AMERICAN PRINCIPLES

ON

NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

A THANKSGIVING SERMON

PREACHED IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ELIZABETHTOWN,

November 23, 1854.

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY, D.D., PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

NEW YORK: HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, 329 & 331 PEARL STREET,

FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1854.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1854, by HARPER & BROTHERS,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

Rev. N. MURRAY, D.D.,

DEAR SIR:—The undersigned having listened with great pleasure, and we trust profit, to your discourse in the First Presbyterian Church, on Thanksgiving Day, and believing that a wider circulation of its truths is eminently desirable, would respectfully request a copy for publication.

Respectfully, your obedient servants.

WM. W. PINNEO, R. VAN PELT, S. W. MILLER, CHAS. H. ROSS, J. S. CRANE, A. M. ELMER, J. W. ANGUS, WM. W. CRANE, JACOB G. CRANE, M. W. HALSEY, WM. B. TUCKER, L. C. FROST, J. G. NUTTMAN, JOS. ANNIN, A. N. KITTLE, ALFRED DE WILT.

GENTLEMEN :---

ELIZABETHTOWN, Nov. 26th, 1854.

Although my Thanksgiving Sermon was written without any expectation of its publication; yet, as you deem the wider circulation of the truths which it contains "eminently desirable," I cheerfully place it at your disposal for the press.

I am, respectfully and affectionately yours,

N. MURRAY.

To W. W. PINNEO, R. VAN PELT, and others.

NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

"SAVE NOW, I DESEECH THEE, O LORD; O LORD, I BESEECH THEE, SEND NOW PROSPERITY."—Psalm exviii, 25.

ANOTHER of the years granted in mercy to our race is drawing to its close. Since, on a similar occasion, we last met here, its winter, spring, summer, and autumn, have succeeded each other and have passed away. And were we to be guided by the indications of providence, instead of the law of custom, our chief-magistrate would have called us together rather for a day of humiliation, than of thanksgiving. True, we live amid abounding mercies, and why should a living man complain? We not only live, but we live in the enjoyment of health, and of peace, and of plenty, and of civil and religious liberty, and of abounding social, and family, and personal comforts. These, and the innumerable undeserved mercies which we enjoy, demand our united and devout thanksgivings. And these we have unitedly rendered to Him, who is the author, and the giver of every good and perfect gift; who, sitting upon the circle of the heavens, supplies from his open hand the wants of all the beings that he has created.

But amid these abounding mercies, the closing year has been one of heavy affliction upon this land. There have been sorrows upon the sea, which have filled two continents with mourning. Two pestilences have raged with unwonted violence in our country--the yellow fever in our southern cities, and the cholera all over the land, and have spread desolation through communities and families. An unusual drought has widely prevailed, which has greatly disappointed the hopes of the husbandman, and diminished the fruits of his industry. Defalcations and forgeries, in high places, have shocked our moral sense. Corruption in our legislative halls—yes, and even in our halls of justice; frauds committed on the public, under the sanction of the infamous maxim, that "to the victors belong the spoils," as if the State and country were to be plundered by the party in power, whether whig or democrat, as the dead are plundered on the field of battle, have spread distrust through all classes of citizens. And mobs, murders, and misrule, are perpetrated with a frequency which would seem to make the impression that the reign of the law has given way to the reign of violence. 7 If providences and sins like these call not for a day of national

humiliation, they should, at least, induce us to mingle

"The cup of thanksgiving with penitent tears."

They should induce us as citizens, as patriots, as christians, to surround the throne of the heavenly grace, imploring, in the language of our text, "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity."

The theme of our present discourse is, NATIONAL PROSPERITY. The nature and limits of our present service require us to compress within very narrow compass the discussion of so extended a subject. And for the sake of unity, both as to discussion and impression, we solicit your attention to three topics: in what true national prosperity consists—the dangers which threaten it—the means by which it must be promoted and preserved.

I. In what does true national prosperity consist? It does not consist in extent of territory, nor in expanded commerce, nor in powerful armies and navies, nor in the skill of numerous artisans, nor in the wealth of citizens. Nations that have possessed these, have risen, flourished, and fallen. These things inflate—they beget pride and luxury, but they lack the elements of permanence, and of true greatness and prosperity. These are to be found in the institutions, the intelligence, and the habits of the people.

