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NO. 11.

JAMES A. LONG, Editor.

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No discount on these rates.

At a regular meeting of the National Council
of the American Party, begun and held
at Philadelphia, on the 5th of June, A. D.
1855, the following was adopted as the
Platform and Principles of the Organization:

I.—The acknowledgment of that Al-
mighty Being who rules over the Universe,
—who presides over the councils of nations,
—who conducts the affairs of men, and who,
in every step by which we have advanced
to the character of an independent nation,
has distinguished us by some token of pro-
vidential agency.

II.—The cultivation and development of
a sentiment of profoundly intense Ameri-
can feeling; of passionate attachment to
our country, its history and its institutions;
of admiration for the purer days of our na-
tional existence; of veneration for the her-
oism that precipitated our Revolution; and
of emulation of the virtue, wisdom and pa-
triotism that framed our constitution, and
first successfully applied its provisions.

III.—The maintenance of the Union of
these United States as the paramount po-
litical goal; or, to use the language of
Washington, "the primary object of patri-
otic desire."

Ist. Opposition to all attempts to weak-
en or subvert it.

2d. Uncompromising antagonism to every
principle of policy that endangers it.

3d. The advocacy of an equitable ad-
justment of all political differences which
threaten its integrity or perpetuity.

4th. The suppression of all tendencies
to political division, founded on "geo-
graphical discriminations, or on the belief
that there is a real difference of interests
and views" between the various sections
of the Union.

5th. The full recognition of the rights of
the several States, as expressed and re-
served in the Constitution; and a careful
avoidance, by the General Government, of
all interference with their rights, by legisla-
tive or executive action.

IV.—Obedience to the Constitution of
these United States, as the supreme law of
the land, sacredly obligatory upon all its
parts and members; and steadfast resistance
to the spirit of innovation upon its prin-
ciples, however specious the pretexts. A-
voiding that in all doubtful or disputed
points it may only be legally ascertained
and expounded by the judicial power of the
United States.

And, as a corollary to the above:

1. A habit of reverent obedience to the
laws, whether National, or Municipal, until
they are either repealed or declared un-
constitutional by the proper authority.

2. A tender and sacred regard for those
acts of statesmanship which are to be con-
sidered distinguished from acts of ordinary
legislation, by the fact of their being of
the nature of compacts and agreements; and
so, to be considered a fixed and settled na-
tional policy.

V.—A radical revision and modification
of the laws regulating immigration, and
the settlement of immigrants. Offering to
the honest immigrant who, from love of liberty
or hatred of oppression, seeks an asylum
in the United States, a friendly reception
and protection. But unqualifiedly condemn-
ing the transmission to our shores of felons
and paupers.

VI.—The essential modification of the
Naturalization Laws.

The repeal by the Legislatures of the respec-
tive States, of all State laws allowing
foreigners not naturalized to vote.

The repeal, without retroactive operation,
of all acts of Congress making grants of
land to unnaturalized foreigners, and allow-
ing them to vote in the Territories.

VII.—Hostility to the corrupt means by
which the leaders of party have hitherto
forced upon our rulers and our political
creeds.

Implacable enmity against the prevalent
demoralizing system of rewards for political
subservience; and of punishments for po-
litical independence.

Disgust for the wild hunt after office
which characterizes the age.

These on the one hand. On the other:
Imitation of the practice of the purer days
of the Republic; and admiration of the
maxim that "office should seek the man,
and not man the office," and of the rule,
that the just mode of ascertaining fitness
for office is the capability, the faithfulness,
and the honesty of the incumbent or candi-
date.

VIII.—Resistance to the aggressive pol-
icy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman
Catholic Church in our country, by the ad-
vancement to all political stations—execu-
tive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic—of
those only who do not hold civil allegiance,
directly or indirectly, to any foreign power,
whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are
Americans by birth, education, and training—
thus fulfilling the maxim: "AMERICANS
ONLY SHALL GOVERN AMERICA."

