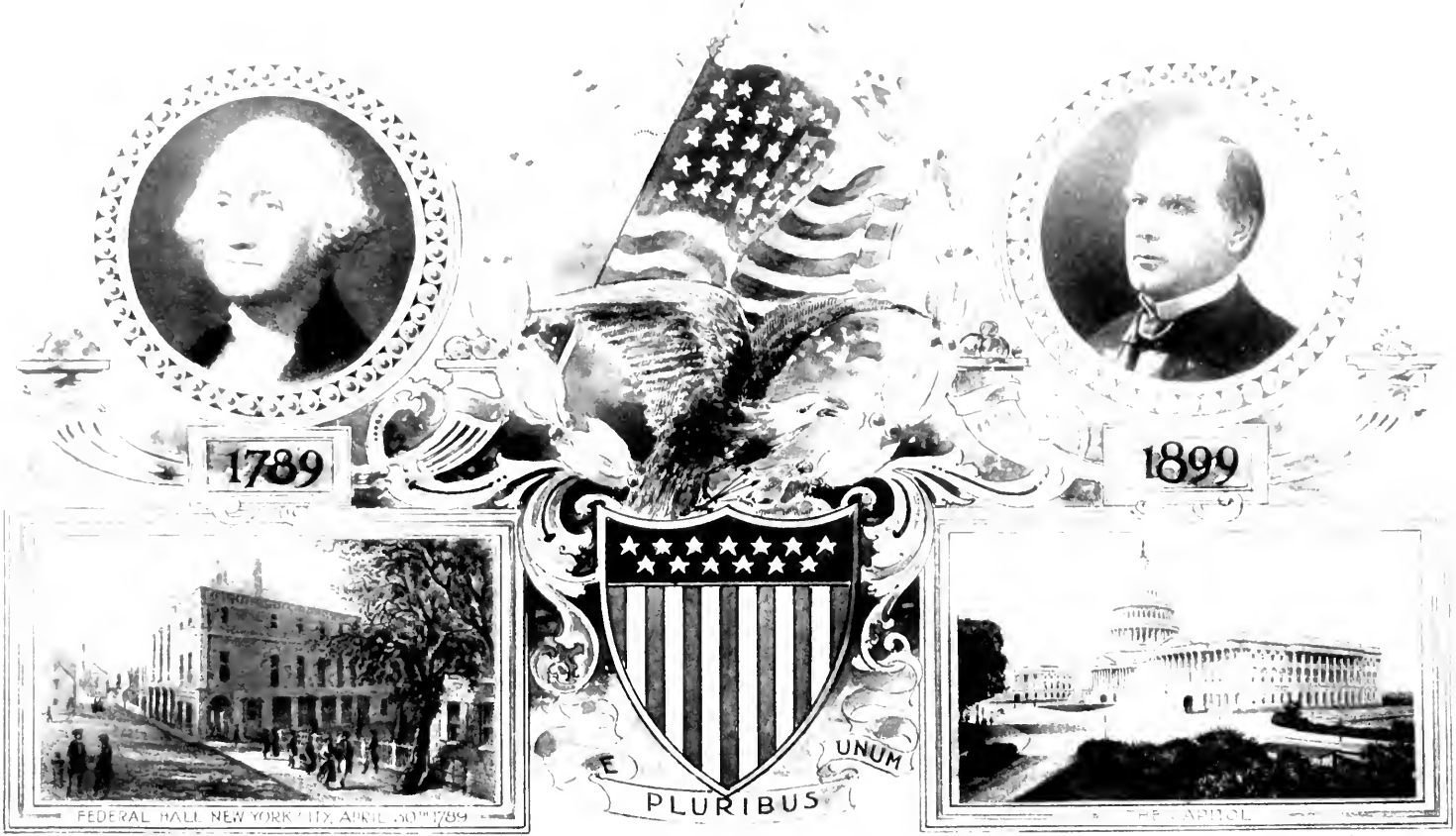
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TWENTIETH CENTURY

Our Country: Its Power and Peril

The POWER of Our Country, generated by Anglo-Saxon civilization and made effective through the American institutions of State, Church, and School.

The PERIL of Our Country, manifest in the claims of Politico-Ecclesiastical Romanism to universal dominion, and in its relations to political parties, politicians, platforms, legislation, schools, charities, labor, and war.

The Republic FACES the twentieth century with the power to avert the peril when both power and peril are recognized.

PRUDENS FUTURI

QUI TACIT CONSENTIT

BY

JAMES M. KING

General Secretary National League for the Protection of American Institutions

NEW YORK

AMERICAN UNION LEAGUE SOCIETY

1899

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Republic, with the momentum secured in making more than a century of glorious history, is about to move into the twentieth century and work out its manifest destiny in extending civil and religious liberty to the millions which come under its benign rule.

Without attempting an elaborate discussion of any one of the themes here considered, I have essayed to give a brief survey of the sources of our civilization, of the institutions which conserve and promote this civilization; of the peril which menaces these institutions, and of the legal, organic, and moral forces which may be depended upon to protect them.

I hope to contribute a mite in producing that disposition of mind and poise of judgment among citizens which are indispensable to a people confronted with difficult problems for solution, and who have great responsibilities to meet and priceless liberties to perpetuate.

I desire to reach that honest citizen on the farm, in the workshop, in the factory, and in the different departments of industry in city and village, who does his own thinking and voting, and who counts one in the class of citizens who give character to American citizenship and vigor to American patriotism.

I seek to inspire that kind of patriotic pride of country, which is based upon an intelligent conception of the cost and character of our institutions, and which is jealously alert against the insidious approaches of any foe that would either compromise or undermine our constitutional liberties.

We are living in a seriously interesting and instructive period of both national and international history. The men

who created the Republic faced their responsibilities effectively and magnificently. We shall have both the courage and ability to face our broader responsibilities if we adhere to the principle that the safe method of procedure is for a nation to act from high-minded and unselfish motives.

James M. Kelly

NEW YORK, *January*, 1899.

NOTE.

In a word I desire to record my gratitude for all the assistance I have received in the preparation of this volume. Those who have aided me in any measure have one and all requested that no mention be made of their names. Their request is complied with, but their help is appreciated.

Conscious of the imperfect presentation I have made of the information imparted to me from many sources, I am thankful for the valuable and authentic facts, and trust that the readers will weigh these facts and bear with the inadequate method of their array.

J. M. K.

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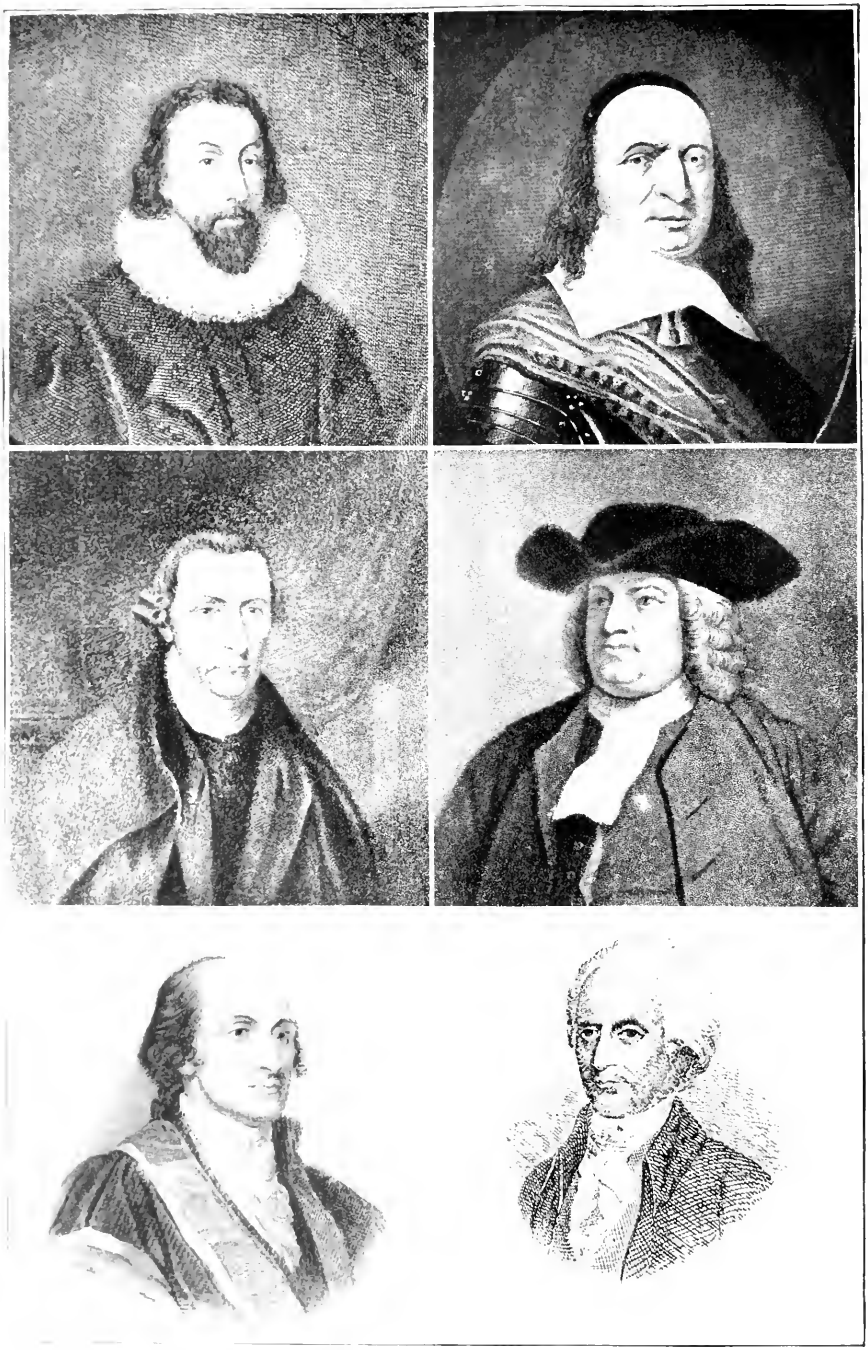


John Winthrop (Puritan).
Patrick Henry (Scotch).
John Jay (Huguenot).
Peter Stuyvesant (Hollander).
William Penn (Quaker).
Richard Henry Lee (Cavalier).

SOME LEADERS IN SHAPING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

FACING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE SOURCES OF AMERICAN REPUBLICAN CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

THE HOLLANDER.

The first dim outlines of knowledge concerning the region now called Holland have been set before us in Cæsar's accounts of the battles and marches of his conquering legions. A region it might have been called then, yet not a land. The words *terra firma* would scarcely apply to a vast expanse of morass and thicket, often all but submerged by the furious waves of the stormy, ever threatening sea. As the child is father to the man, so, in the first faint dawnings of the history of a people may be discerned some characteristics which distinguish that people, as the story of later generations is rounded out and recorded. That quality in a race which held it steadfast while fighting against nature for a home so uncertain in its conditions that it was sometimes land and sometimes water; which enabled it, though often overpowered and almost swept out of existence by giant physical forces, to slowly but certainly overcome after centuries of combat, has marked that people through all the years of its history. Patiently, slowly, with untiring labor and constant vigilance, they drove back the waves and set a bound to the ocean. But while they were toiling to wrest this Low Land, this Hollow Land from the sea, they were also developing and strengthening within themselves that power which enabled them to convert a marsh

into a rich and fruitful garden; to build within its limits wealthy and powerful cities, where science, art, and music went hand in hand with progress in material industries, while they swept the broad bosom of their ancient enemy with fleets of merchantmen and war vessels. Nor was this power to achieve success in these directions, great as it was, their most prominent characteristic. Motley says: "In the development of the Netherland nation during sixteen centuries, we have seen it ever marked by one prevailing characteristic, one master passion, the love of liberty, the instinct of self-government."