A civil constitution, founded on true principles, is an element of prosperity. Where principles subversive of the natural rights of man are introduced into civil constitutions, they give rise to conflicts and jealousies. Such we find in the British constitution, the most free on earth, save our own. All men are equal; yet it discriminates in behalf of classes. The consequences are a limited aristocracy and millions of peasantry; a few thousands of enormous wealth, and hundreds of thousands of squalid bcggars. To all men belongs the right of worshipping God as conscience dictates; and yet it grants peculiar privileges to those who conform to that enormous impositiona religion of State. We should be thankful that we have a constitution founded on truth, and guarding all the natural rights of man.

And whilst the constitution may be good, the statute laws may be evil, and the reverse. Whilst many of the laws of Britain are better than her constitution—if we may separate its constitution and laws many of the laws of our States are worse than our constitution. Such are some of our State laws in reference to the treatment of slaves, to which a free and enlightened people can never quietly submit. And there must be agitation in the nature of the case until they are repealed. Laws founded on truth, and guarding all rights, are essential to the prosperity of a nation. Unjust laws led to the revolution of 1688, in England, and to that of 1776, in America; and they exiled, as we hope, forever, the bloody Bourbons from the throne of France. Upon these subjects a free people can never be too vigilant.

And there must be religious truths imbedded in the minds, and governing the hearts and passions of the people, to secure true prosperity. Good constitutions and laws can never restrain the passions of men, where there is no moral principle. Hence, the absence of intelligent moral principle creates the necessity for despotism; and when despotism is in power, to retain its power, it wars against the introduction of such principles. Need we quote the conduct of Pope, priests, and princes, in illustration? We make a great mistake when wishing a civil constitution, like our own, for Mexico, or France, or Italy, or Ireland. The people are not fitted by a previous moral training for it; and it would be to these, and to all such people, a calamity. There is no pervading moral principle; and it requires all the external pressure of a compact monarchy to prevent desolating wars between jealous clans and factions.

With our free and open institutions it will not suffice simply to make our people intelligent. The schoolmaster, and the common school, should pervade the land; their blessings should be extended to every family, and to every child, in our great commonwealth of States; but we should remember there is no power in mere knowledge to control the passions of men. How often are the most intellectual the most base of men, and the greatest corrupters of morals, and the greatest enemy of the State! This should be remembered by those who would separate the intellect and the heart, by cultivating the one to the neglect of the other; by casting out from the school-room the Bible, and all the influences of true religion. The only tendency of this is to make men without moral principle; and to build up a prosperous nation of such men, is as vain an effort as to build a secure dwelling upon the shifting sand, and without mortar to cement it.

The only true basis of national prosperity lies in a constitution founded on just principles—in just laws—in an educated, moral people, who will do and defend the right—in good magistrates, who will do justly at any expense; who will flee a bribe as they would the coiled reptile. When, with these, the people are educated into simple, prudent, temperate habits, the prosperity of a nation will flow on like a majestic river, which gathers strength and depth as it flows. A nation with such a constitution—with such laws and magistrates—with an intelligent, moral, simple people, will be united at home—will be respected abroad. It knows its rights, and will assert them; it is just, and will withhold no right from others. Doing justly by all nations, it will be respected by all. There will be no cause of resorting to the last argument of kings; and when that argument is rendered necessary, it will have the sympathy of the world, and will be sustained by the united energies of its citizens. The very things that tend to the prosperity of an individual, or a family, are those which form the true basis of national prosperity.

This leads us to consider

II. The dangers which threaten our prosperity. These are many; we can only briefly dwell upon a few of them.

1. We are in danger from the too prevalent desire to be rich. We are a practical people. To this character none dispute our title. But whilst within bounds, it is praiseworthy; beyond bounds, it multiplies our perils. In a country where industry and honesty secure affluence so universally and rapidly, the love of money is likely to rise to a ruling passion. It cannot be denied that the love of gain rules in all classes of society; and that, as if propelled by steam, men are everywhere making haste to be rich. -Atintervals the spirit of speculation rages like an epidemic, and the heart and pulse of the country throb in the race for riches. When that spirit subsides, the country presents the appearance of the ocean's shore, when strewn with wrecks after a fierce storm. The wrecks of fortune, character, principles, may be seen on every hand. The most trusted prove the most false; false issues, and forgeries, are resorted to, to sustain the inflated bubble, and when it explodes results are brought to light which cause the pillars of moral order and public credit to tremble. The lessons of the closing year, upon this spirit, are very emphatic; and when that becomes the spirit of our land, an early frost has fallen upon the budding hopes of this great people.

