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BY GREEN & DUNN.

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THE AMERICAN PATRIOT

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TERMS.

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To The Public.

The Proprietors of "THE PATRIOT" would respectfully inform the public at large they are fully prepared to execute with neatness and despatch, all descriptions of PLAIN

JOB AND FANCY PRINTING,
—SUCH AS—
HAND BILLS, LAWYERS' BRIEFS,
POSTERS, FANFLETS,
CIRCULARS, BALL TICKETS, ETC.
And as the materials of our office are entirely new, and having been selected and arranged with great care, we flatter ourselves on being able to please all who may favor us with their patronage.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY, OF LOUISIANA.

1. We advocate an amendment of the Naturalization Law, with proper safeguards to preserve the purity of the elective franchise.
2. We advocate the passage of such laws as will prevent the immigration of paupers and criminals to this country.
3. We oppose any interference in the vested rights of all persons, whether they be of native or foreign birth.
4. We are in favor of non-interference with slavery by the Federal Government, except for the protection of our constitutional rights.
5. We advocate a high National Policy, such as will afford stern and unwavering protection to the American name abroad, and will follow and guard the American citizen wherever he moves.
6. We believe that America should be governed by Americans, effecting the same through the ballot-box alone, the only legitimate instrument of reform in this country.
7. We believe that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office, and shall oppose the distribution of office among office seekers, or as a reward for partisan services.
8. We will maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union as it now exists, and the rights of the States without diminution, insisting upon faithful performance on the part of the General Government of all the duties enjoined upon it by the Constitution.
9. While we approve of the platform adopted by the late National Council of the American Party at Philadelphia, we reject the application of the principles of the eighth article to American Catholics, as unjust, unfounded, and entirely unworthy of our country. We shall forever continue to protest against any abridgement of religious liberty, holding it as a cardinal maxim that religious faith is a question between each individual and his God. We utterly condemn any attempt to make religious belief a test for political office, and can never affiliate with any party which holds sentiments not in accordance with these.
10. We war with no party as such, but shall oppose all who oppose us in the advocacy of these great American principles.

STATE POLICY.

- Reform of abuses, and retrenchment in our State expenditures.
- Education of the youth of the country in schools established by the State.
- A constitutional organization of the Swamp Land Commissioners.
- A more efficient administration of the Internal Improvement Department, with a view of improving our inland navigation.

Feliciana Institute.

A Select Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies and Misses.
MRS. M. J. CLIFFORD, (successor to Miss E. J. Mills,) respectfully announces to the citizens of East Feliciana and vicinity that her School is now open for the reception of pupils.
All the advantages necessary to the attainment of a thorough English and French education are offered in this institution, and particular attention will be paid to the manners and deportment of young ladies confided to Mrs. C.'s care.
Music, both vocal and instrumental, will be taught by the best teachers.
For terms and particulars, apply at the Institution.
Clinton, La., January 17, 1848.

THE AMERICAN PARTY DEFENDED.

Letter from Col. Clemens on the American Party.

HUNTSVILLE, July 12, 1855.

Dear Sir—I have not before had time to answer your letter in relation to the new order of Know Nothings, nor have I now at hand all the statistics which are necessary to a full elucidation of the subject. Very possibly in the opinion of antagonism to yourself and some of your old friends to whom you allude. At all events there is no impropriety in asking you to read carefully, not for the purpose of contradicting or finding fault, nor yet for the purpose of implicitly believing, but to reason, to consider, to reflect. If there is truth in what I write let no previous prejudice dim its brightness—if there is error let no personal partiality prevent its detection and exposure.

The violence which has heretofore characterized the discussions on this subject is unbecoming at all times, and particularly so upon a question involving so much about which men may reasonably differ. I know not why I should think less of any one for differing with me upon Know Nothingism, than upon Democracy. He has the right to the maintenance of his opinions, and if he is honest no just man will denounce him.

It is proper for me to say that I never was in a Know Nothing Lodge but once—that I do not know a single sign or pass-word, and could not to-day obtain admission to any Council in the State, unless it was through the intervention of a friend; but I endorse their platform and propose to defend their principles. They are the principles of Washington, and Jefferson, and what is of even more importance, they are the principles of the Constitution.