The succession of Charles V. to the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and the dawn of that religious movement called the Reformation, two events which occurred early in the sixteenth century, gave the signal for the beginning of a long and terrible struggle. The history of this reign was marked at every stage by rapacity and political oppression. These rich provinces had their treasuries emptied to support the Emperor's ambitious projects, had their industries hampered and their liberties restricted. Above all, he sought to extinguish their religious freedom. To repressive edicts were added the terrors of the Inquisition, and by the time Charles abdicated, passing the sovereignty into the hands of his son, Philip II., upward of fifty thousand of the inhabitants of the Netherlands had suffered death for their religious opinions. But if the reign of Charles was rigorous and harsh, that of his son was marked by relentless cruelty. Religious persecution was carried on with redoubled vigor, and the infamous Alva was sent, at the head of thousands of Spanish troops, to crush the rebellious provinces. It was inevitable, considering the temper of the people, that a rebellion should ripen into a war, which drew the Prince of Orange to the front as their leader, and that the Abjuration, the Declaration of Independence of the Dutch Republic, should ultimately follow. A few years later these people saw their beloved Prince and leader fall by

the assassin's hand, but with indomitable energy they marched forward, while others of that princely family arose to perpetuate and embellish the name by heroic deeds for a noble cause, until an exhausted enemy held out the flag of truce and was forced to acknowledge the Low Countries free.

In this memorable year of 1609, when the Dutch republic took its place among the nations, events were quietly occurring in another part of the world which were to be an active factor in founding, at a later era, a greater republic, which, in its turn, would, for liberty and right, meet in the clash of arms the ancient enemy of its Netherland prototype. The voyage of the celebrated *Half Moon*, under the command of her equally celebrated captain, Henry Hudson, has taken its deep significance from later events. It was but a small vessel, manned by a crew of twenty, making her first cruise along an unknown shore, cautiously feeling her way through strait and bay, past wooded islands to the broad surface of a noble river, traversing many miles of its shining waters, and returning with its cargo of furs and its story of adventure, to the home port in Holland. Yet this little boat was the pathfinder for a world's traffic, and on those wooded slopes was to rise a great city where all nations and tongues would congregate. For some years Hudson's discovery was only fruitful in pointing out the way for the beginnings of a profitable trade in furs with the Indians of the islands and shores which he visited. A fort was built near the site of the present city of Albany, as a trading post to reach the natives of the interior, a few rude buildings erected at the extremity of Manhattan Island, and the name of New Netherland given the region. However, there was no definite project for colonization until after the establishment of the West India Company with many rights and privileges, one of which was exclusive trade with America. Under their charter Peter Minuit was appointed the first governor, and he arrived at Manhattan in the spring of 1626, authorized to buy land

from the Indians, and construct a fort, warehouse, and other necessary buildings.

On the 6th of May, two days after his arrival, the Governor made that celebrated purchase from the natives, whereby Manhattan Island came into his possession at the price of twenty-four dollars. The fort, warehouse, and buildings were soon constructed, and an upper story in one of the latter was fitted up for religious worship. They had no minister as yet, but two persons were appointed to read the Bible and lead in devotional exercises every Sabbath morning. Other colonists shortly arrived, and before the end of the year their number was nearly two hundred. With the habits of thrift and diligence in which they had been trained, it is not surprising to learn that "they had all their grain sowed by the middle of May, and reaped by the middle of August." Two years later we find that "the learned and energetic John Michaelius was employed to officiate at religious meetings and instruct the children." Thus from the first these Dutch colonists built a strong foundation for education and religion. In order to give greater impetus to colonization and extend it throughout the province, an offer was made by the company to any of its members who should found a colony of fifty adults, by which they would receive large grants of land, special privileges, and the title of patroon. In this way settlements were planted along the Hudson River and in sections now included in Delaware and New Jersey, though the aristocratic and feudal features of the plan were not favorable to the best growth of the province. After a few years Minuit was succeeded by Van Twiller as governor, and with him arrived the first minister, named Bogardus, for whom a church was shortly built. This was a plain wooden structure, without architectural beauty, but historically interesting as the first church edifice on Manhattan Island. Under this administration the island village received the name of New Amsterdam. But the path of these Dutch governors was not

an easy one, and in 1638 Van Twiller retired to make way for Kieft. He chose as counselor Dr. La Montagne, a man of high breeding and varied learning, a French Huguenot, who had fled from religious persecution and settled at Manhattan the previous year. Thus we may already get a glimpse of the cosmopolitan character of the future metropolis. During Kieft's rule the company adopted a more liberal policy, which had the effect of increasing the number of new settlers, and the greater religious freedom attracted people from New England, who made settlements on Long Island and in Westchester, while others became inhabitants of the thriving village of New Amsterdam.

In 1647 arrived the last and the greatest of the Dutch governors, Peter Stuyvesant. He was a man of stern, proud appearance, military bearing, of great energy and decision of character, of severe morality, yet kindly, sympathetic, and large-hearted. He found many discouragements in the condition of affairs in the province. Before this time there had been many misunderstandings with the English settlements, owing to conflicting patents and indefinite boundaries. The patroon system, with its special privileges, was a source of perplexity and annoyance. Above all, injudicious treatment of the Indians had been followed by disastrous and shocking results. Beside these questions which confronted the Governor, his attention was at once drawn to the necessity for improvement in the condition of the town, and under his energetic direction many changes for the better were inaugurated. Though the Dutch were earnest and serious, they did not manifest a sour severity; and though they evinced a keen commercial spirit, they were not mercenary or miserly. So far as circumstances permitted the people lived generously, and there was much pleasant social intercourse among the settlers. In New Amsterdam the Christmas festival was especially observed, as was also the custom of New Year visits. In 1653 New Amsterdam was made a munici-

pality and suitable officials were appointed. In 1656 its population had reached one thousand. But events were impending which were to place the control of the province in other hands. In 1664 it was seized by the English. New Amsterdam became New York, and Fort Orange was called Albany. But, though it was lost forever as a Netherland possession, the Dutch had taken firm root in the soil and made an indelible mark, to be discerned through all the future history of the province. That country, whose rich and flourishing cities were brought low by the hand of tyranny and wasted by fire and siege, was to see them reproduced again, when its children founded the metropolis of the West. The descendants of a people which, with wonderful persistence in the face of repeated defeats, rescued a country from the waves and made it fertile and flourishing, had the happy privilege of founding, in the New World, a great State upon which nature had bestowed every bounty. Throughout its length and breadth the Dutch name is preserved. The important families of New Netherland have their lines perpetuated by distinguished descendants, and the race which Cæsar could not conquer is represented in the New World by a long list of brave, steadfast, God-fearing men. These men have ever been active in fostering those rights and privileges for which their forefathers fought with such unyielding determination, such unexampled bravery. That right of free and fearless speech, and that high standard of morality, in civil as well as religious matters, which permitted the first Dutch preacher to rebuke from his pulpit the Governor in his pew, are still manifest in the life of the State. Her press, her schools, her laws are all significant of her origin. The declaration in favor of complete religious toleration, which the Netherlanders incorporated in the Act of Abjuration in 1581, is repeated again when New York, two centuries later, in her first constitution, declares that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference,

shall forever, hereafter, be allowed within this state to all mankind."

Doubtless the fathers of the American nation, confronted by doubts and anxieties, wrought out many problems by the light of Dutch history. The founders of the Plymouth colony dwelt for years in that city of Leyden which, only a generation before their time, had passed, unconquered, through a siege the record of which is a glowing tribute to the amazing fortitude and the undying faith of its inhabitants. May it not well be that the Pilgrims there learned some lessons that helped to bear them bravely through the heavy trials which they encountered in their new home? Perhaps many lessons which were afterward put in practice by the later New England colonists may have been taught by the Netherlanders, thousands of whom migrated to the eastern counties of England, whence the Puritan exodus to America was largely drawn. As the early history of the American republic is more deeply studied, the more obscure elements in its complex civilization brought to light, the silent, hidden streams of influence which make the nation what it is are uncovered and explored, the more plainly will be seen the country's lasting indebtedness to the people and the institutions of Holland.

THE PILGRIM.

In the latter part of the reign of the first Stuart king of England there landed upon the shores of one of his colonial possessions a small band of men and women, obscure and humble then, but now known all over the world as the Pilgrims of New England, and the day of their landing, December 21, 1620, is widely celebrated as Forefathers' Day. The circumstances attending their arrival could hardly have been less auspicious. Setting foot as they did on a bleak and wild coast in the short, chill days of early winter, without sheltering roof or pleasant hearthstone, with no neighbors but

howling wolves and unfriendly savages, there was little prospect of ease, comfort, or security. But these brave men and women knew well the meaning of hardships, trials, and disappointments, and the sublimity and strength of their religious faith gave them a power of endurance and a fixedness of purpose which were to contribute to a new order of civil and religious liberty. In England, their native country, they had suffered much for conscience' sake; for years they had been exiles in a foreign land, and they had come to a new and unknown country that they might find "freedom to worship God" without interference or persecution from prelate or king. Very early in the century these people had withdrawn from the services of the established church and thus received the name of Separatists. They, with others of like mind, met together for religious worship, first at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, but in 1606 they found it convenient to assemble nearer their homes in Nottinghamshire, and held their meetings chiefly at Scrooby in the manor house, then the home of William Brewster, who was afterward to be the first preacher and teacher of the little colony in America. Among their number was William Bradford, a young man who lived at Austerfield, a few miles away, and whose name in later years was to be prominent in all the records of their wanderings and final establishment in the New World. His "History of Plymouth Plantation" has preserved much that otherwise must have been wholly lost and which is invaluable to those who would study the history of these people in its religious and civil aspects. Mr. Richard Clifton, "a grave and reverend preacher," was their pastor, and with them also, among others, was John Robinson, who went with them into exile and afterward became their preacher. Bradford tells us in his quaintly written history that "they ordinarily met at William Brewster's house on the Lord's day and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge." The little village of Scrooby was 146

miles north of London, and William Brewster was probably born in the manor house where his father lived and held the office of Post, to which the son succeeded. Here they formed themselves into an organized church, for Bradford says: "They shook off the yoke of anti-Christian bondage and as the Lord's free people, joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel to walk in all his ways made known or to be made known unto them according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them the Lord assisting them."

There were Separatist churches in other parts of England, but the great body of those who sympathized with the free church ideas, the Puritans, had not come to open resistance against the Act of Uniformity promulgated by Elizabeth for the repression of Catholics and Puritans alike. Afterward, under the first Charles, many of the latter, wearied by persecution and oppression, were to make common cause with the Pilgrims in New England. It is difficult to trace the beginnings of this spirit of free inquiry. Certainly the principle of self-government, the seeds of which were brought to British soil by the early English invaders, was not unfavorable to it. Long before the times of Wickliffe and his followers men suffered for their repudiation of the claims of priestly authority, but not until the first year of the fifteenth century did Englishmen perish at the stake for their religious opinions.