This same spirit has far too great an ascendency among all the political parties into which we are divided. Parties are inseparable from a free State; they are one of the conditions of freedom. They are injurious to it only in their abuse. The Spartan legislator sowed the seeds of variance among his countrymen, saying, that he considered "emulation the brand by which their virtues were kindled." But when parties desert principles, and contend merely for place, patronage, and spoils, then are they festering sores upon the body politic. Then, peddling politicians look upon principles and honor as worthless lumber, and upon national honor as a fantasy; and they will go into the market, and sell their influence and their votes to the highest bidder. Impudent, talkative, and mercenary, shrinking from no deceit, blushing at no trick, and rejoicing when they mislead the honest and unsuspecting, they scatter themselves over the land, to place those in power

who will pay best either in the way of money or office. They scrutinize the current of popular feeling, and when it sets, they set their principles accordingly. The magistrates thus raised to office can be of no honor to the country, and cannot be relied upon either as legislators, or as ministers of the law. Trading politicians become members of Congress, and of our State Legislatures; they become ministers to foreign courts, and magistrates amongst ourselves; and everything is done under the promptings of the utilitarian spirit; and it is well or ill done, as it obtains or retains place, or as it produces material And because of the increase and exbenefits. tension of this spirit, things are done in our day, by our national and State legislators-by our magistrates and judges—by political and close corporations—by our party politicians of every name and degree, and without a blush, which, forty years ago, would ostracise from all reputable and honorable society.

2. We are in danger from a spirit of insubordination. As a wise, kind, just, and intelligent parent always secures the obedience of his family, so wise laws, judiciously administered, secures national subordination. Rebellion has no moral power save against bad laws, and corrupt magistrates; and these, as in 1688, 1776, and in our own day in the case of Charles X. and Louis Philippe, give it the power of the earthquake. To whatever cause we may trace it, obedience to legal and moral restraints is diminishing in the land. It may be owing to the character of our legislators, and of many of our laws. When the representatives of the people disgrace our halls of legislation by brutal quarrels which would fill a pot-house with constables; when laws are made to promote merely sectional, party, and personal interests, there are causes for the effects which we witness. Influence, like water, flows down from high places to low; and we need not wonder to see practiced, in all the walks and departments of life, what is sanctioned in the high places of trust and power. The streams never rise above the fountain.

But whatever may be the reasons, the facts are, that law is regarded with decreasing reverence; that authority is felt in many quarters to be an usurpation; that the restraints of honesty are becoming more and more feeble; and that a feeling of distrust has widely obtained in all political and commercial circles. We hear of embezzlements and defalcations daily. Disregarding the slow steps of justice, and fearing that it may not be obtained, what multitudes take the law into their own hands! What mean those daily murders; those fearful riots to prevent the execution of law; those open violations of Heaven's laws, when they interpose to check the march of improvement, or the love of gain? There is a spirit abroad which would plough down Sinai and Calvary to make a railway, and which would trample on law, human and Divine, to make its stock yield ten or twelve per cent. The Sabbath is nothing—human life is nothing, in comparison with a high dividend!

And it is in an atmosphere thus poisoned that we are living, and that our children are being educated! We ourselves are influenced by it, and it may become the native atmosphere of our children. Reverence for law is waning. Life and property are becoming less and less secure. It seems impossible to obtain laws to protect the morals of the people; and, if obtained, to execute them. Reformers are abroad, who would teach us that our religion, and our social organization, are the parents of all the evils that afflict us; and that, to convert our earth into a paradise, we must put aside both! Can we fail to see perils before us from causes like these? And as men take refuge in any cavern to escape a storm, so will they fly to any power for protection when left without the protection of law. When nations are corrupted by Catilines and Voltaires, it is in mercy God sends a Cæsar or a Bonaparte, to place their iron heel upon the head of anarchy. And, in view of the spirit of insubordination which everywhere exists, may we not all pray in the language of our text, "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity."

