inquiry. It remains to be shown, however, whether these Know Nothings have the advantage of the Roman Catholic Church in this respect. The new party saw at once that it might safely rely upon the sympathies of the Protestants, and that it would attach to itself the fragments of the old Native American party. The placing of the emblem of our Saviour above the stars and stripes in a procession, was thought sufficient to prove that the Pope of Rome had a design to establish temporal supremacy in the United States of America. An instance here and there, of tumult and violence, on the part of foreigners, and some foolish declarations, made by crazy German sentimentalists, associated with the idea of a rapidly increasing emigration, were thought sufficient to justify the apprehension that foreigners wanted to control the country, and would soon be able to do so.

Incidents like these, incidents of less importance in their bearing than those which instigated the Gordon riots in England, gave an

impulse to Know Nothingism—just such an impulse as would give it a temporary footing in every nook and corner of the country where religious prejudices prevailed, or the foreign laborer toiled. The mechanic was told that his wages were reduced by the competition of foreigners. The Protestant was told that the Roman Church with all its Babylonish tendencies and corruptions was about to acquire supremacy, and the Native American was told that now was the auspicious moment to resuscitate his party, which had long been in a state of suspended animation. The result of this artful policy surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the Know Nothings. They found that where other parties were nearly balanced, they could turn the scale, and a successful canvass of this kind in some of the principal cities, in local elections, led them to hope that they might safely aspire to supremacy in the nation. It is now true that they have got a glimpse of political power, and this has changed the whole face of the organization, and is destined to lead to its dissolution; and you will find that before very long its members will be divided amongst themselves and each separate faction in desperate self-defence pandering to the very influences which they at first sought to destroy. Naturalization and Roman Catholicism will soon become objects of minor importance in the all-engrossing desire for political elevation. Up to this time, they have had no settled purpose, no settled plans of reform. They clamor about foreigners and Roman Catholics, but suggest no practical remedy. They call upon the people to enter their lodges, but not to examine the nature of any public grievance or to devise any plan to correct abuses. In the contests which they have had, they seem to have desired simply to make an exhibition of a strength, which is employed in the most capricious manner, and what is singular, they attack Native Americans and not foreigners. Protestants not Catholics, and that too without inquiring whether the victim is favorable or unfavorable to such reforms as they pretend to desire, and without acquainting him what those meditated reforms are.

It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell the fate of such a party. Mere numbers, as I said before, without sound principles cannot sustain a party. In what they have proclaimed up to this time, they have committed two gross blunders. The first is an attempt to make a religious test in politics; the second, is the promulgation of the doctrine that the States have no right to regulate the doctrine franchise as respects foreigners. Doctrines more mischievous could not be advanced. In speaking of the first, I desire to say that it is more in sorrow than in anger that I perceive in it, evidence of the decline of that liberal spirit which animated our great ancestors when they framed the Constitution. With our history open before us, with every page adorned by our triumphs in war, and, what is far better, our triumphs in peace; and every line teaching the incalculable value of our free Constitution and the sacredness of the freedom of conscience, we are asked to turn aside from our great mission to persecute a few stray Roman Catholics who have sought the protection of that Constitution; not by open legislative enactment, but by amending the Constitution; but by controlling, through secret combination, the suffrages of the people. When religious bigotry and intolerance triumph, as they often do, over age and weakness, deplorable as the spectacle is—and it is the most deplorable that poor human nature ever offers to our contemplation—our aversion to bigotry is sometimes softened by our pity for the infirmity which yields to its sway; but we can make no allowance for young America; we can have no charity for the young, the enlightened, and the vigorous, who daringly and presumptuously thrust themselves between a man's conscience and his God.

If there is anything which dignifies and exalts human nature, it is a liberal forbearance towards those who differ from us in matters of religious faith. If there is one feature in our Constitution which more than any other commends itself to the respect and veneration of mankind, it is that which secures to every man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and declares that no religious test shall ever be applied in determining the qualifications for office. The members of this new party, though they denounce the Jesuits because it is assumed that the Jesuits will take an oath to support the Constitution and then violate the spirit of it—and though they declare that their leading object is to purify the ballot-box, yet with the admission on their lips that the Constitution forbids the disfranchisement of any religious denomination by open legislation, they declare their purpose to effect this disfranchisement at the ballot-box. In other words, they propose to employ that sacred instrument, placed in the hands of the freemen of this country to enable them to secure fidelity in their rulers, to correct abuses in the administration of their government, and, if need be, to procure amendments to the Constitution, and as a means to evade, nay, subvert the Constitution itself—to employ it as Santa Anna and Louis Napoleon employed it, to overthrow the Constitution. This is the Know Nothing mode of purifying the ballot-box; and when it shall be sanctioned by the American people, when, one after another, the religious denominations which may chance to incur the displeasure of this secret order shall share the fate of the Roman Catholics, we may well exclaim "God save the Republic."