But the little congregation at Scrooby were not permitted to worship in their own way without opposition. "They could not long continue in any peaceable condition but were hunted and persecuted on every side, some were taken and clapt up in prisons, others had their houses beset and watched night and day and hardly escaped their hands, and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood." Thus did persecution, distress, and loss of material possessions mark their lot from the first. But they remained steadfast and refused to conform to

what they believed anti-Christian and unworthy of acceptance by the Lord's people. Their constant reading of the Bible, and their increasing dependence upon it as the rule of life in all things, served to draw them farther away from the requirements of the Church. There was little prospect of wider toleration in the future. Elizabeth had passed away, James I. had ascended the throne, and the long struggle of the Stuart kings for absolutism and against constitutional privilege and the rights of the people, civil and religious, was just beginning. It was no light thing for Englishmen born and bred to turn their faces away from their native country, to leave the smiling valleys and peaceful streams of their home land and seek an asylum in a foreign country under new and hard conditions. But they prized most of all religious freedom, and at last "by joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

But difficult as it was for them to reach this resolution, it was equally difficult for them to carry it out. In fleeing from the cruel authority of the ecclesiastical courts they encountered the opposition of the civil laws, for by statute they were forbidden to emigrate without license. But the sufferings they had already passed through gave them fortitude to meet approaching trials, and the words of John Robinson, written later, were applicable to them even then: "It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." After repeated attempts and failures, arrests and imprisonments, finally, at Amsterdam, in 1609, "they met together again according to their desires with no small rejoicing." Other Separatist congregations had gone before them to that city from England, but the people from Scrooby continued to worship by themselves, and after about a year they removed to Leyden, at which time John Robinson became their pastor and so continued until the migration to America. Here they engaged in such employment as they were able to find, and,

under the direction of their revered and beloved pastor, enjoyed years of peace and a measure of worldly prosperity, adding to their numbers and finding favor with their foreign neighbors. Among those who joined them at the time were Edward Winslow, John Carver, and Miles Standish, all afterward to become prominent in the Plymouth Colony. But at the best, the conditions of their life were, in many respects, severe and trying. A new language had to be acquired, a quiet country neighborhood and agricultural occupations were exchanged for the more expensive life of a city and such trades and callings as were open to them. Many that desired to be with them could not endure the great labor and hard fare, and it was thought if a better and easier place of living could be had it would draw many. Besides, the years of truce that followed the long war of five-and-twenty years had nearly passed and Holland might again be subject to the miseries of war. Persecution in England was harsh and bitter enough, but persecution in a foreign country at the hands of Spaniards might bring terrors not yet experienced. And so, with many questionings and much diversity of opinion, they began to turn their thoughts toward America as a desirable place for the new and better home. There they might retain liberty of worship and still be Englishmen on English ground instead of being refugees on a foreign soil. There they might preserve their church in its purity and "propagate the gospel in those remote parts of the world." After lengthy negotiations at London, conducted on their part by Robert Cushman and John Carver, the latter to be their first governor in New England, they secured a grant of land from the London Company. The king refused to protect them by a charter, and they were obliged to content themselves with his promise that "no one should molest them so long as they behaved themselves properly." And now they planned to divide their forces, the advance guard to go out under the pastoral care of Elder William Brewster, the

rest to remain behind at Leyden under John Robinson until a foothold was secured in America. The start was made from Delft Haven late in July, 1620, in the *Speedwell*, and at Southampton the *Mayflower*, with friends from London, was to join them. This plan was carried out and the two vessels set sail. But the *Speedwell* soon proved unseaworthy and after repeated delays she was left behind, as were also some of the company who had by this time become discouraged. It was early in September before the *Mayflower* finally sailed from Plymouth on her long voyage of nine weeks. The vessel was crowded and many discomforts had to be borne. Much severe weather was encountered, but at last land was sighted, which proved to be Cape Cod. This land had been visited as early as 1602 by Gosnold and received its name from him. Apparently he had had some thoughts of making a settlement in that region, but quickly abandoned the idea and returned to England. A few years later another attempt was made to settle on the coast further north, but it quickly resulted in disastrous failure. In 1614 Captain John Smith carefully explored the whole coast from Cape Cod to the Penobscot River, calling the region New England and designating certain places by names which have remained to this day.

The Pilgrims found themselves further north than they desired and started southward, but the attempt was accompanied by so much danger that they gave it up and sought shelter in Cape Cod Bay.

But as their grant was from a company which had no rights here, the leaders among them foresaw the necessity of establishing some safeguard against the possibility of disorder. This resulted in a meeting of the adult male members of the company in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, where the celebrated compact was written and signed the substance of which is as follows: "We do solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves

MONUMENT TO FAITH, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the glory of God and the honor of our King, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." John Carver was probably made governor at that time. It was five weeks before they all finally left the ship. Meantime exploring parties had been seeking the most favorable location and preparing for the final removal from the vessel. Their choice fell upon a place previously named Plymouth by Captain John Smith. It can hardly be doubted that some misgivings assailed even the stoutest hearts as they gathered on that bleak shore, but it was no time to falter now. Warned by fierce storms and biting winds, they made all haste to build the rude homes which were to shelter them for the winter, and they were completed none too soon. The long confinement on the ship, the total lack of generous fare, the constant exposure to inclement weather produced their inevitable effects. Sickness broke out among them and the death of loved ones proved the keenest edge of all their sharp afflictions. So great was the suffering that at one time only seven, including Brewster and Standish, were able to be about. In three months' time half of their number had perished. By degrees the sickness abated, and as the spring days advanced they were able to commence the various industries by which they were to establish themselves more securely and prepare for the exigencies of another winter. It was fortunate that during those first months Indian depredations were not added to their other troubles, and by means of several propitious circumstances, in the spring a treaty of friendship was formed with Massasoit, the chief of tribes who were their western neighbors, a treaty to which the Indians remained faithful for half a century. It is a noble tribute to

the gentleness, the courtesy, and the upright conduct of the Pilgrims that they secured and maintained a peace with those savages, at a time when they were least able to repel their attacks, and it is a sharp commentary on later events in the history of the country. But now the *Mayflower*, which had remained in the harbor during the winter, was about to return to England, and with her departure the last link between them and the old home would disappear. But not one of the little band turned back. Those who had survived the first winter were resolute to maintain the colony planted under such rigorous conditions and upheld under such heavy misfortunes. A great loss fell upon them at this time in the death of their governor, John Carver. But as regiments in battle fill up the ranks of those who have fallen and go forward, so these men, after the first shock of grief, called William Bradford to the vacant place and went bravely on. The summer was a busy one and at its close, as the autumn days drew on, they found themselves with a reasonably good store of provisions, seven new dwellings and four buildings for public use. In one of the latter their religious services were held, and the street, on either side of which the buildings stood, had received the name of their old home, Leyden.

In view of their comparatively fortunate condition they decided to hold a season of rejoicing, and thus originated the festival of Thanksgiving Day. To this festival they invited their friend and neighbor Massasoit, who accepted the invitation and came accompanied by ninety of his people. Just a year from the founding of the colony, a vessel flying the English flag appeared in the harbor. This proved to be the *Fortune*, which brought thirty-five new colonists, among them friends and neighbors of those already there. Their arrival was warmly welcomed. Not long afterward the *Anne* arrived at Plymouth with more who had come to settle in the new country, and ten days later came the *Little James*. These new arrivals, added to those who came in the *Mayflower*, 233

in all, make up the number of those called Forefathers, in whose memory the annual celebration is held. Of this number there were less than 200 survivors at the end of 1623. About this time the simple legal methods heretofore used for the few occasions when trials were necessary were changed by the substitution of the jury for the general body, and when Bradford was re-elected governor the following spring, he was given five assistants as council. They were not entirely without annoyances in religious matters, for some of the Merchant Adventurers of London with whom they had business relations, and who had furnished them with funds for their transportation and settlement in America, were not in sympathy with their free church views. John Robinson writes to his former elder and beloved friend William Bradford that, "he is persuaded that they are unwilling that he, above all others, should be sent over, they having ecclesiastical purposes of another sort for the colony." But these purposes were not permitted to prevail. From the beginning, the Pilgrims had cherished an ardent hope that their revered pastor in Leyden might come to minister to them in their new home. The noble qualities of his character, his high intellectual attainments, the sweetness and patience of his spirit had claimed their admiration, their reverence, and their warmest affection, and his guidance in their present surroundings would be invaluable to them. But this was not to be. He was to remain to the last an exile among a strange people, and their hopes were extinguished by his death in 1625. As years went by they had reason to rejoice in the fact that nothing serious had arisen to interfere with their dearly bought privilege of religious freedom. All efforts against it had come to naught. In 1626 they succeeded in making satisfactory arrangements with the Merchant Adventurers, by which some uncomfortable restrictions were removed and the way was opened for complete and independent possession of lands and property. Thus gradually did the narrow path widen before

their advancing footsteps. The tearful sowing was bringing a harvest of rejoicing, and the men who had confessed their willingness "to be as stepping stones to others," in the march toward a lofty ideal, had made an indelible mark upon the history of their time.

THE PURITAN.

The causes which worked for the establishment of Separatist churches in England, and which finally made it necessary for the most earnest and devoted among them to abandon their native country, still continued in increasing force after the fugitive congregations had established themselves in Holland. From the time when Henry VIII. broke loose from Papal authority and, as Macaulay says, "attempted to constitute an Anglican church differing from the Roman Catholic church on the point of the supremacy and on that point alone," down through the short reign of his successor, the boy King Edward, the five rigorous and cruel years of Mary's rule, to the end of the long and brilliant reign of Elizabeth, the last Tudor sovereign, was a period of but seventy years, yet in that time momentous changes were wrought in the civil and religious condition of the people. With Elizabeth's accession the bitter religious persecutions under Mary ceased and peace and social order began to prevail. One marked characteristic of the great queen, imperious though she was, was her desire for the affection and good will of her subjects. "I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects," were words which sunk deep into the hearts of a people who felt their truth. Though no more self-willed and haughty woman ever wore a crown or withstood more fearlessly any infringement upon what she considered her prerogative, yet in her dealings with Parliament she knew when to yield, and with gracious tact and sweetness to bend her will when it

was not wise to try to enforce it. Under such conditions the betterment of the people was assured, and there was steady growth in wealth and education. Men who had fled to the Continent during the last reign now returned, many of them deeply imbued with the theology of Geneva. Though these tenets were extremely distasteful to Elizabeth, the political exigencies of the times and the security of her throne made it necessary for her to put many of these Puritan divines in high places in the Church.

The religious movement of that period, stirring the minds and hearts of men everywhere, was doing its work on English ground, and, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, England was in fact as well as in name a Protestant nation. With the coming of the Scottish King James I. and the union of the two kinddoms under one crown, many of the perplexities and anxieties of the last reign were swept away. The question of the succession was settled for England. With her hereditary king upon the English throne, the position of Scotland was advantageous. His accession was peaceful, but time was to show that, as a foreigner, he failed utterly to understand the temper of the English people and that, in trying to uphold absolutism for the crown, he was instituting a fruitless struggle against the liberal tendencies of that time. A deeply religious spirit prevailed and men were weighing all things by the religious standard. Green says: "The Puritan was bound, by his religion, to examine every claim made on his civil and spiritual obedience by the powers that be, and to own or reject the claim as accorded with the highest duty which he owed to God." Hardly had the king reached his new realm when he was met by a petition, signed by a large number of the clergy, which, while asking for no change in government or organization for the Church, sought needed reforms therein. But James, though a Protestant, was not a Presbyterian, and in his own kingdom had only yielded by hard necessity to the triumph of the latter. The fearlessness of a Knox and a

Melville was little to his liking. "A Scottish Presbytery," said he, "as well fitteth with monarchy as God and the Devil." Holding such sentiments, he regarded the Puritan movement with coldness and suspicion as having a tendency to curb his power in political affairs and to limit his authority in the Church. The petition of the Puritan clergy he met by giving his sanction to increased demands in the matter of ceremonials, and in the second year of his reign three hundred of their number were deprived of their livings for rejecting these demands. His purpose was to secure more power for the crown and allow less independence on the part of the people. "It is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do," were his words. It was not strange that serious differences should arise between him and the House of Commons almost from the beginning, or that those differences should become more irreconcilable as years went on. Men of dauntless spirit like John Pym, while deeply reverencing the office of the crown, held that its prerogatives should be exercised with due regard to the political and religious opinions of the people.

The history of this reign was the history of a long but ineffectual struggle on the part of the king for power which it was impossible for him to secure or maintain against an indomitable people, whose course had long been tending toward constitutional freedom and freedom of conscience as well. But such a struggle could not exist without spreading a gloomy and depressing influence among the people. Already, in the later years of King James, men's thoughts were turning to lands across the sea where an escape from galling and arbitrary exactions might be hoped for. Distrust of Prince Charles had become widespread by the time he ascended the throne in 1625. Religious concessions made on his marriage to a Catholic princess of France, in defiance of a pledge to the House of Commons, gave deep offense. The reverses which were falling upon Protestantism on the Continent

increased the watchfulness and the distrust of the English Puritans.

Fears of a continuance of the policy of King James were soon confirmed, and by 1628 there were many signs of approaching trouble. Keen eyes could already discern the rising cloud, small as yet, but, to the wise and thoughtful, of threatening portent. Already the story of the Plantation at Plymouth was known and discussed in many a Puritan household. At this date, mainly through the advice and influence of the Rev. John White of Dorchester, a plan to relieve the small remnant of a band of colonists at Naumkeag (now Salem), and to establish a strong colony on a sound basis, was put in active preparation. Money was forthcoming to defray expenses and a fitting leader was found in John Endicott, a native of Dorchester and a man "well known to divers persons of good note." A patent was obtained and the party reached Salem in September, 1628. Soon after their arrival sickness broke out among them and Endicott appealed for aid to Governor Bradford of Plymouth. The latter sent Samuel Fuller, a deacon and a physician. His coming was helpful to the sick, and this friendly service, together with the clearer understanding he was able to give Endicott concerning the Separatist views in church affairs, brought about a closer agreement in those things. Endicott's good account of the region to which he had come made so favorable an impression that, in the spring of the following year, larger purposes were formed.