3. We are in danger from a spirit of extravagance. The iron age of every people has usually been one of high patriotism, good morals, integrity, and industry. The same may be said of the individual man. When David was a poor boy he had one character; when a king, and a great general whose arms were irresistible, he had another. When the nations that have risen and fallen were feeble, and poor, and fighting their way to dominion, they possessed one character; when they obtained dominion, and became powerful and wealthy, they possessed another. Wealth led to extravagance—that to immoralities, and these to national corruption and ruin. The pathway of nations is strewn with the wrecks of people wrecked and ruined by extravagance and its consequences. And upon this topic the signs of the times are sufficient to create alarm as to ourselves.

Need we say that there is a national thirst for territorial acquisition; national expenditure in defiance of all the rules of political economy; mercantile expansion, beyond all the prudential laws of trade, and a desire for splendid living in private life, to which everything is made to bend; all of which might be woven into an argument in proof of our extravagance. Showy houses, showy equipages, showy furniture, and splendid dress, are the objects of almost universal aspiration, whilst prudent economy is taken from the list of virtues and placed among the vices, as the fruit of a narrow, illiberal spirit. The money now often paid to dress up a lady for an evening party, would have supported her grandfather's household for a year ! And hence the failures, the defalcations, the forgeries, the rascalities which are becoming so frequent. These extravagances are corrupting the public fountains in ways which we do not see; and may bear their fruit sooner than we may imagine. It was the extravagance of Louis XVI., and of his beautiful queen, Maria- Antoinette, who, to deck herself in diamonds, would drain the heart's blood of the people, which brought both of them to the block; and it was a leading cause of that fierce revolution, whose heavings, like the swell of the ocean after a storm, are yet felt and feared in all the earth.

4. We are in danger from the varying and peculiar types of faith, which are obtaining and prevailing. Human nature is prone to extremes, and the history of the human mind is simply a history of its vibrations from one extreme to the other. We talk about the light of the nineteenth century; but those of the ninth, and thirteenth, and sixteenth, vaunted of theirs as we do of ours. And if they of the thirteenth century, and we, could change places, as far as types of faith are concerned, they would have as much reason to boast over us, as we now think we have to boast over them. We have a vast many things that they had not; but with far greater light, what was there in faith then for which we have not a counterpart now? Have we not popery, as they had? In what are its principles, its claims, its blasphemies, or its nonsense, changed? Had they infidelity, and have not we? Had they fierce fanaticisms, and have not we? Did their faith assume absurd forms, and does not ours? What means the growing faith in animal magnetism, in Mormonism, in Fourierism, in Pantheism, in spiritual communications, in formalism? What means those reviving of old errors under new names, this going back to the dark ages for models of church architecture, and of priestly manœuvring in public worship? Many of these things seem absurd; and even to notice them, to some, seems descending beneath the dignity of the pulpit; but they are signs which have their significance. Because senseless and trivial, some think we have only to contemn them; but senseless and ephemeral things have often effected enduring mischief. The Eikon Basilike, a forged book of prayer, by Bishop Gauden, as has well been said, was greatly instrumental in restoring the house of Stuart to the British throne; and the author of a low street-ballad, called Lullibullero, boasted that he had "sung a king out of three kingdoms."* When the faith of a people becomes unsettled, when the true is laid aside for the false, the real for the visionary, the sure word of prophecy for the day or night-dreams of knaves or visionaries, there are perils ahead. The national ship is without a chart or compass; the sun and * Macaulay's His. Eng., ii, 396.

polar star are under eclipse; and she may drift upon the rocks, or be driven by the winds and tossed in mid ocean, seeking a quiet anchorage, but finding none.