When one of the seven wise men of Greece visited the Court of Periander of Corinth, he was asked "what is the most perfect popular government?" He answered "that in which the law has no superior." This answer, which contains a whole volume of truth and beauty in a single line, is the foundation of the Know Nothing creed. They made it in the beginning the basis of their platform—not designedly, for very probably the answer of the Sage was not remembered, but reason, reflection and an earnest patriotism led them to the same result.

Accordingly we find that every member is imperatively required to acknowledge the law, as established by the Constitution, to be supreme. Obedience to its mandates is inculcated as the highest duty, and disobedience is certain to be followed by expulsion. Thus far I am sure the most violent will agree with me that there is nothing to condemn—that there is something to applaud.

The remaining portions of the platform may be disposed of as satisfactorily, I think, if not as briefly as the first. Americans shall rule America—in other words—for I mean to deal in no equivocation—no evasion—to cover up nothing, dodge nothing, deny nothing. In other words then that native born Americans shall fill all offices of political importance under the government. I do not mean mere money offices such as President of a Bank—Rail Road, or other Corporation, but every office which gives it to its holder an influence on the legislation of the country. These are the offices from which we are pledged to exclude Foreigners, and this is the position I am prepared to maintain. It is not denied that we have enough, and more than enough competent Americans to fill every office we have to bestow, but it is urged that such a distinction is odious and unjust to our Foreign population. How is it unjust? He has been deprived of nothing by his emigration here. In his own land he did not even have the right of suffrage. His property was never for an hour secure. His personal liberty was constantly in danger. He could not write or speak his sentiments with impunity. He was ground down with taxes. A press gang might at any moment tear him from the bosom of his family, or an oppressive landlord turn that family homeless upon the world. All this is changed. We have given him the right to vote. We have given him peace. We have given him security. We have given him independence, and now because we will not give him the right to make the laws by which we are to be governed he forgets his arrogant ingratitude the hundred blessings we have showered upon him, and repays the safety of the Altar by malignant aspersions of the Ministers to whom he owes his protection. It is a delusion to talk about the rights of Foreigners. Privileges is the proper word. We were not bound to extend to them the right of suffrage. We were not bound to give them protection, liberty, peace, independence. All these were voluntary gifts. Nor is there one of the millions who flood the country who would not have exchanged his own land for ours even if the Constitution had denied him the privilege of voting. The other advantages he obtains would have been more than sufficient to have made him anxious for a shelter beneath the wings of the Eagle. Where then is the injustice? He has all he asked, more, much more than he would have been willing to take. But it is argued that exclusion from office fixes an odious brand upon him. Without stopping to remark upon the absurdity of such a position, it is sufficient to say that the brand is already fixed by the Constitution. It is upon him now, and will remain upon him until that instrument is torn out from the archives of the nation. The second Section of the first Article prescribes that no one shall be a Representative in Congress who has not "been seven years a citizen of the United States." He may have been twenty or more years a resident of the country before his naturalization papers were taken out, and yet he must remain seven years longer before he can occupy the post of a Representative. Here is a distinction and a broad one. It is idle to talk about degrees of infamy. If exclusion for life renders a man infamous, exclusion for a term of years must have the same effect. Both alike presuppose a difference between the Native and the Foreigner. Both alike the same operation, and both alike whether justly or unjustly give a preference to Native born citizens.

The third section of the same article prescribes that no person shall be a Senator who has not "been nine years a citizen of the United States." Here the distinction is broader. As the office rises in importance—as the danger arising from ignorance, or preconceived opinions becomes greater the more careful the framers of the constitution were to secure the services of Native citizens, until at last in the highest of all offices Foreigners are excluded entirely. In the first section of the second article the Constitution declares that "no person