The protection of all citizens in the legal
and proper exercise of their civil and reli-
gious rights and privileges; the maintenance
of the right of every man to the full, unre-
strained, and peaceful enjoyment of his own
religious opinions and worship, and a jealous
resistance of all attempts by any sect, de-
nomination or church, to obtain an ascen-
dency over any other in the State, by means
of any special privileges or exemption, by
any political combination of its members, or
by a division of their civil allegiance with
any foreign power, potentate, or ecclesiastical.

IX.—The reformation of the character of
our National Legislature, by elevating to
that dignified and responsible position men
of higher qualifications, purer morals, and
more unselfish patriotism.

X.—The restriction of executive patronage,
especially in the matter of appoint-
ments to office, so far as it may be per-
mitted by the Constitution, and consistent with
the public good.

XI.—The education of the youth of our
country in schools provided by the State;
which schools shall be common to all, without
distinction of creed or party, and free
from any influence or direction of a denomi-
natorial or partisan character.

2nd, inasmuch as Christianity, by the
Constitutions of nearly all the States; by
the decisions of the most eminent judicial
authorities; and by the consent of the peo-
ple of America, is considered an element
of our political system; and as the Holy
Bible is at once the source of Christianity,
and the depository and fountain of all civil
and religious freedom, we oppose every
attempt to exclude it from the schools thus
established in the States.

XII.—The American party, having ar-
isen upon the ruins and in despite of the
opposition of the Whig and Democratic
parties, cannot be in any manner respon-
sible for the obnoxious acts of violated pledges
of either. And the systematic agitation of
the slavery question by those parties, hav-
ing elevated sectional hostility into a po-
sitive element of political power, and brought
our institution into peril, it has, therefore,
become the imperative duty of the Ameri-
can party to interpose for the purpose of
giving peace to the country and perpetuity
to the Union. And, as experience has
shown it impossible to reconcile opinions
so extreme as those which separate the
disputants; and, as there can be no dis-
honor in submitting to the laws, the National
Council has deemed it the best guaran-
tee of common justice and of future peace,
to abide by and maintain the existing laws
upon the subject of slavery, as a final and
conclusive settlement of that subject in
spirit and in substance.

And regarding it the highest duty to avow
their opinions, upon a subject so important,
in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is here-
by declared, as the sense of this National
Council, that Congress possesses no power,
under the Constitution, to legislate upon
the subject of slavery in the States, where it
does or may exist, or to exclude any State
from admission into the Union because its
constitution does or does not recognize the
institution of slavery as a part of its social
system; and expressly pretermittting any
expression of opinion upon the power in
Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in
any Territory, it is the sense of the National
Council that Congress ought not to legis-
late upon the subject of slavery within
the Territories of the United States, and
that any interference by Congress with
slavery as it exists in the District of Col-
umbia, would be a violation of the spirit and
intention of the compact by which the
State of Maryland ceded the District to the
United States, and a breach of the national
faith.

XIII.—The policy of the Government of
the United States, in its relations with
foreign governments, is to exact justice from
the strongest, and do justice to the weak-
est; restraining, by all the power of the
government, all its citizens from interfer-
ence with the internal concerns of nations
with whom we are at peace.

XIV.—This National Council declares
that all the principles of the Order shall be
henceforward everywhere openly avowed;
and that each member shall be at liberty
to make known the existence of the Order,
and the fact that he himself is a member,
and it recommends that there be no con-
cealment of the places of meeting of sub-
ordinate councils.

E. B. BARTLETT, of Kentucky,
President of National Council.

C. D. DESHER, of New Jersey,
Corresponding Secretary.

JAMES M. STEPHENS, of Maryland,
Recording Secretary.

IRISH MODERATION.—An Irishman
left a demand with a lawyer, a friend of
ours, for collection, with direction to
have a letter sent before any suit was
commenced. "What shall I write about
it?" asked the lawyer. To which Pat
replied, "why your honor will plaze be-
gin a little moderate in the matter, jest
calling him a devil of a spalpeen and
negligent puppy, and so coming on
sharper till ye reach to the bottom of
the chapter."