Affairs in England were constantly growing worse. Exciting scenes occurred in the Commons in 1628. In March of the next year the determined stand of the members of the House for religious reforms, and their resistance to the exercise of arbitrary power by the crown, resulted in the dissolution of Parliament by the angry king. Perhaps he was willing to be rid of some of the troublesome Puritans. Be that as it may, just at this time a royal charter was granted

to the company under which Endicott's party had gone out, making it a legal corporation called the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," which purchased from those already there their rights obtained by the patent of the previous year. Many Puritans of learning, wealth, and social standing were earnestly considering the possibility of abandoning their native land, and within a few weeks five vessels, including the well-known *Mayflower*, set forth, bearing a goodly company of emigrants, well supplied with food, clothing, and all desirable equipments for their permanent establishment in the new land. With this party went three clergymen, all graduated from Cambridge, chief of whom was Francis Higginson of Leicester, who had been deprived of his living for his rejection of ecclesiastical requirements. The charter gave power for the "establishing of all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, directions, and instructions not contrary to the laws of the realm of England." Careful instructions were given in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, for they declare "that the propagation of the Gospel is a thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation."

The people at Salem had already adopted the church principles of the Plymouth colony, and soon after the arrival of the new immigrants a conference was held, the result of which was the establishment of the first Congregational Church of Massachusetts, with a covenant and confession of faith drawn up by Higginson. During that summer another expedition was planned in England, and several members of the corporation determined to lead the migration, deciding to take their families and become permanent settlers in the new land, provided the whole government could be legally transferred thither and be in the hands of those who should inhabit the plantation. This was assented to at a formal meeting of the corporation, and on the 20th of October, at a later meeting, John Winthrop was elected Governor for one year from that date. The wis-

dom of this choice was confirmed by his future services in the colony, and the length of time he was adjudged worthy by his fellow colonists to hold the highest office they could give. In March, 1630, Winthrop, Dudley, and their associates sailed from Southampton. Four vessels took them out, and their departure marked a large increase in the westward migration, for during that year 17 vessels and more than 1000 passengers came to the young colony. In the summer of the previous year Endicott had sent 50 persons to make a settlement at Charlestown, and now the new settlers spread themselves out in various directions, clustering in separate settlements along the bay. Winthrop settled first at Charlestown, and later moved to Boston, which was soon considered the capital. It was not long before eight distinct settlements could be counted, Watertown being the most remote. It was soon found, as was the case at Plymouth, that the accounts sent to England had been too highly colored. Winthrop's position had been one of serious responsibility. Dudley's account of the condition of the colony was not cheerful. Over eighty had died during the previous winter, many were sick, and the supply of food very scanty, so that almost immediately the newcomers had to give aid from their own stores. Sickness and death entered the ranks of the later settlers also, and some returned to England, but the majority remained steadfast, like their brethren at Plymouth.

Questions relating to the government of the colonies soon arose. When the transfer of the government to New England was made all authority was placed in the hands of Winthrop and his associates, but it was soon found that this restriction would create rather than obviate trouble. During the first summer rumors came that the French were planning hostilities against the colony, and it was thought wise to erect fortifications. To defray the expense, each town, early in 1631, was assessed sixty pounds. The men of Watertown objected to its payment on the ground that they could not

rightfully be taxed without their own consent, and they claimed that the power to make laws and impose taxes lay properly with the whole body of freemen. This protest was soon afterward withdrawn, but the following year changes were made by which the Governor, Deputy Governor, and assistants received their offices by a general election, and it was arranged that each town should send two representatives to advise the Governor and assistants on the question of taxation. Two years later, deputies elected by the freemen took part in legislation and the transaction of public business. By this time nearly four thousand people had arrived from England, and the number of villages had increased to twenty, while prosperity lent its favoring influence to the growing colony. Religious services were conducted by some twenty ministers, most of whom had held church livings in England and were graduates of her universities. Besides these clergymen, many of the leading men concerned in the colony were university men, and their thoughts were soon turned toward the establishment of a college. In 1636 the General Court set aside four hundred pounds for that purpose, and this was augmented, two years later, on the death of John Harvard, by the bequest from him of his library and one-half of his estate. The college received his name by order of the Court, and Newtown, its location, was renamed Cambridge. Thus early in the life of the colony a high standard of intellectual development was set up, the influence of which was to manifest itself everywhere in the life of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts down to the present day.

In view of all the Puritans had suffered before their migration to New England, it was not strange that some measures should be enacted that, at the present day, seem narrow and unjust. In 1631 they adopted a measure which they deemed necessary for self-protection in civil affairs, by which it was decided that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the

churches within the limits of the same." This ordinance, while intended for a good purpose and doubtless expressing the views of most of the colonists, was most unjust to those whom it deprived of all participation in civil affairs, while at the same time they were not relieved from certain civic obligations. It was inevitable that this should give rise to discontent and lead to some bitterness of feeling in the colony afterward. It was very difficult also to satisfy everyone in the management of religious affairs, but when the history of those first years is carefully studied it seems wonderful that so few mistakes were made. With constant accessions of new immigrants to be absorbed into the life of the colony, new questions were coming up which called for much patience and wisdom in their settlement. To add to these difficulties were anxieties concerning an Indian outbreak and possibilities of an interference from the English authorities, for the progress of the colony was, in some directions, hostile to the theories of a king who was now trying to reign without the aid of a parliament, whose presence at Westminster, through his own folly and perfidy, had become a threat. But the king's thoughts were soon engaged by the religious struggle in Scotland, and plans on the part of some of the English nobility to disturb the colony proved unsuccessful, so that the new state moved on safely, despite these threatened misfortunes.

The differences of opinion on theological and civil matters had the effect of thrusting out new colonies to the north and west, and in this manner came about the settlement of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. Roger Williams, a learned young Welsh preacher who came to Plymouth in 1631 and to Salem two years later, held such advanced views on toleration, and the separation of church and state, that by 1636 he found Salem no longer a comfortable home. He made his way westward to Narragansett Bay and began the settlement of Providence. About this time much religious excitement was produced by the teachings of Mrs. Anne

Hutchinson. Her views spread rapidly and she had many followers, but eventually the authorities deemed these opinions unsafe and politically dangerous. The result was the banishment of herself and her adherents, some making settlements at Exeter and Hampton, in a region which afterward was included in New Hampshire. Mrs. Hutchinson herself and others went to Narragansett Bay and started the settlements of Newport and Portsmouth, and, when later these coalesced with the settlement at Providence, they formed the beginnings of Rhode Island. In 1634 a few adventurous men from Plymouth had sailed up the Connecticut River and established themselves at Windsor, and somewhat later an English fort was built at Saybrook. Favorable reports of the Connecticut River valley began to come to the knowledge of the people of the Bay settlements, and in 1636 quite an extensive migration thither took place. Chief among those who went at this time was the Rev. Thomas Hooker, with his congregation, from Newtown, and these were the pioneers of Hartford. From the first Mr. Hooker had opposed the restriction of suffrage, having had some correspondence with Governor Winthrop on the subject, and generally the movement toward Connecticut was made by those who preferred a wider toleration on the question of voting. The Dorchester congregation soon followed, settling at Windsor, and the Watertown congregation established themselves at Wethersfield. Soon as many as eight hundred people were living in that region, and in 1638 the three towns, their municipal independence having already been acknowledged, formed themselves into a distinct commonwealth. All who had been admitted as freemen by a majority of their township, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, had the right of suffrage, without regard to church membership. In the spring of this same year New Haven was settled by a body of English emigrants, Guilford and Milford in the same way during the following year, and in 1640 Stamford was settled.

This date marks the beginning of changes in England which put an end to the Puritan exodus, and for more than a century there was little increase in numbers from outside sources.

The population of the new settlements, including the Plymouth colony, had now reached twenty-six thousand, and when, in 1643, a league of the different colonies was formed, it was the foreshadowing of a great future. Among the leaders in this great Puritan emigration to a new country a high place must be given to the ministers, for they held, from the necessities of the case, the responsible position of instructors of the people. They were, to a large extent, men of the highest education, and in nobility of character, courage, and lofty faith had been trained in the school of adversity. Among them, beside the names already mentioned, were John Cotton, Richard Mather, Peter Bulkeley, John Davenport, and John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, while among the men at the head of secular affairs were many of Governor Winthrop's type. If it appears at the present day that some of the measures enacted were illiberal, some of the practices too severe, they must be considered in the light of the harsh intolerance and bitter persecution which marked that period. Of the civilization which they established, the country now possesses the rich fruits. To the farthest western limit of the great republic their descendants have carried the freedom, the culture, the enterprise of their forefathers. Their conception of the superintending providence of God in civil affairs and in the shaping of human history has perpetuated itself through later generations, and manifested itself in the decision of moral issues in every national contest in the history of the country. Their devotion to the cause of education has raised a standard which calls for every voter to become a reading and a thinking man, and if a history of their descendants could be written, it would largely be the history of the commercial and industrial enterprise of the country, its literary successes,

its educational achievements, its pulpit power, and its forensic triumphs.

THE HUGUENOT.

The origin of the word "Huguenot" is enveloped in some measure of obscurity, and various theories, some of them ingenious and plausible, have been advanced as to its derivation. The weight of historic proof and authority seems to attach itself to the conclusion which connects "Huguenot" with the German-Swiss word "Eidgenossen," meaning oath-bound comrades or confederates; and claims that it was imported to France from Geneva, where it had been put to use as a political nickname. It made its appearance in France during the early years of the sixteenth century, and served as a term of disgrace and reproach, by which the followers of the Church of Rome stigmatized those citizens of France who announced their adherence to the reformed religion, and especially those who drew their inspiration from the doctrines and teaching of Calvinistic theology.

The Huguenot was directly and emphatically the product of that Reformation of which the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites, during the three preceding centuries, represented the advance pulsations, and which, under the guidance of Martin Luther, in the brief space of twenty-eight years, between 1517 and 1545, substantially effected the transition of European history from the mediæval to the modern and inaugurated a new and benign era in the civilization of the human race. The secondary molding force was furnished by that steadfast, penetrating, just, and truthful, if somewhat stern theologian, John Calvin, of whom it was said that "he never deserted a friend nor took an unfair advantage of an antagonist."

Apart from the questions of doctrinal change in the Church, a new spirit of independence was taking possession of men's minds. Toward this spirit the attitude of Rome was stead-

fastly antagonistic and hostile, and every indication of freedom of thought, written or spoken, met with rigorous repression as heresy. Added to this, the corruption of the Curia or Papal Court, and of the regular and secular clergy, had become notorious, the extortion of papal emissaries in other countries was most flagrant, and the continued reaching out of the Roman Pontiffs for temporal dominion, and their political claims and demands on European rulers, were breeding serious alarm in high places and in lowly. All these causes combined to generate increasing impatience in many countries, on the part of both sovereigns and subjects, and a desire to remedy the abuses and secure some measure of liberty of thought and action.

The essential record of Huguenot history in France may be separated into three well-defined periods. First, from the active beginning of the Protestant Reformation in 1517 to the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598; second, a period of about eighty-seven years, during which the Edict was nominally in operation, and, third, the period of entire disruption and exile which followed the revocation of the Edict.

These periods are definitely distinguishable, not so much by the conspicuous absence at any time of the persecution visited upon these people as by its varying intensity.

During the early years of the sixteenth century, the doctrines of the Reformation, proclaimed by Luther in Germany, had found their way across the border line into France, and converts were made with marvelous rapidity, not only among the "common people," but in the ranks of the learned, the titled, and in royalty itself. Its influence was even felt in no small degree among the Faculty of the Sorbonne, which, next to the Pope, was the highest ecclesiastial authority in Christendom.