Men who promulgate such doctrines, mistake the spirit and temper of the people of this country. They may blacken the character of the Roman Catholic until he shall become the abhorred object of universal execration, and yet the people, not entirely lost to a sense of the inestimable blessings which they enjoy, will rise up to the rescue of that Constitution, the source of those blessings, and under which even the abhorred Roman Catholic may find shelter and repose. The attempt to justify

this discrimination on the ground that it is universally recognized as to political opinions, exhibits a profound misconception of the nature of the Constitution, and the lofty and benignant spirit which pervades it. The office of the Constitution is to announce great leading principles which are binding on our consciences, and to which we are bound solemnly to conform whether at the ballot-box or elsewhere. It does not undertake to regulate the details of legislation, nor to prescribe the forms of political action. It has not undertaken to lay special constitutions prescribing the religious opinions, nor to enthrone the various modes in which we might worship God. It has simply said "I shall not be applied to; and in saying this has excluded every mode of applying it. No one capable of grasping the spirit and meaning of the Constitution, can read it without perceiving that it intended to draw a broad and palpable distinction between a man's opinions on a question of finance, and his opinions respecting his duties and relations to his God.

As to the one the Constitution is silent; but as to the other, it speaks out in the emphatic language of absolute prohibition.

It is true the Constitution has not provided the means of preventing the disfranchisement of an unpopular religious denomination; it has not armed itself with penalties and forfeitures. The great men who framed it hoped that the people whose liberties it guards would never cease to remember what it cost and what it protects.

The other blunder to which I alluded, is the attempt to deprive the States of a right essential to their sovereignty and independence—a right never before denied, and which no State in the Union it is hoped will ever surrender. It is quite evident, that without a change of the Constitution, Congress cannot deprive foreigners of the right to vote, and the Know-Nothing will be driven to ask the States to decapitate themselves by making this amendment, or to further disgrace themselves by ignobly abandoning a right at the dictation of this secret order.

I propose to speak more at length on this point in another connection. These are leading features in this new organization. Am I not justified in asserting that it is deficient in the main elements of strength in soundness of principle, and in the practicability of its projects. When the honest men of this party (and I am far from saying that there are not many such) who joined it in the hope that some practical good was to be obtained, come to find that to attain some fancied benefit, they must trample the Constitution under foot, they will turn from this secret order as the deluded devotees turned from the veiled prophet of Khorassan when they discovered that the subject of their blind devotion was hideously deformed in soul and body.

It is denied that proscription for religious opinions, is the object of this new organization; but from its inception to the present time, there has been an unceasing effort to arouse the Protestant community against the Roman Catholic. In our State, where the evils of foreign immigration are scarcely felt at all, you and I know that the anti-Catholic feeling has been operated upon almost exclusively. I am not the advocate of the Roman Catholic faith; I condemn most emphatically the denial of the right of every man to read the scriptures and interpret them for himself. I do not believe in the infallibility of the Pope, or of the councils. But, because it is a form of religion, and protected by the Constitution, I am disposed to let it alone. At most, I would simply turn it over to the Protestant clergy, and commend it especially to the famous three thousand in New England, who as Judge Douglas seems to think, are without, legitimate employment. I repose absolute confidence in their ability to make head against the Roman Catholic Church; and I trust the Protestant clergy will not surrender their rightful calling nor make the humiliating confession that they are unequal to the task which they have undertaken by "divine appointment," by calling in the aid of a political party and the terrors of religious persecution.

Foreign immigration to this country has both its evils and benefits. It is a fact worthy of consideration, that about the time, or a very short time before, the crusade against foreigners was commenced, English political writers were attempting to show that the rapid growth and prosperity of this country was due in a great measure to this immigration; arguing that it brought money, skill and industry into the country; that our canals and railroads were made by foreign labor; our merchant vessels were manned by foreign seamen; that much of the skill in the mechanical arts, of which this country boasted, was derived from other nations; that the greater portion of the emigrants brought more or less of money with them, and in short, that our capital, and our productive energies, were greatly increased by immigration. These writers were not writing to excuse or encourage immigration but to check it; and they suggested the necessity of measures to prevent the exhaustion consequent upon the withdrawal of so much labor, skill and capital from England.

Now, it may be that the effect of this immigration upon the growth of the country is somewhat exaggerated but still it is not to be denied that great advantages have been derived from it by the country at large, in the manner pointed out. It is estimated that the German immigrants alone bring nearly \$25,000 annually into the country. There are evils attending this immigration; evils more limited in their effects than is pretended by some, and I am inclined to believe, greatly magnified by report. There comes, in company with this labor, skill and capital, idleness crime, and pauperism. These are positive and palpable evils, and I presume there is not a man of any party who does not admit it.

There are other effects of immigration of which the Know-Nothing complains; and one is, that this foreign labor and skill is brought in competition with native American labor and