ASPIRATION OF A HUSBAND.—Oh, that
the fashions would last as long as the
bonnets.

Letter from Hon. John M. Berrien.

ROCKINGHAM, 4th Sept., 1855.

To the People of Georgia:

Fellow-Citizens:—I have received sundry
communications from individuals, and
from Committees of Citizens, inviting me
to attend public assemblies of the people, in
different parts of the State, for the purpose
of discussing the questions which have
been, and which continue to be, agitated
during the present canvass—or if that could
not be done, requesting me to express my
opinions on the subjects which excite the
public mind, in a form which might be
given to the public. In complying with
this alternative request, since the first is
impracticable, I hope I shall not be con-
sidered presumptuous. While I am desirous
of avoiding intrusion, I am unwilling to
shrink from the performance of a duty,
and, having passed a great portion of my
life in the service of the State, I do not feel
at liberty to withhold my opinion on any
question of public interest, concerning
which my fellow-citizens may desire the
expression of it.

This is my real feeling; that which in-
duces this address. I do not assume to
guide public opinion, but simply to express
my own, at the call of those who have a
right to ask it. Yet, in doing so, I must
speak plainly, and must necessarily come in
conflict with some of the opposing opinions,
which have been urged with so much vehem-
ence during the present canvass. If this
shall subject me to the vituperation which
has been so lavishly indulged, I will rely
on the intelligence and honorable feeling of
my countrymen to spare me the humiliation
of replying to such assaults.

As an appropriate introduction to the re-
marks which I propose to submit to your
consideration, it becomes necessary to ad-
vert for a moment to the condition of parties
in our State. The ancient issues which di-
vide the Whig and Democratic parties have
either ceased to exist, or have been for the
time laid aside. A party has arisen, which,
drawing its support from the ranks of both
of its predecessors, presents new and im-
portant questions to public consideration.

The Whig party, although not dead, as has
been vainly supposed, abstains, as a party,
from entering into the contest. As a con-
servative body, it nevertheless exists and
must continue to do so as long as a genuine
spirit of conservatism is cherished by the
people of Georgia. From the Union party,
which was the offspring of an occasion as
well as from the Democratic party, large
drafts have been made by this new ad-
venturer in the political field. The major-
ity of the Democratic party, however, re-
mains intact, and is strengthened by some
(in point of numbers) inconsiderable acce-
sion from the ranks of its opponents—and,
perhaps, yet more, by the fact, that the
great majority of them have hitherto stood
aloof from the contending parties.

The Democratic party, even thus mutilated,
advances boldly to the conflict, waging
uncompromising hostility against this as-
pirant to political power. The present con-
test is therefore waged between the unbrok-
en remnant of the ancient Democracy,
strengthened as I have before intimated, and
an association of individuals, or orders, who
have assumed to themselves the name of
the AMERICAN PARTY. In the man-
overing preparatory to the actual conflict,
the Democratic party, with its usual tacit,
has secured a position to windward, by
which it has the privilege of becoming the
assailant, and of selecting its point of
attack, while its opponents, organized for
the purpose of correcting abuses, have found
themselves unexpectedly put on the defensive.

In this state of the controversy, the ques-
tions we are to consider relate—

1. To the object contemplated by the
American Party.

2. To the means proposed for its accom-
plishment.

We are first, then, to examine the object
of this party—to ascertain its character, and
to determine its tendency to promote or
conflict with the public good. Its first great
object—that which is elemental and pri-
mary—and to which all others are considered
as ciliary, or anticipated as results; as it is
expressed in their own language, is—