Francis I. was King of France from 1515 to 1547, and during a portion of his reign, partly from motives of state policy and largely through the influence of his sister Margaret, after-

ward Queen of Navarre, who had embraced and was the steadfast friend of the reformed faith, there was some degree of moderation and tolerance manifested toward the Huguenots. This period of immunity was of brief duration. Before the close of his reign, Francis, with a view to conciliating the then Pope Clement VII., became the implacable foe of the Reformers, and the profession of the new doctrine was pronounced a crime to be punished with death. Executions for heresy became of frequent occurrence, and in 1545 there was a massacre of the Protestant inhabitants of twenty-two towns and villages in southeastern France, and in Meaux, which was becoming a Protestant center, fourteen members of the newly organized church were burned at the stake.

Francis I. was succeeded by his son Henry II., whose wife was that Italian of infinite craft and patient duplicity, Catherine de Medici. The troubles of the Huguenots became intensified. Successive edicts abridged their liberties, provided for their detection and punishment as heretics by the civil courts, excluded them from the right of appeal, imposed penalties on all who should harbor them, confiscated their property, forbade the introduction of heretical books from abroad, and, by a rigid censorship of the press, endeavored to prevent the publication of anything offensive to the Holy See.

Despite these persecutions, the numbers of the Huguenots had continued to grow; neither torture nor fagot, nor threats of the Inquisition, availing to check the increasing desire for civil and religious liberty. They had begun to understand the value of organization, and it became thorough and effective. In 1555 the first Protestant church was constituted in Paris, and in 1559 the first National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France met in the same city. At this time Catherine de Medici is said to have been secretly furnished with a list of twenty-five hundred distinct congregations throughout France. Beza, the French scholar and author of the time, who had good means of knowing, estimates the

number of Huguenot adherents in 1559 at four hundred thousand, and they had become, in consequence of their number and character, a political factor of manifest influence and power.

From 1559, when Francis II.—who had married Mary, subsequently Queen of the Scots—began his brief reign of less than a year, to 1572, when the tragedy of St. Bartholomew was enacted, the Huguenots were alternately courted and persecuted by Catherine de Medici, whose cunning statecraft secured her domination during the reigns of her sons Charles IX. and Henry III. In order to curb the Guises, Catherine made concessions to the Huguenots, gave them limited liberty of worship, and assigned to them some fortified cities as places of safety. Peace and war alternated, but the hatred of the Medici and her ecclesiastical and political accomplices, although at times concealed, was zealously cherished, and at length, on August 22, 1572, came the crowning horror of St. Bartholomew, ruthlessly sacrificing in Paris alone five thousand of the choicest citizens of France, the brave and aged Coligny among the number, and ten times as many throughout the country. This fiendish slaughter, over which the joy of the "Vicar of Christ" at Rome was celebrated by the offering of a solemn "Te Deum" and the striking of a commemorative medal, is phenomenal by reason of the perfidious character of the plans laid for it. Like the brave people they were, the Huguenots, instead of being paralyzed by this disaster, were nerved to renewed effort. They continued the heroic struggle under the leadership of Henry of Navarre, and were largely instrumental in placing him on the throne of France, as Henry IV.

The abjuration of the Protestant faith by Henry, in 1593, cast gloom over the Huguenots, and it was only with the most persistent labor that they succeeded in extorting from him, on April 17, 1598, with the aid of the great statesman and Protestant Sully, the famous Edict of Nantes.

The Huguenots at this time are said to have numbered more than a million of the population of France, and for about twenty years under this Edict they enjoyed a large measure of peace, and France through them a prosperity greater than it had ever before known.

Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac, a fanatic, in 1610, and, under his son and successor, Louis XIII., evil times again befell the Huguenots. Richelieu, the magnificent Roman cardinal and master of intrigue, was minister of state. His chief aim was to crush the political power of the Huguenots. He circumscribed their rights and they rebelled. War began again, which lasted from 1624 to 1629, and resulted in the crushing defeat of the Reformers. La Rochelle, the most important of their fortified places of refuge, withstood a siege of fourteen months, and only surrendered when all but four thousand of its twenty-four thousand inhabitants had perished from starvation.

Step by step the rights and privileges of this doomed people disappeared. Louis XIV., surnamed Le Grand, succeeded to the throne of France in 1643. He was "a devout son of the Church," and had an equally devout coadjutor in the Protestant-bred Mme. Maintenon, first as mistress, then as Queen.

Education of children, except under the care of the priests of Rome, was first interfered with—a favorite weapon of oppression then and now. Protestant churches were closed, then came dismissals from the public service, harassment by the tax-gatherer and confiscation of property, quickly succeeded by massacres and executions. All this preceded the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which this "Most Christian King" continued Jesuitically to assert he was "resolved to maintain," while engaged in the open violation of every protecting or lenient provision of it which could in any way shelter the "schismatics."

Then came, on October 23, 1685, the official Revocation of

the Edict. When the personal desires of Louis had been sufficiently fortified by the "pious exhortations" of the priestly representatives of the Roman Pontiff, he cast off the hypocritical mask and joined forces with the ecclesiastical authorities—who had also kept up some pretense of liberality—in a supreme effort to "purge France from the taint of heresy."

Macaulay thus graphically pictures the immediate results:

"The Edict of Nantes was revoked, and a crowd of decrees against the sectaries appeared in rapid succession. Boys and girls were torn from their parents and sent to be educated in convents. Old Calvinist ministers were commanded either to abjure their religion or to quit their country within a fortnight. The other professors of the reformed faith were forbidden to leave the kingdom; and in order to prevent them from making their escape, the outposts and frontiers were strictly guarded. It was thought that the flocks, thus separated from the evil shepherds, would soon return to the true fold. But in spite of all the vigilance of the military police, there was a vast emigration. It was calculated that, in a few months, fifty thousand families quitted France forever."

This infamous act of religious persecution, this stupendously malicious politico-ecclesiastical crime, and the atrocities which followed it, lost to France within three years nearly a million of the choicest of her population, paralyzed her industries and commerce, turned her fertile fields into wastes, and ruined the best elements of her religious and social life. Wise observers of cause and effect in the affairs of nations and of men believe that France, a hundred years later, reaped some of the bitter fruit of this effort of ecclesiasticism to stem the tide of advancing civilization, in the horrors of what Bulwer well styles "That hideous mockery of human aspirations, the French Revolution."

So effectually wrought was the dispersion of the Huguenots

that n ' even the heroic efforts of Antoine Court, some forty years afterward, could, in the face of continued oppression in successive reigns, bring together more than a mere remnant of former numbers or power.

This epitome of the life story of the Huguenots in their native land conveys but an imperfect idea of the extent, vindictiveness, and cruelty of their persecution by the authorities civil and ecclesiastical; borne at times with martyr-like patience, resisted at times with the heroism and courage of Christian patriotism.

These people have been called "the children of the Bible," and their religious life justified the designation. Their piety was pronounced, fervent, and true, guiding their lives and shaping their character. In civic affairs they represented all that was best in France of moral vigor, intellectual culture, and domestic virtue, and through them their country became a center of energy, enterprise, and industrial skill and power. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of their contributions to the welfare and material prosperity of France, or to the cause of civil and religious liberty in Europe. Many illustrious names stand to their credit on the French roll of honor. In war and statesmanship they have Coligny and the Prince of Condé, Sully and Henry of Navarre; in theology, literature, and law, Calvin, Farel, Saurin, Bayle, Scaliger, and Godefroy; in science and medicine they claim the Cuviers, Dubois, Papin, "the Herald of the Steam-engine," and Paré, "the Father of Surgery"; in art, Palissy and Goujon; and in poetry, Marot and Margaret of Valois.

Switzerland, Holland, England, and America each received and benefited by the reception of the expatriated refugees. It is our special province briefly to note the coming and influence of that portion of them which elected to make the New World its home.

No fact in the world's history merits more profound consideration or is worthy of more grateful recognition than this,

that the dawning of the Great Reformation in Europe, and the discovery of a continent destined to be the refuge of the oppressed, were coincident.

Luther was nine years of age when Columbus landed on San Salvador, and when the Great Reformer was making his momentous declaration at Worms, "I can do naught else. Here stand I. God help me. Amen," the shores of North America were beginning to unfold to the explorer's gaze.

"As early as 1555 sagacious leaders among the Huguenots, restless under steady persecution, had begun to look toward the newly discovered continent as a place where new homes might be made and freedom of conscience and manhood be enjoyed in peace."

The first attempt at colonization was made in that year, with the aid and influence of Admiral Coligny. The landing place was the bay of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, but, owing to the duplicity of their leader, Villegagnon, and the presence of other elements of dissension, the effort ended in disaster. Some of the colonists suffered death at the hands of their leader, others were killed by the Portuguese, and a distressed remnant recrossed the ocean.

Three fruitless attempts were made, all under the auspices of Admiral Coligny, between the years 1562 and 1565, to establish Huguenot colonies on the newly discovered North American Continent. The first, under Jean Ribault, would be better named a voyage of discovery. Florida was its intended destination, but the harbor of Port Royal in South Carolina was entered and a fort was built. Neglect and jealousies proved its ruin, and nearly all the party returned, disheartened and famishing, to France.

The result of the second effort, and of the third, which was really an attempt to re-enforce the second, was still more disastrous.

A landing was made on the coast of Florida, near St. Augustine, in 1564, and, when strengthened by the arrival of

the additional company in 1565, gave promise of establishing a permanent settlement. Within a year, however, they were attacked by the Spanish freebooter, Don Pedro Menendez, or Melendez, and nearly all were murdered with extreme barbarity. The bodies of many of them were hung on trees, with the inscription over them: "Hanged not as Frenchmen, but as heretics." The garrison left by Menendez was subsequently visited by a company under one De Gourgues, who, although not a Huguenot, hated the Spaniards for their cruelty to his countrymen, and hung them on the same trees, with the inscription: "Hanged not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers."

Based on the explorations of Jacques Cartier during the first half of the sixteenth century, the French claimed a vast territory adjacent to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. To this northern country the Huguenots, in 1604, turned their weary eyes, seeking a haven of peace and refuge. Led by Du Monts, a Huguenot, who held a patent grant covering an immense territory, an expedition found its way into the harbor of Port Royal, in Acadia (now Nova Scotia), and for a time great hopes were entertained in France for its success. Great hardships were encountered, and in addition, this company carried with it seeds of discord. It was partly Protestant, partly Catholic, and the Jesuits were congenially employed in fomenting discontent. Du Monts returned to France and fell a prey to the wiles of a Jesuit agent, with the result that "the title to the proprietorship to half a continent passed from the hands of a Huguenot into those of a subservient tool of the Society of Jesus."

The life of the Huguenot settlers in Nova Scotia was in large measure a repetition of their fatherland experiences, until the year 1713, when its possession was, for the fifth time and finally, secured by the crown of Great Britain.

Many Huguenots found their way into other portions of the French possessions in Canada, but the same intolerant

policy and methods which made peace and liberty impossible at home prevented immigration, which would have enriched the new dominion and might possibly have insured a permanent domain on the American continent to the Gallic race.

Meanwhile, the British Colonies in North America were being steadily settled, and the foundations were being laid for a new nation by men of sturdy purpose and indomitable spirit. To these colonies many Huguenots had come for refuge during the period between the fall of La Rochelle and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but the tide of immigration set in more strongly after the Revocation, and each liberty-loving colony, from Maine to the Carolinas, received accessions of harassed but hopeful Huguenots from France, from Holland, and from England.

Earliest among the arrivals were those who came to New Amsterdam (New York) with the Walloons, to whom the Huguenots were closely allied by faith, aspiration, and suffering, and it is recorded that, in 1628, the First Reformed Dutch Church in New York had a sufficient representation of French adherents to justify having services in the French language alternately with the Dutch. New York City and State received from time to time many detachments of these exiles, and in that metropolitan commonwealth we have abundant evidences, down through the years, of the helpful and wholesome presence of these people and their offspring.

In the earlier years of the history of New York City the Huguenots formed a large proportion of its citizens. Here their descendants still remain as their names attest, and here was formed, in 1883, the first Huguenot Society in the world.