except a Natural born citizen" shall be "eligible to the office of President," and the twelfth amendment declares that no foreigner shall be eligible to the office of Vice President. It thus appears that foreigners are absolutely prohibited by the Constitution from filling the only two offices which emanate directly from the whole people, whose incumbents are elected by the whole people, and who are in an especial manner the guardians of the rights of the people. What stronger distinction is it possible to make between the Native and the foreign born citizen? In comparison with that how poor and how weak is the mere resolution of a political party that they will not vote for foreigners? If the declaration of such a purpose is odious, unjust, infamous, and tyrannical what will you do with that Constitution which profess to revere? From that green and living root they extracted the essence of their creed. Whatever of wisdom—whatever of patriotism—whatever of sincere devotion to liberty and the country may encircle them is drawn from the same healthful source. Strike them down and you aim a blow at the supreme law of the land. Strike them down, and you prepare the way for amendments to the Constitution which will soon have you vassals in fact, if not vassals in name, to those who grew by your hospitality, and fattened upon your charity. I am not unaware that it is customary to ridicule the idea of danger from foreign influence. We are exultingly pointed to the fact that there are but three millions of foreigners, while there are twenty millions of Natives. These figures are not accurate, but we will take them as they are given to us. It must be remembered that of these three millions of foreigners a very large proportion are voters. It is the unvarying law of emigration that the greater number of every body of emigrants are males. This was the case even in California when the emigration was only from one portion of our own territory to another. All of us can call to mind cases in which the head of the family alone is a foreigner, while the wife and children are Natives. These go to swell the number of Natives on the census books, while the voter—the efficient and controlling power, is set down as one foreigner.

Now let us look at the other side: Of the twenty millions of Americans about one half are females. This disposes of ten millions. Of the remainder at least two thirds are children, and boys too young to vote. That disposes of near seven millions more, and brings the number of voters down much nearer to an equality than is at all agreeable, or than our opponents are willing to admit. These facts have not been unknown to, or unmarked by Politicians. There is not an aspiring Demagogue in all the land who has not time and again made himself conspicuous as the advocate of Foreigners.—Wm. H. Seward, with his cold, calculating, heartless selfishness, is the leader in this race of adulation to whatever is of foreign extraction; and many better men who ought not to be numbered with the vulgar crowd that he has in his footsteps. Even the veteran soldier whose life had been passed among bullets—whose strong nerves had never been shaken in the deadliest conflict, when he was a candidate, quailed before the vast influence these strangers had acquired, and the "foreign accent" became as music to his ear. Two public acts in the recent history of the country exhibit still more strongly the dangers of foreign influence, and admonish us to check it while we have yet the power.

In the autumn of 1849 Father Mathew, an Irish Priest, who had acquired great celebrity as a Temperance lecturer, paid a visit to the U. S. He came to Washington and a resolution was at once introduced to allow him the privilege of the floor of the Senate. This was opposed by Mr. Calhoun on the ground that it was lowering the dignity of the Senate, and cheapening its honors. By myself and others upon the further ground that he was while in Ireland indulged in denunciations of slavery—taken part with abolitionists against the South, which I considered an unwarrantable intermeddling with matters that in no way concerned him. Notwithstanding these objections the resolution passed by a decided majority, and Father Mathew took his seat upon the floor of the Senate. Not long afterwards Gen. Pillow who bore upon his person the marks of honorable wounds recently received in the service of the Republic, visited Washington, and found to his mortification no doubt that the place which had been occupied by a Catholic Priest was inaccessible to him, a native born American, and late a Major General in the wars of his Country. Nor was he alone a sufferer. Every Officer who served in the Mexican war, not a member of Congress, or an existing State Legislature, was in like manner excluded, with perhaps the single exception of Gen. Scott who had received a special vote of thanks during the war of 1812, which of itself entitled him to admission. It will not do to tell me that respect for the cause of temperance produced this astonishing result. The Congress of the U. S. are not remarkable as disciples of temperance, and that very day there were perhaps not six Members of the Senate who did not drink wine at dinner, or brandy before it.

The Irish vote was the controlling cause—the desire to conciliate that large body of naturalized citizens who looked up to Father Mathew as a superior being. It was this which gave to the Foreigner and the Catholic an importance above and beyond that of the soldiery whose blood had been poured out like water on the plains of Mexico. It was this which induced the Senate to forget what it had been—to throw aside the severe dignity which had so elevated them in the minds of men, and to exchange the character Roman sagas for that of servile sycophants. There was a time when that high body was composed of sterner stuff. There was a time when such a proposition would have been treated with the scorn it deserved. But that was before the Irish Exod. Now if we venture to question foreign merit it must be done with "bated breath." If we venture to deny any foreign demand, however imperious, we are threatened with political annihilation, and yet I am told we are in no danger from foreign influence.—When the Senate of the U. States has been before the storm where are we to look for that public virtue which is sturdy enough to resist it?

