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AMENDMENTS

TO

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Non-Sectarian and Universal Education.

VETERAN ASSOCIATION, ORDER OF UNITED AMERICANS,

*Annual Dinner,*

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 22D, 1876.

REMARKS

OF

DANIEL ULLMANN, LL.D.,

IN RESPONSE TO THE SENTIMENT:

OUR COMMON SCHOOLS, THE GLORY OF OUR REPUBLIC, UNDEFILED BY SECTARIANISM;  
OUR HOPE AND BOAST; THEY SHALL BE MAINTAINED.

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## REMARKS OF DANIEL ULLMANN.

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*Gentlemen :*

We have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the present condition of public opinion in the United States. The thoughts which we expressed in other days, not without obloquy, are now ripening into national convictions. Hopes and impulses which were considered superficial and transient, and only the reflection of emotion and passion, are now recognized as fixed purposes, based upon the elementary principles of political philosophy, and destined to assert themselves with irresistible might. Such are ever the phases and tendencies of historic movements. The martyrs of to-day are the heroes of the future. Principles which we promulgated long since, under many trials and vicissitudes, are evidently becoming widely diffused. Thousands, who once received them with scorn and derision, are now found among their most strenuous advocates. The upheavals of society, political and religious, daily demanding our attention, indicate that the mighty

forces which control its action are stirring up its deepest depths, and are preparing for a great moral revolution.

Some years ago, I ventured to avow my faith in an *unsectarian* system of free and universal education, and was therefor publicly burned in effigy; and had the individuals, who instigated that outrage, possessed the powers exercised by their fellows of the Spanish Inquisition, in the reign of Philip II, they would gladly have turned the mock into a real *auto da fé*. How striking is the contrast! Now powerful organizations enthusiastically proclaim these sentiments as the basis of their Union;—the State conventions of a great political party unhesitatingly adopt them as a portion of their declaration of principles, and the chief magistrate of the nation, in his annual message, boldly and comprehensively enunciates these truths.

“Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;  
The eternal years of God are hers.”

“And thus the whirligig  
Of time brings in his revenges.”

Three maxims are fundamental in America:—First,—The sovereignty of the people; Second,—An absolute separation of church and state; and Third,—



That republican institutions cannot permanently exist, unless the people are virtuous and intelligent.

Now, if virtue and intelligence be the bulwark of American institutions, then free and universal education is a supreme necessity. If the maxim that there shall be no connection between church and state be fundamental, then the schools established by the state, and sustained by taxes levied upon the whole people, must remain unsectarian. These are logical sequences, from which there is no escape.

But one of the great powers of the earth utterly denies these axiomatic truths. The dogmatic decrees of the Vatican Council, and the infallible Head of the Roman Hierarchy, in his "Syllabus of Errors," declare that the whole human race are bound, at the peril of salvation, to believe precisely the reverse. Pius IX, in his encyclical letters, addressed to the whole Roman world, says, in effect, that these fundamental maxims are "false opinions," "perverse," "detestable," and the result of a "delirium," and "let him" who accepts them "be anathema."

Thus is the issue made. It is the same "old, old story." "The thing that hath been, it is that which

shall be." Here we have, standing on this continent, opposed face to face, the two systems which have divided mankind since the beginning of history, and have been the cause of most of the wars which have desolated the earth. It is the very problem whose solution is the most momentous that concerns the human race. These two systems cannot co-exist, without collision—conflict—war. One gives free scope to that love of power which is deeply seated in the corruption of the human heart; the other to that love of liberty which is equally the desire of every human being. One system is called despotism,—the other freedom. So long as man is man—human nature, human nature—it is vain to attempt to reconcile them. It is a dead-lock. There is no middle ground; both cannot be right; one or the other is utterly wrong.

It is not easy to realize the immense power of the Roman Hierarchy. Its huge machinery is better adapted to crush individual intelligence, and enslave the human mind than any other ever devised by man. It is a broad, comprehensive system, closely united, compact, steady in its counsels, untiring in its exertions and energetic in its action. Never losing sight of its great end—the government of mankind by means of their ignorance and superstitious fears—it adapts it-

self with infinite flexibility and skill to the exigencies of each age, and the characteristics of each nation. The Roman Hierarchy is the most gigantic political association on earth. In medieval ages it claimed universal empire, and there is no utterance or record of modern Rome renouncing, retracting, or abandoning this claim. It holds and exercises, at this hour, despotic sway over two hundred millions of human beings. The actual forces which govern this vast organization are concentrated in the *Curia Romana*, an unrecognized body, consisting of Jesuits—the arch-intriguers of mankind—who controlled the deliberations of the Vatican Council, and shape the action of the Hierarchy, including the Pontiff himself. This is what Mr. Gladstone calls “The Ultramontane minority which pervades the world ; which triumphs in Belgium ; which brags in England ; which partly governs and partly plots in France ; \* \* \* which is everywhere coherent, everywhere tenacious of its purpose, everywhere knows its mind, follows its leaders, and bides its time.”