Into the New England Colonies and especially into Massachusetts came many of the refugees, not only directly from the Old World, but from the precarious conditions existing in Canada. Boston and its vicinity were usually their place of first resort, and thence they branched out in small detachments to many parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode

Island, with varying success in establishing permanent settlements. That even here they were not beyond the pursuit of their relentless foes the Jesuits, may be shown by a single illustration. Oxford, Mass., became the abiding place in 1684 of a promising Huguenot colony, but received its deathblow in 1696, during the war between the New England Colonies and the French and their Indian allies. How the red men were utilized is indicated by this record: "The Governor of Canada and his 'cunning men' the Jesuits, have no more trusty and eager servant than Toby the Indian." Toby was made use of because he was conspicuous for deceit and cruelty.

New Jersey, chiefly on and near the Hackensack River, was also chosen by many Huguenot families as their home, and we are told that their relations with their Dutch neighbors were so cordial that in the course of years it became difficult to decide clearly who was Dutch and who French.

William Penn, in his efforts to colonize Pennsylvania, eagerly urged the Huguenots to settle on his Plantations on the banks of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. A goodly number did so, and both the Quaker and the Hollander found them "pleasant to dwell with."

Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia each had its representation of the exiles of France, and in South Carolina there gathered a large and influential contingent, whose descendants became an important factor in the affairs of that State.

Many families and individuals found their way to our English-speaking colonies from various French and Spanish settlements in the West Indies and on the north coast of South America, where they had failed to find that liberty and freedom from oppression which they so ardently desired, and which they had been unable to secure in their native land. From casting their lot with the Anglo-Saxon founders of our government and institutions resulted that mutual benefit which was the natural outcome of mutual hopes and aspirations.

No adequate estimate of the value or extent of the influence exerted by the Huguenots in shaping the destiny of the American republic can be based upon their numerical strength. They were in numbers the least of the three chief elements entering into that genuine "union by affinity," whose one common cohesive quality was the desire for the free exercise and enjoyment of manhood's rights.

Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon tells us that: "Beyond dispute, the best and most potent elements in the settlement of the seaboard (American) colonies were the companies of earnestly religious people who, under severe compulsion for conscience' sake, came forth from the Old World as involuntary emigrants." To this may be fittingly added a more specific declaration by one of Huguenot ancestry, Dr. Chauncey M. Depew: "Many streams have fertilized the soil of American liberty, but the three great sources of our institutions, and of their expansive, receptive, and assimilating power, were the Puritans, the Dutch, and the Huguenots."

In several important particulars the Huguenots were unlike any of the other elements representing this power.

They were, in the fullest sense of the term, people without a country, the conditions surrounding their expatriation making their return to France impossible.

They were dissimilar in racial peculiarities and in national habits and usages; and in their adopted abode their allegiance was due to a body politic largely unsympathetic, and in many respects antagonistic to that under whose influences they had been trained.

They brought with them, however, qualities that exactly fitted the situation. Their natural vivacity, buoyancy, and cheerfulness had a tempering and softening effect on the somewhat too prevalent austerity of many of their neighbors. With religious principles strong and incorruptible, they combined moderation of judgment in non-essentials, and social habits, simple, warm, and unrestrained. The love of liberty

which was theirs in common with their new associates was accompanied by a spirit of toleration which not all of these associates had acquired, as the Huguenots had, in the school of suffering.

That learned divine, and influential leader in the upbuilding of both state and church in New England, Cotton Mather, said of them: "They challenge a place in our best affections."

In addition to being "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," the Huguenots were notably "diligent in business."

Inventive genius and commercial enterprise were part of their inheritance, and in their ranks were found men skilled in almost every known field of useful labor: merchants, manufacturers, artisans in every branch of mechanical and artistic industry, and men competent to do manly duty in peace or war, on sea or land. In the manufacture of fine linens, silks, and velvets, as workers in gold and silver, and as dyers, tanners, and hatmakers they were especially expert. Literature, law, medicine, the pulpit, and the forum, each has had its distinguished representatives among the Huguenots and their descendants, and, in whatever direction they bent their versatile faculties, they exhibited energy, elegance, and good taste, a quick wit, and a charitable judgment, combined with wisdom and probity.

Our land has benefited in no ordinary degree by those religious, moral, intellectual, social, and industrial qualities which exerted so marked an influence in Holland and Germany, in Switzerland and in England, and which were so ruthlessly banished and forever lost to France by its misguided and priest-ridden rulers.

The purpose and limitations of this narration permit only brief reference to a few of those of Huguenot lineage, whose names stand out with special prominence in American history, and that without intimating any claim to superiority of merit by priority of mention.

Boston's Faneuil Hall, widely designated "The cradle of Liberty," was the gift to that town of Peter Faneuil, the son of one of the survivors of the heroic defense of La Rochelle; and Paul Revere, whose midnight ride for patriotic alarm-giving Longfellow has made famous for all time, was of direct Huguenot ancestry.

The Huguenot name of Baudouin, in its American form Bowdoin, is possessed by the oldest college in the State of Maine; a name given to it in honor of a generous benefactor, James Bowdoin, the son of a Huguenot and the father of a Governor of Massachusetts.

Audubon, the most skillful and honored naturalist of the first half of the present century, was born in Louisiana, while it was yet a Spanish colony, but his French Protestant parents settled in Pennsylvania when he was still a youth.

Three generations of Bayards of Huguenot origin have, almost continuously, represented the State of Delaware in the United States Senate since the year 1804, and branches of the same stock have been honorably known to the political, social, and business life of New York City, from colonial times to the present day.

Daniel Webster once said, "When the spotless ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself." The man of whom this was said was the direct descendant of a La Rochelle Huguenot; an honored and trusted American patriot and statesman, and the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His son William Jay and his grandson John Jay were, in their several generations, patriotic citizens of distinction and great usefulness, and both ardent anti-slavery advocates. The last named was United States Minister to Austria from 1869 to 1875, and was one of the chief organizers and the first president of the Huguenot Society of America, and also the first president of the National League for the Protection of Ameri-

can Institutions. The name has still worthy representatives in New York City.

Huguenot blood and spirit had pronounced assertion in Francis Marion, the fearless Revolutionary patriot of South Carolina, in field of battle and legislative hall. When the Colonial Convention of that State would have passed a law to expel the Tories and confiscate their property, he impetuously called a halt and made effectual protest in these words: "Gentlemen, you can pass no such law. It is not the spirit of American liberty. We are going to win this fight and drive the invaders from our soil. We will keep this people among us, protect them in their estates and rights, and make them good citizens."

The Hugers and the Legares of South Carolina and the Dupuys of Virginia fill places of distinction in the history of our land. The Quintards have given a bishop to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Gallaudets, through their labors in behalf of deaf mutes, have merited and received world-wide and undying fame.

The mother of James A. Garfield, twentieth President of the United States, was the daughter of Hosea Ballou, a distinguished American Universalist preacher, whose Huguenot descent was clear and direct.

It would not be difficult to fill a goodly volume with examples kindred to those we have given touching the contributions of this noble people to the brain and the brawn of American liberty. The eminent Dr. Richard S. Storrs declared that: "Whenever the history of those who came hither from La Rochelle and the banks of the Garonne is fully written, the value and the vigor of the force they imparted to American public life will need no demonstration"; and over in Old England, the poet Southey bore testimony to their worth when he said, "Wherever the refugees from the French persecutions fled, a blessing followed them."

We may well permit Mrs. Sigourney, poet, author, and wife of a worthy American of Huguenot ancestry, to say the closing words:

> "On all who bear
> Their name, or lineage, may their mantle rest;
> That firmness for the truth, that calm content
> With simple pleasures, that unswerving trust,
> In toil, adversity, and death, which cast
> Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
> That peopled the New World."

THE QUAKER.

Among the components of American Christian civilization a conspicuously helpful and honorable place is held by the purely religious society which has been successively known as Children of the Light, Quakers, and Friends.

Their origin dates back to the preaching of George Fox in England, beginning in the year 1647, and continued for about twenty years, which from its peculiarities and sweeping objections to the established order of things religious and secular, was designated the "gospel of negations." The zeal and enthusiasm of the early adherents manifested themselves in frequent extravagances of speech and act, overstepping at times the bounds of propriety and due regard for existing law, and which met with punishment often unjustly proportioned to the offenses. The intolerant spirit of the time was largely accountable for both offenses and punishments, and they were both but the lingering evidences of mediæval darkness then slowly vanishing before advancing light.

Their following rapidly increased; men of superior attainments were attracted to them because of their vigorous protests, not only against the despotic demand for religious conformity, but against the vassalage of the person and of the intellect. Their organization as a church was effected in 1666, and they were unique among Christian bodies in the absence

from their economy of a creed, a liturgy, a ministry, or a sacrament. Their views in reference to civic obligations and social customs were also peculiar. They opposed war even for defense, refused to pay tithes and to take oaths, and they were essentially non-political. The lapse of time has brought modifications in many of their peculiarities.

Among the men of character and ability who joined their ranks were Robert Barclay, a Scotsman of education and good family, and William Penn, whose father was an English admiral and whose mother was a native of Holland.

It will be a sufficient refutation of the imputations of general ignorance and fanaticism made against the Quakers to quote the courageous and able declaration drawn by Barclay and Penn in behalf of their society.

"We are a free people by the creation of God, by the redemption of Christ, and by the provision of our never-to-be-forgotten honorable ancestors; so that our claim to these privileges, rising higher than Protestantism, could never justly be invalidated on account of non-conformity to any tenet or fashion it might prescribe. This would be to lose by the Reformation, which was effected only that we might enjoy property with conscience."

In a comparatively few years the Quakers had spread into Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and small communities of them had been formed in France, Germany, and Norway.

Massachusetts in 1656 was the first of the American colonies to which the Quakers came, but they received harsh treatment, and sought and found more congenial surroundings in Rhode Island, where they were strong enough in 1661 to hold an annual meeting. George Fox visited the colonies in 1672–73, and found adherents of his society in all the colonies from North Carolina northward. Strong communities of them settled in New Jersey, where they founded the towns of Salem and Burlington, and dictated the fundamental laws of West Jersey, published in 1677, giving absolute recognition

to the principles of equality of civil rights and freedom of conscience.

The chief event in the early relations of the Quakers to America was the "holy experiment of a free colony for all mankind" of William Penn, successfully begun in 1682 by the founding of Philadelphia, under a grant from Charles II. Penn's ideals were high: equal toleration of all religious beliefs, no resort to military force, kindness and justice to the Indians, and no oaths to be used in the administration of justice. Although never fully realized, much of the spirit which inspired these ideals has been firmly engrafted upon American institutions, and the followers of Barclay and Penn have ever been the consistent and persistent advocates of liberty and right, not only for the white man but also for the red man and the black. No legislation for public defense was enacted or required in this colony for the first sixty years. A public school, "open to all," was established in Philadelphia in 1689, maintained, as its charter reads, "at the request, cost, and charges of the people of God called Quakers." It was free from religious discrimination, and for three-score years was the only public place for instruction in the province.

In the Revolutionary days the Quakers' doctrine of "passive resistance" was put to severe test, and with many "passive" became "active" for a time.

They found effective if unobtrusive means of administering material aid and comfort to the colonial government when most needed, and at least one of their number was among the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Their influence upon and contributions to the prosperity and uplift of American principles and institutions have been most salutary, and many instances could be recorded of conspicuous service rendered to the republic by individual members of the Society of Friends, but their principles and their patriotism have had expression in life and song through one of themselves, our chief national lyric poet, John Greenleaf Whittier.

THE SCOTCH.

We now take note of a factor in American nation-building, in whose character the element of passiveness had no place—the Scotch. Under this designation we include the people sometimes called Scotch-Irish, who left Scotland during the reign of James I. of England, and put a new population of thrift and courage into the province of Ulster in the north of Ireland.

There need be no extended reference to the Scotch in the Old World. Their record is a familiar one on the historic page, and the influence they have exerted on the world's advancing civilization has not been surpassed, in its far-reaching and beneficent results, by any people of like numerical strength.

John Knox was only voicing one of their national characteristics when he said, "If princes exceed their bounds they must be resisted by force."

The Scotch founded no colonies in our republic, but they were absent from none, from the Green Mountains to the Carolinas. Their numbers were largest in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Southern communities, and it has been estimated that shortly prior to the Revolution they constituted about one-third of the entire colonial population.