Such being some of the causes which threaten our national prosperity, and which should induce us to cry, "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord," we pass on very briefly to consider,

III. The means by which it must be promoted and preserved. These means are numerous in the detail, but we shall attempt to generalize them under the heads of legislation, patriotism, and religion. And,

1. As to legislation. Our laws must be wise and just, not merely when measured by a constitutional standard, but by the divine standard of wisdom and justice. We can afford to go higher than the factitious standards of men, even up to "the higher law"—the law of God. So extended is our country, so varying are the interests, agricultural, commercial, and industrial, of different portions of it, as naturally to give rise to efforts to legislate for sections, parties, and peculiar interests. All our interests should be protected, as far as the public good demands; and our government should maintain the relation, to all our states and interests, that an intelligent and kind father does to a numerous family of children. But in order to legislation like this, the people must select men capable of framing, and of enacting such laws; men of intelligence, and substance, and known

integrity; whose honor is dearer to them than popular favor, or eight dollars a day. Let any person compare with the picture of the Declaration of Independence, or the First Prayer in Congress, any faithful picture that for the last twenty years' might have been drawn of our House of Representatives, and they will see at a glance the vast change for the worse in the character of our legislators. There has been such a letting down of the elective franchise, that none can be elected save those who can stoop to the arts of carrying the masses; and thus our legislators are often the representatives of the passions and excitements of the least intelligent of the people. On this subject the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the North and the South, have an equal interest. Laws founded in justice will execute themselves. They are as mountain pillars beneath our institutions, to sustain them; and as walls of brass around our prosperity, to defend it. Thus far in our history we owe our quiet, in the midst of national convulsions---our freedom, in the midst of enslaved nations-the security of our property-the peace of our streets-the happiness of our homes, to the wisdom and justice of our laws.

2. Patriotism. Patriotism is love of country. So that to be a patriot, a man must have a country. A patriot in England, Austria, or Russia, is one who sustains the institutions of those countries with zeal and energy. A patriot with us is one who sustains our institutions with zeal and energy. Each country has its own peculiar institutions; and he is a true patriot who sustains all that is good, and who would seek, in all right ways, to rectify all that is evil in them, because of the love he bears his country.

There has been manifested in this land a patriotism which has astonished the world. The fathers of our government sacrificed everything but honor to found it; and wisdom was given them from above to inaugurate it as a constitutional government. And patriotism calls upon their sons, and upon all who would seek here a home either from the poverty or the oppression of other lands, to maintain our institutions as they have been transmitted to us, and to entrust their management only to those who are acquainted with them. And upon this topic the signs of the times should induce all sober men to think, and to act. When we see our streets crowded by military companies of foreign name and birth-when we see and hear our most sacred institutions, even to the Sabbath and the Bible, denounced in public assemblages, by men unable to speak our language---when foreigners are mustered to the polls to defeat the election of an American citizen, because of his regard for law and order-when emigrants from other lands surround the polls, and murder peaceable citizens when going to the ballot-box-when those just escaped from the ignorance and degradation of other lands, burn our Bibles, and would turn them out of

our schools, and would thus, in obedience to the altar dictation of imported priests, trample in the dust all that has made, and all that sustains us, as a free people, it is time for the American spirit to rise, and wisely to adjust its action to circumstances. Let the foreigner have no vote until he has had abundant time to learn our language, and the genius of our institutions; and, then, let him be content with the protection of our laws, and with all the rights and immunities of a citizen. This is alike due to the best interests of the foreigner, and of the country; it would take the stranger out of the hands of our base politicians, who mislead them, and degrade them by strong drink to secure their vote, and then desert them; and it would save the country from the political influence of the swarming multitudes who are seeking here a home from other lands, and among whom the most wicked, and unscrupulous, and the sworn enemies of our religious freedom, wield nearly all the power. Foreigners coming here for a home, owe it to themselves, and to their children, and to the country, to drop as soon as possible their peculiarities, and to become, in the broadest sense, Ameri-And hence, I would have no Scotch, or cans. Dutch, or German, or Irish, or English churches;---nor would I have any such military companies, or political parties. I would put the broad American stamp upon all churches, creeds, associations, and parties; and to those who would not receive it, I would say,

the road back to the old country is no longer than when you came. We may entertain all right affection for the country of our birth; but the country that feeds, clothes, protects us—that secures to us our liberty and privileges—that receives us as children, though aliens—that opens up to us every avenue of business, as to her own children, and which we desire to make the home of our descendants—that, that should be the country of our love.