THAT AMERICANS SHALL GOVERN
AMERICA!—that is, that the peo-
ple of the country—those to whom it be-
longs—shall govern the country. This
would seem to be a simple, undeniable, and
acceptable proposition, recognized by every
civilized community, and maintained
even among the tribes of the forest—and so
it would be received here, and now; and
if it could be viewed simply, and on its
own merits, apart from those extraneous
considerations with which it has been con-
nected, and complicated, and by which it is
influenced. It is inconceivable that any
considerable number of American citizens,
whether natives, or those who have been
heretofore naturalized, could be willing to
surrender the government of their country
to foreigners—and that description of for-
eigners, who are annually, and in such im-
mense numbers, migrating to our shores.
The naked proposition, simply presented at
the domestic firesides of our citizens, would
hardly find an advocate. But it is not con-
sidered simply, and on its own merits.
The aspirations of party, combine to forbid it.
A great party wielding the power of the gov-
ernment, has attained, and maintains, its
power by the aid of a vote, which is subst-
stantially foreign, although the voters may
have passed through the forms of a hurried
naturalization. It is natural that they should
be unwilling to concur in any measure which
might divest them of this power, or have
a tendency to diminish their present or
prospective means of securing and increasing it.
They are, therefore, under the promptings
of interest, the advocates of the foreigner,

zealous to maintain, and willing to extend,
his privilege of participating in the govern-
ment of the country. And then, again, the
aspirants to political eminence—those in
search of the official position in the State or
Union, who would win the support of this
great party, must worship at the altars which
they have consecrated, and be eloquent in
the assertion of the rights of the foreigner—
as if he had any rights here, until we had
conferred them. Call to your recollection
the thrilling speeches you have listened to
at the various gatherings you have attended;
the pious horror which has been expressed at
the alleged violation of liberty of conscience—
the touching pictures which have been
drawn of our country as the asylum of the
oppressed—the bold assertion of the fitness
of the foreign immigrant to share our most
extensive privileges, in the same extent in
which yourselves enjoy them, and then con-
sider from whom this declamation comes—
say if it proceeds from disinterested advo-
cates of the common interest, or the bold
and selfish asserters of their own!

To accomplish the object expressed in
their primal elementary maxim, that Ameri-
cans shall govern America, the American
party proposes—

1. Substantial modifications of the acts
regulating naturalization.

Under the existing laws, five years resi-
dence in the country, and a compliance
with the forms prescribed by them, entitle
a foreigner to citizenship, and to all the priv-
ileges you enjoy, with two or three excep-
tions, to which it is not necessary to refer.
The American party desire to enlarge this
term—to provide for a more accurate secu-
rity on the claims of persons applying for
naturalization—and against the immigration
of paupers and felons into the United States.

In my judgment, those measures would
be eminently conducive to the public wel-
fare. This is with me no new opinion—and
it is not now for the first time expressed.
Several years ago the subject engaged the
attention of Congress. As Chairman of the
Judiciary Committee, I made a report to
the Senate contemplating a full and final
report at the then next session on the return
of certain commissions, to ascertain the var-
ious frauds which were alleged to exist in
the grant and subsequent use of naturaliza-
tion papers. Before that time, changes in
Senate resulted in placing a Democratic
Senator at the head of the Committee, and
the matter was abandoned.

I do not think it necessary to enter into
an elaborate argument to prove, that the in-
discriminate admission of foreigners, after a
residence of five years, to the privileges of
citizenship, is an evil. We are making—
we have thus far successfully made—an ex-
periment of self-government. Our free in-
stitutions, which have hitherto been found
efficient for national advancement, and for
individual security, have been indebted for
their support, to the loyalty of our people
rather than to their own compulsive powers.
The founders of the Republic were men
qualified for their office—united in ven-
erence for the laws—in resistance to oppres-
sion—in devotion to the principles of civil
liberty—and the spirit which animated them
was infused into the institutions which
they established. It was only such men,
who could have founded such a Government.

Men animated by a similar spirit can alone
preserve it. Let the abortive attempts in
revolutionary France to establish and main-
tain free institutions attest the truth of this
assertion.