They took a prominent and important part in every event of moment in the formative period of our government and institutions.

They were pronounced in their religious convictions and fearless in upholding them, and they and their offspring were the early advocates of individual sovereignty in the New World. Patrick Henry, whose resolutions in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1765, against the Stamp Act, sounded the keynote of the Revolution, was a Scotsman's son, and Bancroft tells us that one year before the Declaration of Independence, Scotch Presbyterians gathered at Mecklenburg,

N. C., gave the first public expression to the desire for independence in these words: "We hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown; we hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people."

In the Continental Congress, when the "Declaration" lay before the assembled delegates, it was the venerable John Witherspoon of Princeton College, a Scotsman born, who uttered these inspired and inspiring words: "To hesitate at this moment is to consent to our own slavery. That notable instrument upon your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house. He that will not respond to its accent and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman."

Thus did those people, whose name is a synonym for caution, exhibit sublime courage at the critical moment and help to lay strong the foundations upon which the fabric of freedom was reared. They and their descendants have continued to form an influential and elevating element in the American body politic, and have filled a large place in our national life, as is evidenced by the fact that of the twenty-four men who have filled the Presidential chair of our country, eight, or one-third, have sprung from this stock.

THE CAVALIER.

The momentous and prolonged struggle in England between King and Commons, which led to the execution of Charles I. in 1649, and reached its culmination when William of Orange ascended the throne and constitutional monarchy was firmly and finally established, gave birth to the appellations "Cavalier" and "Roundhead," which terms were subsequently supplanted by "Tory" and "Whig" respectively.

In the American colonies New England became the home

of the Roundhead, while Virginia was chosen by the chivalrous Cavalier as his new abode.

The Cavalier was above all else a royalist, with strong convictions as to the "divine right" of kings. He was also a stanch churchman, religious after a fashion, and a jealous guardian of family pride and aristocratic privilege. He was withal courteous, generous, honorable, and high-spirited.

In Virginia he was also a royalist, but when the exactions of royalty became unbearable, and the issue was joined between individual sovereignty and royal prerogative, and transplantation to the new soil had modified his hereditary prejudices, he and his children and grand-children were found in the forefront of the struggle for liberty.

The contributions of the Cavalier element to American civilization, although distinctive in their character, have been of conspicuous value. It was the descendant of a Cavalier who, in the Virginia Assembly in 1773, originated, and, in the face of much opposition, secured the adoption of a resolution for an "intercolonial Committee of Correspondence," and this same patriot, Richard Henry Lee, moved the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

If popular institutions were the peculiar outgrowth of the conditions existing in New England, Virginia, where the population consisted largely of two classes, the landowner and overseer and those dependent upon them, contributed in full measure to the supply of statesmen, parliamentarians, and diplomats. The Virginia Bill of Rights, adopted by the colonial House of Burgesses, June 12, 1776, has been widely used as a model in framing the Constitutions of other States, and in each successive generation from the days of small beginnings, the sons of the Old Dominion, many of them of Cavalier lineage, have made illustrious groups.

An historical fact bearing upon the relations of Virginia to the republic at large arrests the attention with more significant force than as a mere coincidence. On her soil, in 1619,

negro slavery got its first foothold, and on her soil in 1865, the final seal was affixed to the Emancipation Proclamation by the surrender of American to American at Appomattox Court House.

THE ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Under a charter granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632 by Charles I., Maryland was colonized by English adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. In this charter there was a provision for the toleration of all religious sects. This provision appears to have been partly the result of anxiety on the part of the colonists to be free from religious molestation, and partly, as De Courcey, an eminent Roman Catholic writer, intimates, a precaution of the home government for the protection of other sects.

Many extravagant claims have been made by Roman Catholic writers concerning so-called "religious liberty" guarantees in this colony, and also on the question of priority.

Arnold says that Roger Williams, in the settlement made at Providence, R. I., in 1636, established "a pure democracy, which for the first time guarded jealously the rights of conscience by ignoring any power in the body politic to interfere with those matters that alone concern man and his Maker." No such conditions existed in the Maryland colony. Setting aside, however, the minor question of precedence, it is unundoubtedly true that, in 1645, the first legislative assembly held in Maryland declared that "the enforcement of the conscience has been an unlawful and dangerous prerogative"; and Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks asserts that "under the enlightened policy of Lord Baltimore the colony steadily advanced in prosperity, increasing both in comfort and in numbers."

Cheerful recognition may be made of the fact that the policy of the colony was a tolerant one, and that the English Roman Catholics of Maryland enjoyed and accorded to their fellow-

colonists a commendable degree of freedom of conscience and of worship. The candid reader, with the light of history for guidance, can determine how far this tolerant spirit resulted from their being Roman Catholics, or how much of it was due to the fact that they were English and had caught the "fire of freedom."

Maryland, in common with the other colonies, did not long remain exclusively the abode of the people who first settled it, but it has enjoyed a generous share of influence and importance, both as a colony and a State. It has made valuable contributions to the advancement and prosperity of the country, and its chief city, Baltimore, is one of the most progressive in the Union and holds an advanced position in the possession of institutions for higher education. It is also the seat of the only Roman Catholic Cardinalate in the United States.

Among the many noted names of Marylanders who could be mentioned are Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who survived by six years all the other patriots who put their autographs to the Declaration of Independence, and that brilliant but most unfortunate figure in American literature, Edgar Allan Poe.

OTHER MENTION.

The more prominent roots of the tree of American liberty having been noticed, it remains to mention some added channels through which the sap of freedom found its way into the stately trunk, giving beauty and vitality to branch and leaf, to foliage and fruit. The roots were many, but all were healthy and life-giving.

German Lutherans of high intelligence and morality, God-fearing men, came in considerable numbers to New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They were then, and they are to-day, a source of strength to the country.

Gustavus Adolphus, the illustrious King of Sweden, prior to his death in 1632, had encouraged colonizing in the New World. As a result, vigorous, thrifty, and intelligent Swedes settled in Delaware in 1638, and spread into other colonies, adding to the influx of morality and industry.

Danes and Norwegians, Protestant Poles and Piedmontese, aided in swelling the ranks of the settlers in various colonies.

With the exception of the colonists of Maryland they were almost exclusively Protestants, men "of stern and lofty virtue, invincible energy, and iron wills, the fitting substratum on which to build great States."

The history of man in organized relations affords no example of a harmonious union of qualities and forces for good equal to that represented by the thirteen North American Colonies, joining in an indissoluble bond, riveted by the unalterable conviction that all men are equally entitled to the enjoyment of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

PART II.

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.—THE STATE.

It is not purposed under this head to enter into an historic discussion concerning the development and status of the different departments of the government under which we live, legislative, judicial, and executive, but to state something of the legitimate character and principles of a government emanating from a civilization produced by the work of the representative characters we have described, comprising the early settlers of our country.

LIBERTY AND LAW.

Definitions of liberty embody national experiences and national hopes.

"Roman lawyers say that liberty is the power [authority] of doing that which is not forbidden by the law, and that whatever may please the ruler has the force of law." This simply means that man is not a slave, while our word freeman, used in connection with civil liberty, means the enjoyment of high civil privileges and rights.

The French say: "Liberty is equality, equality is liberty." But equality without other elements has no essential connection with liberty. Absolute equality may mean stagnation and death.

The Germans say: "Liberty or justice, for where there is justice there is liberty, and liberty is nothing else than justice." This makes equivalents of two things which no definitions can reconcile.

Individual liberty can only exist wherever a citizen is subject to law, and this means public opinion crystallized into

public will, which constitutes the sovereignty of law. The action of a free man is controlled by the custom of the people expressed in legislation.

Liberty, applied to political man, practically means protection or checks against undue interference from individuals, from masses, or from government.

True liberty is a positive force, regulated by law; false liberty is a negative force, a release from restraint. True liberty is the moral power of self-government.

Law is briefly defined to be a rule of order or conduct established by authority.

Liberty is briefly defined to be the state of a free man. But neither law nor liberty can be thus abstractly defined.

The enjoyment of valued rights and privileges is implied in liberty.

Liberty is something which cannot be made for the individual; he must make it for himself. Civil government does not make it for the citizen, but in and by the civil government citizens make it for themselves and formulate its privileges and limitations in what they denominate law.

Our government and our civilization are designed to guarantee impartial civil liberty protected by law. Lawless liberty means tyranny. Impartial liberty must be girded about with the restraints of law because our relations are mutual, and personal freedom among associations of men must be both self-governed and heedful of righteous and relative limitations.

The measure of our civil liberty as a nation is found in the extent to which our people obey law from choice.

Education, morality, and religion have thus far determined the character of our civil liberty and shaped its legislative restrictions and protection, and they must be depended upon to perpetuate it.

John Bright said: "There is no permanent greatness to a nation except it be based upon morality. The moral law was not written for men alone in their individual character, but it

was written as well for nations as great as this of which we are citizens."

Law is simply the formulated statement of the results of the harmonious relationships of moral beings endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Man is hedged about by natural laws for his physical well-being, and he must obey them if he will be free and safe. Liberty consists in being unhindered in obeying the laws which God has made for the protection and development of physical, intellectual, and moral man.

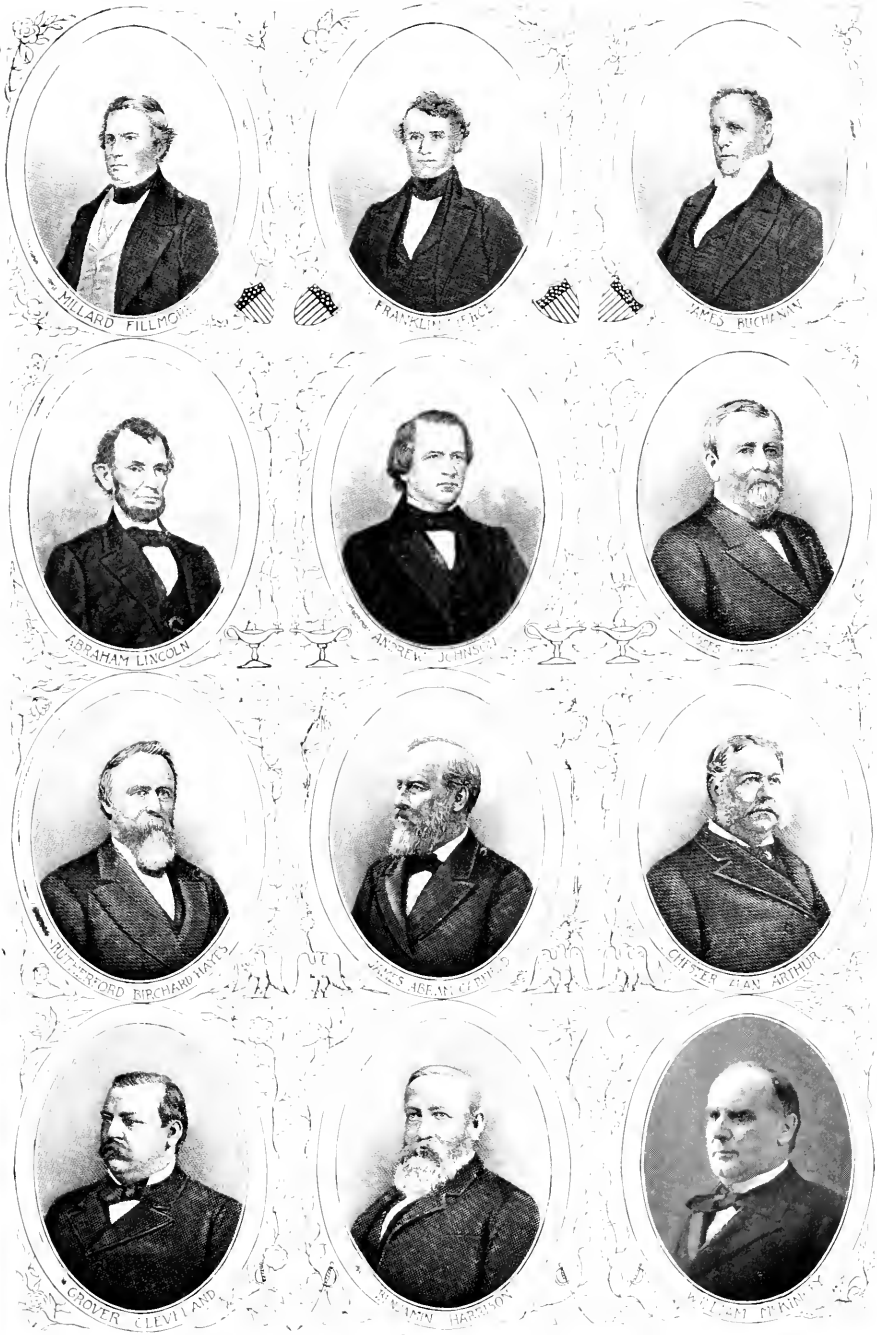
The Greek idea of a state was that of a Person substantially deified; the Roman idea was that of a law of Persons. The Christian idea refers laws and law-making to an absolute Person. The Greeks worshiped Wisdom, but did not see the True. The Romans saw abstract truth and created the civil jurisprudence of the succeeding nations. Christianity gave the law of liberty to man as man, and announced the ultimate authority for both the state and the man.