There is yet another point on which our patriotism will be soon tested. Our constitution and laws forbid us to ostracise any man for his religious opinions, be he Turk, Jew, Pagan, Protestant, or Papist; but they forbid us to raise any to office who are bound by a superior allegiance to any other government than to our own. Now, the Pope of Rome, as the vicegerent of God, claims a universal supremacy in things spiritual and temporal. He has never withdrawn his claim to the power he wielded, when he dethroned kings and princes, and absolved subjects from their allegiance to their sovereigns. And there is an oath upon the soul of every archbishop, bishop, priest, ecclesiastic, "to preserve, defend, increase, advance the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the lord, the Pope; that they will help to defend the royalties of St. Peter against all men."* This sworn allegiance to the Pope they never change, save with their office, or on their conversion. The Pope

* See note A.

receives obedience from the bishops, the bishops from the priests, and the priests from the people. And the people that will not obey the priest, the priests that will not obey the bishop, the bishops that will not obey the Pope, are cursed, and excommunicated, and given over to hell and the devil. When the interests of this country come in conflict with the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the Pope, there is not a bishop, priest, or Papist, in the land, that is not bound by oath and principle, to go against our country and for the Pope. So that a man can no more be a Papist, and a true and loyal American citizen, than he can serve two masters. He must be either a bad patriot or Papist. Is this so? If so, then a Papist is prevented by his faith from being a loyal citizen; and because he cannot, in obedience to his faith, be a loyal citizen, he never should hold office under this, or any Protestant government. Unless the country comes to this, a few years will see our polls surrounded by imported bullies, set on by exhortations of imported priests from papal altars, prepared to shed the blood of American citizens, in order "to preserve, increase, defend, and advance the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the lord, the Pope."

May the patriotism of the fathers of our country be ever possessed by their descendants to preserve, defend, and advance its free and sacred institutions.

III. Religion. The religion of America, like that of its civil institutions; has its peculiar type. And

as our civil institutions are more in accordance with the natural rights of man than any others, so the type of our religion, in its simplicity and warm sincerity, is most in accordance with that of the Scriptures. An American feels, at once, that he is not at home when he enters a church in Rome, or a cathedral in London. The cold, formal stateliness of an antiquated ritualism, makes him feel that he is not at home. The components of the religion of our country are, an open Bible, repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, without any intervening power between the individual soul and God. It is not submission to priests, and sacraments, nor adherence to sects and forms; it consists in the reception of the truth of God-in that truth transforming the soul into the moral likeness of God, and in living unto God. Religion in this land is a personal matter-just what the Bible makes it. To pronounce this or that Christian a dissenter, because not of our class-this or that body of Christians not a church, because refusing faith in our peculiarities—this or that minister not to be a minister of Christ, because not set apart with our forms to his work; this is not American; it is of foreign origin, and is alien alike to the spirit of Christianity, and of our institutions. Nor are priestly vestments, or processions, holy places, holy water, holy signs or pictures, Greek or Latin crosses, lents, matins, and vespers, American. They belong to a past and darker age, and to other countries, and

have attraction only for those who value the form beyond the substance, and who are disposed to worship hoary, decrepit error, more than living, vigorous, buoyant truth.

The Bible addresses us as sinners, and pronounces all men in a state of condemnation. It holds out to us the Lord Jesus Christ as the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes. It teaches us that all who believe in Christ are the children of God, and are members of His great family; and that as members of that family, they are bound together by the strong ties of spiritual relationship, and are members one of another. In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love. This is the religion of the Bible; and laying aside the inventions of men, the antiquated forms of human authority of the old world, this is the type it has assumed in these United States. We have put aside king-craft, and priest-craft; and as we have a State without a king, so we have a church without a diocesan bishop; or, if people please, with one.