“ This is the minority, which persecutes Italy,” beautiful Italy, who, crushed for ten centuries under the iron heel of a soulless despot, having now achieved her national unity, is striving to reassert her ancient pre-eminence in art, science and literature ; “ which hates

Germany," whose old Empire it destroyed by its unceasing efforts to realize universal dominion; and is now waging a war, without truce, with Prussia and her great statesman; which, in Austria, declares laws of the Empire annulled; which, in Bavaria, insults the king in his palace, and dragoons the Diet in its chambers; and which, by eating out the substance of her national life, has reduced Spain, once the most powerful and magnificent of European kingdoms, to being one of the most feeble. It is this same all-grasping Hierarchy, which, having kept the governments of Mexico, Central and South America in a state of chronic revolution, is enacting scenes of medieval bigotry on the virgin soil of Canada; and, in the United States, with a compact and subservient minority, taught to move at tap of drum ecclesiastic, is advancing, as they hope, with sure and steady steps, to grasp and wield the sceptre of power on this American continent.

Mr. Gladstone says, "that Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change of faith." As to matters of faith, Mr. Gladstone is right,—of policy, not. Rome has changed her faith,—her policy, never. Since the fifth century, when she first began to assume a political aspect, her policy in all lands and subsequent centuries, has been one and

unvarying, *semper eadem* ;—the gratification of her insatiable lust for POWER,—financial power, political power. And how have the Roman Hierarchy aimed to extend this power? Understanding the springs of human action and the forces which move society, they have always known, that he who trains the children of a people, governs that people; they have, therefore, ever claimed to be the sole teachers of men; and, in every country and age, have striven to draw to themselves the exclusive instruction of youth. Necessarily, then, in the United States, the public schools have been their objective point. They must either control the schools, or break them down. They must destroy the schools, or the schools will destroy them. Bishop Hughes, some thirty or forty years ago, began this war on the schools, and persistently has it ever since been waged. The great Archbishop, with his clear vision, thorough knowledge of American politics, and comprehensive grasp of mind, saw that, inside of the school-houses, would be the battle-ground.

The Roman Hierarchy are forced by an irresistible logic into antagonism to every scheme of education not under their control. In the presence of education, absolutely free and universal, they could not maintain

themselves for a single generation. Without ignorance and superstition, with which to mold mankind into slaves, that vast fabric of stupendous falsehood and crime, with all its towers and turrets and battlements, gray with the hoar of twelve centuries of oppression, and cemented with the blood of martyrs, would totter and fall into endless ruin.

And now, Gentlemen, to what practical point do these remarks tend? Obviously, to this:--That this whole subject shall be lifted up out of the slough of partisan and sectarian influences, and be incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. Nothing short of this will meet the present and future exigencies of the case. The unwritten law of a nation is strong, but it becomes doubly strong, when embodied in its written Constitutions. I am aware that there are objections to the interference of the National Government in the local management of educational affairs; but national education is a national duty, transcending all other duties, excepting that of national preservation; and the interests of the whole nation are too complicated and universal to be left exclusively to private effort, or to the separate action of the several States. *Some have neglected this great and sacred duty.* No State of this Union stands alone; all are connected and interdepend-

ent. The ignorance, demoralization or anarchy of one affects all. Unless there be, at least, an approximation to a harmonious unity in the entire aggregate of the principles and actions of a nation, it has already entered upon the period of its decline and fall. While, therefore, it may be wise not to allow the General Government to enter directly into the execution of plans for educating the people, yet, it should have the power to aid or compel a State to discharge her duty, when failing to make provision for the education of all her citizens. We are admitting to full political privileges millions of persons, utterly uninstructed, even in rudimentary knowledge. Intelligent citizens, having ample means of observation, have expressed the opinion that the freedmen of some States never will be educated, unless the National Government shall interfere. No higher responsibility ever rested upon a nation than that which the American people assumed, to protect the loyal freedmen in the full enjoyment of all their rights as citizens. We emancipated them to save the nation. Shall a great and magnanimous people not discharge obligations thus incurred ?

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every State a republican form of government. Republicanism and education are convertible, correlative terms,

why not also guarantee to every State an unsectarian system of free and universal education?

I respectfully submit to you, for your consideration, these TWO AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES:—

1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised, or property acquired by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised, or property so acquired, ever be given or loaned to any religious sect or denomination.

2. "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union, a republican form of government," AND AN ADEQUATE SYSTEM OF FREE AND UNIVERSAL UNSECTARIAN EDUCATION.









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