The other case to which I allude was still more outrageous. L. Kossuth had been actively engaged in exciting a revolution in Hungary, but when the hour of trial came he shrunk from the danger he had evoked and flying across the frontier took refuge beneath the Crescent of the Turk. An immense amount of sympathy was at once manufac-

tured for him, and our Government, not to be behind the public expectation, dispatched a vessel of war to bring him to our shores. Of course this was done under the specious name of sympathy for struggling freedom. But if there had been no German votes in the United States I am very much inclined to the opinion that this sympathy would have expended itself in some less costly manner. But not satisfied with bringing him here both branches of Congress passed a resolution inviting him to Washington. He came in all the pomp which surrounds the Monarchs of the old world—armed Guards paraded before his door to keep off the vulgar populace. And he who would not have tolerated such conduct for one hour in the President of the Republic, not only submitted to it on the part of this Foreign mendicant but actually invited him within the bar of the Senate. He entered with all his guards about him. The clank of foreign sabres awoke the echoes in the vestibule of the Senate, and an eager crowd of Republicans looked on with wondering admiration at the pageant. If the Dead are permitted to witness events upon Earth what must have been the feelings of the stern Fathers of the Republic when they saw the velvet uniforms of a Foreign body guard within the sacred precincts of the Senate! Let us suppose them gathered about the immortal Washington, as they were wont to gather in the days that tried mens souls, gazing in sorrow and silence upon the disgraceful spectacle. There is Warren, Greene, Sumpter, Marion, Lee, Shelby, Williams, Wayne and a hundred others of the mighty dead. They remember that it was German cannon which thinned their ranks at Mud Fort, and Red Bank. They remember that German shouts rang over the field of Brandywine. They remember that German bayonets were dimmed with patriot blood at Monmouth. They remember Chadds ford, and Chew's house, and many another field where they met the hired mercenaries that England's gold had brought across the Atlantic to fasten manacles upon a people who had never injured them, and remembering this they turn to each other with the mournful inquiry "are these our Sons? are the traditions of the revolution already forgotten?" Ah! shades of departed Patriots, there is an engine of power in our land of which in your day you did not dream. There are a few hundred thousand German voters among us, and every Demagogue who aspires to the Presidency, and all the Satellites that glitter about him are vying with each other in base concessions to German pride and German feeling. But the picture is a sickening one and I turn from it. God knows it was bitter enough at the time, and I have no wish to dwell upon it anew.

Not satisfied with the honors heaped upon Kossuth, Congress determined to extend to him more material aid. Mr. Seward discovered that he was the Nation's guest, and introduced a Bill assuming his expenses as a National debt. The account turned out to be somewhat extravagant. This plain republican martyr to liberty only lived at the rate of \$500 per day. Consuming in the twenty-four hours Champagne and Burgundy which cost more than it would take to feed a respectable family in North Alabama, for a twelve month. At that very moment there were bills upon the Calendar of the House for the relief of destitute Widows and Orphans, whose Husbands had died in defence of the country, which Congress had not had time to attend to even—to this day. Not so with Kossuth—he drank his wine—eat his *pates de foie gras* and Congress instantly voted the Bill. Do you ask the reason? I answer widows and children had no votes. The Foreigners who were to be conciliated by adulation of Kossuth had many. Others will say it was not Kossuth but his cause—that he had been battling for freedom and they wished to mark their appreciation of his efforts. As a tribute to the spirit of liberty it might have been well enough if we had not been so lamentably deficient in raying that tribute to our own citizens. When Gen. Jackson had driven the British army from New Orleans and rescued the country from one of the most terrible dangers with which it was ever threatened, he was arrested in the very hour of his triumph, and heavily fined for the rigorous discharge of his duty; and yet Congress permitted more than a quarter of a century to roll away without acknowledging the wrong, or attempting to repair it. He was a Native American—there was no foreign sympathy in his behalf—no foreign voters to conciliate. When Gen. Houston returned to the U. S. with the laurels of San Jacinto fresh upon his brow, bringing an empire in his hands to lay at our feet, no Congressional invitations celebrated his arrival. No bills were passed to pay his expenses. He was a Native American, and nothing was to be gained by laudations of his chivalry or his patriotism. When Gen. Scott had concluded one of the most wonderful campaigns ever recorded in history he was recalled almost in disgrace, and his army which he had found untrained militia and converted into veteran heroes was transferred to one of his subordinates. Yet Congress offered no word of sympathy, applied no balm to the wounded feelings of the matchless soldier. He was a Native American, and the voice of condolence was mute. Had Gen. Shields received similar treatment a howl would have been raised from one end of the continent to the other, and half the tongues in Congress would have grown weary lamenting his wrongs.