And the religion of Christ, as now described, is the great means by which our institutions are to be preserved and extended. In its American type, it bases the existence of the church on the truth; it makes religion a personal matter, and faith in Christ the connecting link with all the redeemed of the Lord; it makes the Bible the only rule of faith and practice, and opens it to the world; it builds the school-house and the college, and sends the minister and the school-master to all the people. It has no walls to build between true Christians, but teaches them as they love God to love one another. This is the religion of the Reformation, of the Huguenots, of the Puritans, of the great family of Evangelical churches. It is the religion which wrought out for us our liberties, and which maintains them. Let this be the religion of this great nation, and we are safe for all time to come. Then, western Europe may pour its tens of thousands yearly upon our Atlantic cities; and Asia may send its cargoes of Pagans to our Pacific shores; but they will no more affect us than do our great and majestic rivers the sea into which they pour their turbid waters. The Atlantic opens its bosom for their reception, removes their impurities, and salts them with its own salt. And, then, they serve only to swell the power of its waves, and to assist in sending up those exhalations which descend in refreshing showers upon all the land. When the religion of the gospel, in its simplicity and spirituality, pervades, and moulds, and governs the masses of our people, then our prosperity is secured; for we will be living under the smiles, and we will be guarded by the arm, of the Almighty. "In that day shall this song be sung in the land: We have a strong city; salvation hath God appointed for walls and bulwarks."

NOTÉ A.

The following is the oath taken by every popish bishop on his eonseeration. It was abbreviated in compliance with a request from this country, by the Pope in 1846, but nothing in sentiment or spirit was omitted :

ROMISH BISHOP'S OATH.

"I, G. N., elect of the Church of N., from henceforth will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman Church, and to our lord, the lord N. Pope N. and to his sueeessors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, nor do anything that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The Counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any, to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papaey and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order against all men. The legate of the Apostolic see. going and coming I will honorably treat, and help in his necessities. The rights, honors, and privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our lord the Pope and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase and advance. I will not be in any council, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whomso-ever, I will hinder it all that I can; and as soon as I can, will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and eause to be observed HERETICS, SCHISMATICS, AND REBELS TO OUR SAID LORD, by others. OR HIS AFORESAID SUCCESSORS, I WILL TO THE UTMOST OF MY POWER PERSECUTE AND OPPOSE. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person, visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our lord, and his aforesaid successors, of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my elergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner, humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my Chapter or some other ir

ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy, (of the diocese,) by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out, by lawful proofs, to be transmitted by the aforesaid messenger, to the Cardinal proponent of the holy Roman Church, in the Congregation of the sacred Council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain Constitution put forth about this matter.

"So help me God and these holy Gospels of God."

A large portion of the popish priests in this country are from Maynooth College, in Ireland. The following is the oath taken by them on being admitted to the order of priests:

ROMISH PRIEST'S OATH.

"I, A. B., do acknowledge the ecclesiastical power of his holiness and the mother Church of Rome, as the chief Head and matron above all pretended churches throughout the whole earth; and that my zeal shall be for St. Peter and his successors, as the founder of the true and ancient Catholic faith, against all heretical kings, princes, states or powers, repugnant unto the same; and although I. A. B., may follow, in case of persecution, or otherwise, to be heretically despised. yet in soul and conscience I shall hold, aid, and succor the mother Church of Rome, as the true, ancient, and apostolic church, I, A. B., further do declare not to act or control any matter or thing prejudicial unto her, in her sacred orders, doctrines, tenets, or commands, without leave of its supreme power or its authority, under her appointed, or to be appointed ; and being so permitted, then to act, and further her interests more than my own earthly good and earthly pleasure, as she and her Head, his Holiness, and his successors have, or ought to have, the supremacy over all kings, princes, estates, or powers whatsoever, either to deprive them of their crowns, scepters, powers, privileges, realms, countries, or governments, or to set up others in lieu thereof, they dissenting from the mother church and her commands."

Many Jesuits are in this country; and their number is rapidly multiplying. The following is the oath they take on joining the order:

THE JESUIT'S OATH.