Now I propound this inquiry—Are the
foreigners who are being, and especially at
the approach of our election, so rapidly, in-
corporated among us, likely to be animated
by this salutary spirit—fitted to be the guar-
dians of our free institutions? I would be
sorry to deny that among these emigrants,
there are some worthy men, who, when fa-
miliarized to our institutions by long resi-
dence among us may become good citizens,
and capable of participating in our priv-
ileges, but no candid man will deny that a
large portion are of a very different charac-
ter, consisting for the most part of Red Re-
publicans, or anarchists, criminals, and paup-
ers—or will venture, when dismounted
from the stump, calmly to assert, that five
years residence here will qualify an igno-
rant foreigner thoroughly to understand our
institutions, and loyally to conform to them.
Then let it be remembered that each one of
these, who is admitted to the exercise of
the elective franchise, without being thus
qualified, and who is consequently liable to
be led astray by the artifice of the demago-
gue, or coerced by the threatened anathema
of his priest, annuls the vote of one citizen
—may in fact, expunge your vote, or mine.
Then consider the number and character of
the people, who are annually cast upon our
shores. I do not mean to trouble you with
statistics. I dare say the records have been
ransacked by the opposing candidates for
your favor, and that the results are familiar
to you. I take from the papers of the day
those to which I refer—uncontradicted
statements.

Bear in mind, then, the fact that a foreign
immigration, which, up to the year eighteen
hundred, did not exceed five thousand per-
sons, has risen since eighteen hundred and
fifty, to half a million, and which, looking
to the state of Europe, will probably, and in
a very short time, mount up to a million
a year. Now give free scope to your benevo-
lent feelings—exercise the most extended
charity, in estimating the probable number
of these who are worthy men—capable of
a proper probationary term of being tested
good citizens—and a fearful residuum
will remain—and what a mass of poisonous
ingredients to be infused into the body polit-
ic! The census of 1850 shows that the
number of foreign paupers and criminals ex-
ceeded that of the native paupers and criminals,
although the native population was seven
times greater than the foreign. What would
be your feelings if poverty and crime exis-
ted in this proportion and to this extent a-

mong yourselves? If the quantum of
pauperism and vice that existed among
you, was the proportion of a population
seven times greater in number than your
own, what security would you have for
your free institution? what guarantee for
your individual rights?

Consider, also, that these emigrants, shun-
ning the South, from their unwillingness to
compete with slave labor—and flocking to
the North, from their abolition tendencies,
in search of kindred spirits, are thus rapidly
increasing the majority against you in Con-
gress, at every opportunity, and unless
checked, in no very great length of time,
will place the Constitution and the institu-
tions of the South at the mercy of fanatism.

And how are these calamities to be averted,
if this horde of foreigners, rapidly in-
creasing, is to be added to your society?
The plagues of Egypt were mercies, since
they were guided by Divine benevolence,
and stayed by His omnipotence, when the
deliverance of his chosen people was effect-
ed. But who shall stay this mortal pesti-
lence, if you are insensible to your danger?
If persevered in, in what can it evaluate
but the ruin of the Republic? Can the po-
lite system of government established by
our fathers, be administered by men like
these?

You are told that your numbers so large-
ly exceed that of the foreign population,
that all apprehension of danger is idle. I
do not mean to give offence to any man;
but to speak in the sincerity of my heart,
when I say that such an argument seems to
me estimate very humbly the understandings
of those to whom it is addressed. In the o-
pen, manly defence of your rights and lib-
erties—of that glorious constitution be-
queathed to you by your fathers—of your
homesteads and your household—in the
defence of these against open and manly
assault, you are competent to resist not only
the foreigners among us, but the world in
arms. God forbid that one American
bosom should palpitate with craven fear in
view of such a conflict! But this is not
the danger which menaces. Every man un-
worthy of citizenship, who is admitted to
its privileges, is an enemy in your camp—
a moral leprosy, spreading contagion far
and wide. The morals of that community
are corrupted—its heart is tainted by such
association; for, however stained with crime,
the stamp of citizenship makes them politi-
cally one of themselves. Can you bear the
amalgamation!