With these facts before me, and all know them to be facts, I must be pardoned for maintaining that there is danger from foreign influence, and the sooner it is boldly met the better.

It is gravely urged as an objection to the order of Know Nothings that it originated in the North, and ought therefore to be regarded with suspicion by the South, and this reason I have seen advanced by such men as Toombs and Stephens, of Georgia, and Preston, of Kentucky—gentlemen whom I know personally, and for whose talents, attainments, and moral worth I have very great respect. To my mind it is an evidence of the weakness of any cause when men of fair abilities resort to such flimsy means to support it. I do not know how the fact is, but I shall concede that it did originate in New York, and then I shall proceed to show that there is no spot upon the Continent where the people have suffered more from foreign emigration, or where they have more imperious reasons for arraying themselves against it. By reference to the annual report of the Governors of the Alms-house I find there were in the New York Alms-house during the year 1853, 2198 inmates—of these only 555 were Natives, and 1643 Foreigners supported at the expense of the City. And now I propose to use on our side the argument of our opponents that there are only 3,000,000 Foreigners to

20,000,000 Natives. According to that ratio there ought to be about seven Natives to one Foreigner in the Alms-house. Whereas we find more than three Foreigners to one Native. No wonder that a people who are taxed to support such a body of paupers should be the first to set about devising means to get rid of them. Let us pursue the record—the Bellevue Hospital, in the same City, there were 702 Americans—4134 Foreigners now the proportion rises to nearly six to one. There were of outdoor poor,—that is persons who had some place to sleep, but nothing to eat, and nothing to make a fire—957 Native Adults, and 1044 children—3181 Foreign Adults, and 5229 Foreign children, or children born of Foreign parents. This number were relieved during the year with money. Of those relieved with fuel there were 1248 Adult Americans and 1801 children. Let us turn to the statistics of crime. In the city prisons there were during the year, 6102 Americans—23,239 Foreigners. I pass on to an abode even more gloomy than that of the prison cell, and call your attention to those whom God in his wisdom has seen fit to deprive of the light of reason. In the Lunatic Asylum there were admitted from the year 1847 to 1853 779 Americans, 2381 Foreigners. For the year 1853 there were 94 Americans, 393 Foreigners. These tables might be made more complete by adding Organ Grinders, Strolling Mendicants, and Professional Beggars but of these I have no reliable data, and therefore pass them with the single remark that I have never seen a Native American who belonged to either class. These figures are far more conclusive than any language could be to prove the necessity of arresting the tide of emigration. Let every American impress them deeply upon his memory. 42,969 Foreign paupers and invalids, 2381 Lunatics, and 23,239 criminals taxing the industry, and blighting the prosperity of a single City. In that list of crimes is embraced murder, rape, arson, robbery, perjury, every thing which is damning to the character of the individual, and every thing which is dangerous to society. In our section we see but little of the evils of emigration—comparatively few come among us, and those are generally of the best classes of their countrymen. It is not as a State that we suffer most but as an integral part of the Republic. The crime, vice, disease, destitution and beggary which flows in with every tide of emigration afflicts us but little; it is through their political action; in their capacity of voters that the curse extends itself to us. When thousands upon thousands are carried to the polls and made to vote in favor of any man, or any party for a shilling, corrupting the ballot box, and rendering liberty insecure, then we suffer—then the law of self-preservation gives us a right, and makes it a duty to interpose. With such dangers thickening around us the memorable order of Gen. Washington should be upon every man's lips: "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." In time of peace your public officers are your sentinels. Put none on guard whose bosoms do not swell with exulting pride at the mention of Bunker Hill, of Monmouth, of Saratoga, or of York Town. Put none on guard whose national traditions are not confined to our own Commonwealth. Put none on guard who can dwell by the hour upon the eloquence of Daniel O'Connell, but have never heard the name of Patrick Henry. Put none on guard who turn with cold indifference from the story of Niagara, or New Orleans, to boast of Marengo, or Leipsic, or Waterloo. They do not love your land as you do—they will not watch over it with the same absorbing interest. Oppression, not choice, has brought him here, and though he may feel a certain amount of gratitude for the shelter he has found, he still looks back to the green fields of his childhood—he remembers every stone upon the highways—he reads the history of his native land, and larkens in the pride of its great events—in his heart of hearts he feels that there is his home, and there his holiest affections are garnered up. Fear, necessity, common sense, may keep him here, but he loves not the land of the Stranger—cares nothing for its former glories—sheds no tear over its former disasters.