"I, A. B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed St. John the Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the saints and sacred host of heaven, and to you my ghostly father, do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that his Holiness Pope —— is Christ's Vicar General, and is the true and only Head of the catholic or universal church throughout the earth; and that by the virtue of the keys of binding and losing, given to his Holiness by my Saviour Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths, and governments, all being illegal without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed : THEREFORE, to the utmost of my power, I shall, and will defend this doctrine, and his Holiness' rights and customs, against all usurpers of the heretical (or Protestant) authority whatsoever; especially against the now pretended authority and Church of England, and all adherents, in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the sacred mother Church of Rome. I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or State, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. 1 do further declare that the doctrine of the Church of England, the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of others of the name Protestants, to be damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare, that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness' agents in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestant's doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, that notwithstanding I am dispensed with, to assume any religion heretical, for the propagating of the mother clurch's interest, to keep secret and private all her agents' counsels, from time to time, as they entrust me, and not to divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance whatsoever, but to execute all that shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me, by you, my ghostly father, or any of this sacred convent. All which, I, A. B., do swear by the blessed Trinity, and blessed Sacrament, which I am now to receive, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolably; and do call all the heavenly and glorious host of heaven to witness these my real intentions, to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist; and witness the same further with my hand and seal, in the face of this holy con-An. Dom." &c. vent, this day of

The following are the curses pronounced by the Papal Church against all who leave it for any Evangelical Church:

THE ROMISH CURSE.

"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all celestial virtues, Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Cherubim and Seraphim; and of all the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and of all the Apostles and Evangelists, of the Holy Innocents, who in the sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new song of the Holy Martyrs and Holy Confessors, and of all the Holy Virgins, and of all Saints, together with the Holy elect of God;—May he — be damned. We excommunicate and anathematize him, from the threshold of the Holy Church of God Almighty: We sequester him, that he may be tormented, disposed, and be delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord: 'Depart from us, we desire none of thy ways;' as a fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him, and make satisfaction. Amen !

"May the Father who ereates man, curse him! May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him! May the Holy Ghost, who is poured out in baptism, curse him! May the Holy Cross, which Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his cnemies, ascended, eurse him!

"May the Holy Mary, ever virgin and mother of God, curse him! May St. Michael, the Advocate of the Holy Souls, curse him! May all the Angels, Principalities and Powers, and all Heavenly Armies curse him! May the glorious band of the Patriarchs and Prophets, curse him!

"May St. John the Precursor, and St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other of Christ's Apostles together, curse him! and may the rest of the Disciples and Evangelists, who by their preaching converted the universe, and the holy and wonderful company of Martyrs and Confessors, who by their works are found pleasing to God Almighty—May the holy choir of the Holy Virgins, who for the honor of Christ have despised the things of the world, damn him! May all the saints from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages, who are found to be beloved of God, damn him !

"May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or in the alley, in the woods or in the water, or in the church! May he be cursed in living and dying!

"May he be cursed in eating and drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, and sleeping, in slumbering, and in sitting, in living, in working, in resting, and * * * and in blood-letting !

"May he be eursed in all the faculties of his body !

"May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly ! May he be cursed in his hair; cursed be he in his brains and his vertex, in his temples, in his eyebrows, in his cheeks, in his jaw-bones, in his nostrils, in his teeth and grinders, in his lips, in his shoulders, in his arms, in his fingers !

"May he be damned in his mouth, in his breast, in his heart and purtenances, down to the very stomach!

" May he be cursed in his reins and his groins; in his thighs, in his genitals, and his hips, and in his knees, his legs and his feet, and toe-nails!

"May he be cursed in all his joints, and articulation of the members; from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet may there be no soundness!

"May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his Majesty, curse him! And may Heaven with all the powers that move therein, rise up against him, and eurse and damn him; unless he repent and make satisfaction! Amen! So be it. Be it so. Amen!"

Can a bishop or priest, with these oaths upon their souls, be a true American citizen? Not without perjury. And if guilty of perjury, the State's prison should be their canonical residence.

Can men who believe in the spiritual power of bishops and priests to do all they threaten; and who fear their curse as they do the curse of God; and who place submission to their superiors and belief in God in the same category; can men who implicitly obey the priests, who implicitly obey their bishops, who implicitly obey the Pope, be American citizens, and true patriots? They must be either false to their country, or false to their church. And if false to either, they are unworthy of confidence, and should never be raised to positions of trust or power. A *true* Papist cannot be a *true* patriot in any country which is not in subjection to the Pope.