And why should you bear it? Foreign-
ers aided us in our revolutionary struggle.
Aye, and they have received their reward.
They became incorporated among us, or
have voluntarily gone elsewhere in quest
of new adventure. But we invited immigra-
tion, Aye, at the close of the revolution-
ary war, when amid its toils and privations
we had achieved our independence, we had
a sparse and exhausted population, and
an extensive and uncultivated domain. We
required an increase of population for the
purposes of internal improvement and ex-
ternal defence, and, conforming to this po-
litical, our system of naturalization was estab-
lished. Europe was then calm, at least
free from the menace of intestine commo-
tion. Party spirit among ourselves was
comparatively quiescent. We invited fore-
igners, and we received them. They came
to us in small numbers, mingled with our
people, and peacefully pursued the avoca-
tions of industry. All this is changed.

We have a population sufficiently nu-
merous for every present purpose, and without
the aid of immigration we are increasing
in numbers as rapidly as we could desire.
Notwithstanding this, there is a continual
pouring upon us of the restless and un-
quiet spirits of Europe, its criminals and
paupers. Not mingling with us, as when
their numbers were small, they are now
sufficiently numerous to herd together—to
live apart from us—to constitute distinct
foreign societies in the midst of native popu-
lation. In the bitterness of our party con-
tests, this foreign vote has been eagerly,
and often by unworthy means, sought after
and obtained alternately by both parties;
and acting as a unit, the boast of Kossoth
has been realized—it holds the balance
and may decide our elections.

This is a state of things not to be borne
by American freemen. This foreign in-
cursion must be regulated, or checked, and
the American party has its origin in the
conviction of the necessity. The very gen-
eral existence of this conviction has secured
them a support beyond the limits of their
association. I concur with them in the be-
lief that the laws regulating immigration
and the naturalization laws regulating im-
migration and the naturalization of foreign-
ers ought to be subjected to a thorough and
searching revision, that the term of proba-
tion should be largely extended, that to
protect us from the intrusion of paupers
and criminals, provisions ought to be made
for the ascertainment by our consuls a-
broad of the character and condition of
persons proposing to emigrate to the United
States, and that every safeguard, which
the wisdom of congress can devise, should
be thrown around the amendatory statute
to prevent and punish its invasion.

2. As a further means of attaining their
object, the individuals composing the Ameri-
can party have bound themselves by mutu-
al pledges, each to the other, to unite their
efforts for its accomplishment. I suppose
such a pledge, either expressed, or im-
plied, is the tie which connects the mem-
bers or every party. As to their organiza-
tion—their ritual—their particular modes of
proceeding, and of recognition, and the se-
crecy which has hitherto been observed in
their proceedings, all of which has given
occasion for so much eloquent and ingenu-
ous declamation and denunciation—I am
not required to express an opinion, for these
it is understood, have been abandoned by
their National Council, and all that is now

required for admission into the order is the
approval of their principles. One of these,
that which announces their determination
not to vote for, nor appoint Romanists to
office, has been the subject of much reprob-
ension, and has been assailed as a viola-
tion of liberty of conscience, which has
been secured by the Constitution. The
provisions of that instrument, which are
supposed to be violated, are contained in
the concluding clause of the third section
of the 6th article, and in the first clause
of the first article of amendments. The first
after providing for administering an oath
to different public functionaries, contains the
following provision:

"But no religious test shall be required
as a qualification for any office of public
trust under the United States."