With what reverence can the German regard the name of Washington when he remembers that his pathway to freedom was strewn with the dead bodies of German mercenaries? What exultation can the Briton feel in the fame of Jackson when he remembers that it was won by trampling the lion banner in the dust? It is not in human nature that he should feel as we do, and we are false to ourselves when we put them in power, or give them the direction of the law.

Perhaps no party in this country has ever been the subject of so much invective as the American party. All the depths of the language have been sounded to fling up degrading epithets to be applied to men whose sin consists in loving their own blood something better than that of the stranger. Practices which are in daily use by other parties suddenly become heinous sins when resorted to by the Americans, and editors in the excess of their zeal not unfrequently run into the most ridiculous inconsistencies. I have seen one column of a newspaper filled with denunciations of the secret feature of the order, while the next not only purported to give the principles of the party, but even the very forms of initiation. One thing is certain, either those forms were forgeries, or all the indignant denunciations of secrecy with which we have been favored by hypocritical pretences in no ways creditable to those who employed them. All parties observe their tactics. The secrets of a democratic caucus are as profound as those of a Know-Nothing Council, and the will of every member is more completely subjected to the control of the majority. A Know-Nothing, after his party have made a nomination, may abandon the order, and then rid himself of all obligation to support it, but a Democrat who has once taken part in a caucus is held in honor bound to abide the decision of that caucus, no matter how distasteful it may be. If the term "Dark Lantern Party" was applied to the midnight plottings of those who manufacture in Caucuses and Convention candidates without consulting the will of the people it would be much more appropriate. The State and the National Councils having both removed the injunction of secrecy that approach is disposed of; in point of fact it never existed. Their principles were known from the beginning, and he must have been ignorant indeed who had any doubt of the aims and purposes of the order. But it is alleged that it is a Whig trick gotten up to injure the Democracy. Such arguments are the

usual resorts of weak men, who, when reason fails attempt to enlist prejudice in their behalf. The head of the Order is an old-fashioned Jackson Democrat. Whoever they have nominated candidates they have taken the larger number from the Democratic ranks. Judge Cone of Georgia, who reported the platform adopted at Philadelphia, is an old line Democrat. He was a member of the Baltimore Convention in 1844 that nominated Mr. Polk, and reported the resolutions adopted by that body as the principles of the Democratic Party. How stands the case on the other side? Mr. Wise confessedly owes his election to the Whigs. Messrs. Toombs and Stephens, Whig leaders in Georgia, are at the head of the anti-American party, and so with Mr. Preston in Kentucky. Every where you find Whig leaders among the bitterest opponents of American principles, and if it is a Whig trick they have been a long time finding it out.

There is another branch of the question which I approach with more reluctance, because I am afraid with more prejudice than will enable me to consider it dispassionately. Without belonging to any church I grew up in the Methodist persuasion, and know the fact in which my Mother lived and died, and I could not change it if I would. Among the earliest books which fell into my hands I found accounts of Catholic persecutions of the early Protestants. Of men, women and children thrown into dungeons—stretched upon the rack, tortured with thumb screws, and finally burned at the stake for the crime of worshipping God as reason and conscience dictated. Then came the "order of Jesus," with the Inquisition in its train. For centuries every page of history is blackened by the iniquities of that Church whose Pontiff arrogantly claims to be the immediate representative of the Almighty, and who has not hesitated at all times to exercise powers in accordance with that claim. Subjects released from obedience to their legal rulers—murder, perjury—incest, every crime made venial if it tended to the advancement of the church. I know it is said these powers are not now exercised or claimed. Where has it ever been abandoned when they had power to enforce it? What is the use of the Confessional if the Priesthood do not still claim the power of forgiveness for sins committed or to be committed? I have searched in vain for any authentic document which shows that they have ever abated one jot or tittle of the pretensions which characterized them in other years, and characterize them now in other lands. I have visited two countries in which the Catholic religion is established by law, and I found in both the same intolerance, the same bigotry, the same hatred of the Protestant as of yore. Even the dead bodies of Protestants are denied the right of burial in a Catholic grave-yard. The masses are taught to believe that the rotting corpses of the faithful made venial of their life different creed. In Spain the assemblies of more than fifteen Protestants for the purpose of religious worship is declared an unlawful assembly, and all the remonstrances of England have failed to ameliorate this detestable tyranny. What we see existing elsewhere, what we know has always existed wherever Catholics had the power, we may surely dread for ourselves without being liable to the charge of excessive timidity, particularly when we see the rapid strides they are making to power and influence among us. From 1840 to 1850 the number of Catholics in the United States doubled, and now they exceed two millions of souls. At that rate it will not take them long to acquire all the power they want, and when acquired they will not fail to exercise it. In the view of things the Catholic must be a persecutor. When he believes that every Protestant is on the highway to hell—when he believes that it is charity to torture and slay to murder those whom he looks upon as enemies to his God it would be absurd to expect mercy, or look for toleration.

Another great danger we have to dread is the prevalence of the mischievous dogma that the Pope is superior to the Constitution, and can absolve his flock from oaths to support it. I know how bitterly this is denied; but if American Catholics do not acknowledge it they are widely different from their brethren elsewhere. History is full of instances of Kingdoms laid under Interdict, Monarchs excommunicated, and a whole people doomed to Purgatory for some real or imaginary fault of their rulers. We all remember that a King of France was assassinated by a Priest at the bidding of his superiors. We all remember that a King of England was compelled to walk barefooted, in sackcloth and ashes, the tomb of Thomas Becket, and that the great Bruce wandered for years an outlaw, hunted by assassins and blood-hounds, for daring to punish a traitor to his country within the precincts of a Catholic church. The best way of judging a tree is by its fruits, and these fruits are familiar to us all. It is objected however, that the Constitution secures to every man the right of worshipping God as he pleases, and that in proscribing Catholics we are guilty of a violation of that instrument. Not at all. The same Constitution which gives to them the rights of conscience, secures to me also the right of voting as I think best. It does not compel me to vote for a Catholic any more than it compels me to vote for an Abolitionist. One may be just as sincere in his belief as the other, and both be equally dangerous to the country. Of this each voter must judge for himself. There is no proposition to change the Constitution, none to pass a law inconsistent with it. The American party undertake to show, precisely as the Whig and Democratic parties undertake to show for themselves, that it is safer for liberty, safer for the Union, safer for religion to place none but American Protestants in office, and they leave it to their countrymen to decide upon reason and argument how far they are right, or how far they are wrong. We do not propose to disturb their public worship—we do not propose to declare an assembly of Catholics unlawful, but we claim the privilege of voting to suit ourselves. I can see no difference in the evil tendency of the higher law of Mr. Seward, or the higher law of Archbishop Hughes. I do not choose to vote for either, and he who attempts to force me to is guilty of the very proscription he condemns.

I wish I could have devoted more time to the preparation of this letter; but it is sufficient to give a tolerable correct idea of the position I occupy upon the question to which you have called my attention.

I am very truly and respectfully, yours, &c.
J. E. PHELPS, Huntsville, Ala.
J. E. CLEMENS.