The second declares:

"That Congress shall make no law respect-
ing an establishment of religion, or
prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

By what process of reasoning these pro-
visions of the Constitution can be made to
conflict with the right of the citizen to the
unlimited exercise of his own free and un-
controlled will, in the enjoyment of his se-
lective franchise, I am utterly at a loss to
discover, and I have sought it in vain in
such arguments of the objectors as I have
had an opportunity of perusing. The first
clause relates to persons elected to office,
and requires that they shall have the oath
of office administered to them, without be-
ing subjected to any religious test. And
the whole scope and effect of the act. It
does not, even remotely, interfere with the
right of an individual to exercise his own
judgment, and in determining whether the
religion of the candidate, ought or ought
not to influence him in casting his vote for
or against him. This seems too plain for
argument. If a voter believes the religion
of a candidate to be unsound and danger-
ous, to an extent which would induce dis-
trust in the ordinary transactions of life, it
is not only his right, but his duty to with-
hold his confidence and his vote. No pro-
vision of the Constitution forbids it, and du-
ty to the country requires it. It would be
wrong in the Government, to make this
test, because it is an exercise of discretion,
which the people have not intrusted to
them, but have reserved to themselves.
Thus that which would be wrong in the
Government, is the right and duty of the
citizen. How far this may apply to Roman-
ists, is a matter of exercise for the individ-
ual judgment, and for that alone. I would
not feel that native American Romanists,
trained in the principles of civil liberty, of
reverence for the Constitution and laws, and
devoted to the Union, would come within
its scope. For the rest, to show that the
view of the American party is sustained by
a man of large intelligence, and of undoubt-
ed piety, I subjoin the letter of Mr. Wesley
—marking only, that the attempt to re-
strict his opinions to the particular state of
affairs existing at the time when the letter
was written, is simply futile, since it is per-
fectly obvious that they are of enduring ap-
plicability, at least until Romanists shall
abandon those precepts of their religion, to
which Mr. Wesley refers:—

LETTER OF JOHN WESLEY.

"SIR:—Some time ago a pamphlet was
sent to me, entitled 'An Appeal from the
Protestant Association to the People of
Great Britain.' A day or two since a kind
of answer to this, was put in my hand which
pronounces its style contemptible, its reason-
ing futile, and its object malicious. On
the contrary, the style of it is clear, easy
and natural; the reasoning, in general, strong
and conclusive; the object or design, namely,
to preserve our happy constitution, I shall
endeavor to confirm the substance of that
tract, by a few plain arguments.

With persecution I have nothing to do—I
persecute no man for his religious prin-
ciples. Let there be as boundless freedom
in religion as any man can conceive. But
this does not touch the point. I will set
religion, true or false, out of the question.
Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a
fable, and the Koran to be the word of God.
—I consider not whether the Romish reli-
gion be true or false; build nothing on
one or the other supposition. Therefore
away with all your common place declama-
tion about intolerance and persecution for
religion! Suppose every word of Pius'
creed to be true! Suppose the council of
Trent to be infallible; yet I insist upon it
that no government, not Roman Catholic,
ought to tolerate men of the Catholic persua-
sion.

"I prove this by a plain argument, (let
him answer it that can)—that no Roman
Catholic does or can give security for his
allegiance or peaceable behavior. I
prove it thus: It is a Roman Catholic max-
im, established not by private men, but by
public Council, that 'No faith is to be kept
with heretics.' This has been openly av-
owed by the Council of Constance; but it
has never been openly disclaimed. Whether
private persons avow or disavow it, it is
a fixed maxim of the Church of Rome.
But as long as 'tis so, nothing can be
more plain, than the members of that
Church can give no reasonable security to
any government for their allegiance and
peaceable behavior. Therefore they ought
not to be tolerated by any government,
Protestant, Mahomedan or Pagan. You say,
may, but they take an oath of allegiance.
True, five hundred oaths; but the maxim,
'no faith among the heresy' sweeps them all
away, as a spider's web. So that still no
governors that are not Roman Catholics,
can have no security of their allegiance."

"Again, those who acknowledge the spiri-
tual power of the Pope can give no security
of their allegiance to any government;
but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this;
therefore, they can give no security of their
allegiance. The power of granting pardons
for all sins, past, present and to come, is