Law is the foundation of the Divine government. Liberty is a gift of the Divine will. Law protects man, liberty exalts him. Law represents man acting in his highest capacity. Liberty is the free gift of his Creator, designed to lift him to a dignity of sovereignty which makes his life move on parallel lines with infinite justice and infinite wisdom. Liberty is thus never a privilege but always a right, while law is a servant of right whose province is to intrench liberty and never to restrict it. Law is the result of man's action, liberty is the gift of God.

Chateaubriand said that "everyone desires liberty, but it is impossible to say what it is." This is true if he refers to an abstract general definition of civil liberty, but false if he means to state that we cannot say what civil liberty has been in the history of nations.

Lieber says: "I mean by civil liberty that liberty which

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1789 TO 1850.



PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1850 TO 1899.

plainly results from the application of the general idea of freedom to the civil state of man, that is, to his relations as a political being, a being obliged by his nature and destined by his Creator to live in society. Civil liberty is the result of man's twofold character, as an individual and social being, so soon as both are equally respected. . . The highest ethical and social protection of which man, with his inseparable moral, jural, æsthetic, and religious attributes is capable, is the comprehension and minutely organic self-government of a free people; and a people truly free at home and dealing in fairness and justice with other nations is the greatest, unfortunately also the rarest, subject offered in all the breadth and length of history."

Paul, the constitutional lawyer of the New Testament, speaks of those "above law," because they obey the law. Obedience to just laws is regulated harmonious liberty.

Vox populi, vox Dei may mean much or little. If the people have heard and heeded the voice of God then, and only then, is their voice the voice of God.

The Anglo-Saxon race alone has developed and enjoyed law in the fullness of its meaning, and this embraces the entire round of justice, which through the established independence of the judiciary has proved a chief support of civil liberty.

Common law consists in the customs and usages of the people and possesses its own organic vitality, therefore the character of the law is determined by the character of the civilization. In England and in America, that civilization is Christian, thus Christianity has come to be historically and by judicial precedent the common law of these nations.

Civil law is a dead inheritance from antiquity. Common law is a present, living entity, always developing and improving. Civil law pertains to property; common law protects the personal rights of the individual citizen, maintains the principles of self-government, defends its own supremacy, and proves its own superiority.

Burke defines it as "beneficence acting by rule." Civil law has never superseded common law, but has often been assimilated by it.

THE STATE AND ITS POWERS.

"The state is a power claiming and exercising supreme jurisdiction over a certain portion of the earth. Here it acknowledges no superior, unless it be God. It is the sovereign arbiter of life and death. It fixes the civil status; it regulates the social action; it determines, either directly or permissively, wholly or partially, according to its sovereign pleasure, the rights, duties, and relations of all human beings within its territorial sway. Men may claim rights as belonging to them by nature, but the state assumes to say whether they shall exercise them."

Individual liberty is dependent upon the will of the state. Absolute sovereignty and the employment of unlimited force over the person and personal conduct, over the family, over morals, over property, over political rights, over corporate existences, over life, are claimed as the prerogatives of the state. "It is omnipotent; there is no earthly power that can touch its hand, or say unto it, what doest thou?" has been said of the British Parliament representing the British nation, and it is true of every ultimate political organization. And it matters not whether the form of government be imperial or republican. Every state is responsible to its own will, and "that will may be anything it wills to be if there is not some acknowledged check regarded as immutable." The tyranny and cruelty of the will of a multitude may be as unjust as the corporate will exercised by a despot or by an oligarchy.

NATIONALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY.

National sovereignty is the source of the right of revolution. If revolution fails, it is rebellion; if it is a duty, and if

it succeeds because it is right, it is the legitimate act of the state.

Such sovereignty as the state exercises can only be maintained as it acknowledges some divine rule and some "higher law," to which it is responsible and from which it derives its sovereignty. A godless state, imperial or republican, possessing a written or unwritten constitution, is pure despotism, claiming and possessing the power of life and death over existing millions and determining how unborn generations shall commence their earthly existence.

The makers of the government of our country did not define the idea of sovereignty. The idea has been wrought out by experience, while the fact existed as the condition and cohesive power of all human government. Revolutions do not destroy sovereignty, but change its center of gravity. It may change its power of manifestation through monarch, parliament, or people, but it is never annihilated. Constitutions are instruments for the exercise of sovereignty; they are not sovereign. In the beginning of our republic sovereignty was transferred from crown and parliament to the restricted electorate then existing among the American people. This sovereignty distributed its functions in state and federal constitutions. This republic possessing sovereignty, and, as another has said: "being a nation, can do all that any nation can do. It can conquer territory; it can buy it; it can receive it as a gift from its people, they being sovereign. Then it can dispose of territory; can sell it; can give it away; can hold and govern it. The only question is of the means and agents, and this is a mere detail." The republic has illustrated this conception of sovereignty in all of its history of expansion. The nation has sovereignty. The States have rights.

National sovereignty is both secured, recognized, and accepted, and that without interfering with the rights of the States. The nation is sovereign in federal affairs with limita-

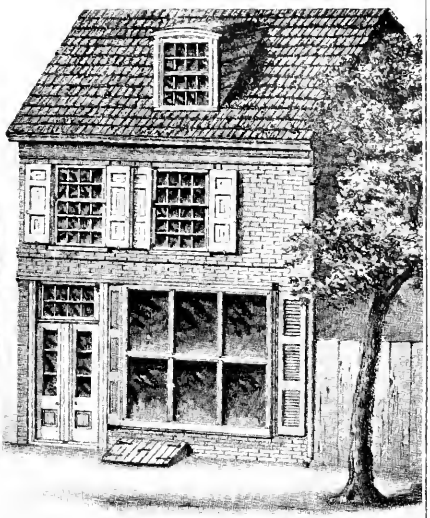
tions. The States have rights which are absolute, and only as these are unimpaired will national sovereignty be maintained in virility and dignity.

SOURCES OF THE POWERS OF THE STATE.

The Declaration of Independence declared that "we hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This last statement, from varied motives, is often reiterated in these days. It was not absolutely true when written, and is not true now, unless the governed by governing self have proved their capacity for a self-government. Government could not endure but would terminate in tyranny if it depended for its just powers upon the consent of men incapable of governing themselves. In no human government which ever existed have all the powers been derived from the consent of all the governed.

Only when the governed acknowledge the supreme sovereignty of God over their personal lives do they become equipped for determining what the "just powers" of a government for men ought to be. Our ancestors who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and tried to establish and verify its declared principles, were perhaps by heredity and history so conditioned as to make their statement of the source of the powers of government as near the truth in realization, and nearer in anticipation, than it ever was before in the history of human governments. They represented largely a God-honoring constituency.

Theoretically only does our government or any government derive all of its just powers from the consent of the governed. The right to exist implies the right to defend existence, and this right can demand the life of every subject of a govern-



The house in which the first flag of the United States was made, Arch Street, below Third, Philadelphia.

INDEPENDENCE HALL AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE NATIONAL FLAG, PHILADELPHIA. FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

ment without his consent, because he is under law and is a part of the national life, and derives his right of personal self-defense from the divine authority which ordained national life.

In his individual relations man is no more subject to the divine moral government than he is in his relations to civil government. Governments are ordained of God because they meet man's necessities. Man was created with necessities, capacities, and instincts, and these compelled and created governments, and the legitimate character of the government corresponds with the condition and character of the governed. Absolute monarchies continue to exist because the state of the mass of the people requires them. Republican governments exist because the condition of the people makes them possible. The moral state of the people is the cause, and the form of government is the effect. Superstition and ignorance in the religion of a people will necessitate stern monarchies. Intelligent religious liberty makes free governments a necessity. Hence the legitimate child of the primal civilization created by the characters who were the pioneers of this republic was self-government, guaranteeing civil and religious liberty. Because of the high, heroic, and cultured character of the people who established self-government in our country, they were not compelled to pass through the varied stages of absolute monarchy, aristocracy, and limited monarchy before they attained to fitness for a republic. A great patriot has said: "The republican form of government is the noblest and the best, as it is the latest. It is the latest because it demands the highest conditions for its existence. Self-government by the whole people is the teleologic idea. It is to be the final government of the world."

HISTORIC ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLIC.

The federative American government finds its progenitor in the English commonwealth, which had its progenitor

in Scandinavian civilization, and both were molded by Christianity.

Republican governments are not creations but growths. "The force of origin and association is supreme in forming the immutable character of civil communities."

The civil polity of the American republic consists of the laws which regulate the conduct of the people, and which protect their rights, and prescribe the obligations incident to voluntary human relations.

This polity is embodied in what is known as common law, which had its origin in the Saxon commonwealth of England. The Roman law is still predominant in the sections of our country which were peopled and ruled by Latin races at the time they became the property of the United States.

Freedom, equality, and liberty, based upon obedience to the laws of God and to the laws of man based upon the laws of God, were the principles which inspired the Scandinavians in laying the foundations of nations.

This original Saxon civilization has conquered races and peoples by molding their characters on the plan of assertion of individual rights based upon the recognition of the equal rights of others. It possessed certain fundamental characteristics which are among our priceless inheritances. It selected its own leader from among its numbers. It counted the family a divine institution, in which government as a political organization had its genesis. It held the Scriptural doctrine of common interests inseparably connected with common needs, dictating common responsibilities. The state was called "The Common-wealth"; its system of jurisprudence, "The Common-Law"; its general tribunal, "The Common Pleas"; and long after, in religious succession, comes "The Common Prayer."

The Constitution of England is unwritten. The Constitution of the United States is a written document. Neither proclaim but assume the existence of God. The principles

they embody, the maxims they teach, the administration of government they provide for, the common law they recognize, the traditions and historic precedents from which they sprang, all presuppose that the Christian religion is the creative energy which produced them and which must be depended upon to perpetuate and enforce them.

The genius, the form, and the design of the government under which we live, in its three departments—legislative, judicial, and executive—are essentially Christian.

The freedom and liberty for all taught by the Scriptures created the common law of England. The other features of the Saxon constitution which Norman power with Roman methods was never able to undermine were trial by jury, the village community, writ of habeas corpus, and international law.

The American Revolution was simply the assertion of the rights of a Saxon civilization by a people who had inherited them and to whom they had in many features been denied by the very nation from which their inheritance came.

The American republic is based upon Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization. The Venetian republic was an oligarchy, and the Athenian republic was an aristocracy. The liberties of the people under those two ancient republican and democratic forms of government were neither larger nor more secure than under liberal monarchies. The character of the civilization of a people determines their fitness for the responsibilities of self-government. Lafayette understood this when, although he had rendered important service in securing American independence, he resisted the demand for a republican form of government for France, when the Bourbon dynasty had been overthrown and Charles X. and the royal family had been expelled from the country, declaring that the people of France were not fitted by character for self-government.

The colonial Americans, by heredity and training and experience, for a century and a half were free men civilly and

religiously, and thus the assertion of national independence was not a sudden transition, but simply a natural step in advance.

The first Europeans who formed a successful colony, ruled by a local legislature and enjoying the right of trial by jury, settled in Virginia in 1607, under a grant from James I. of England.

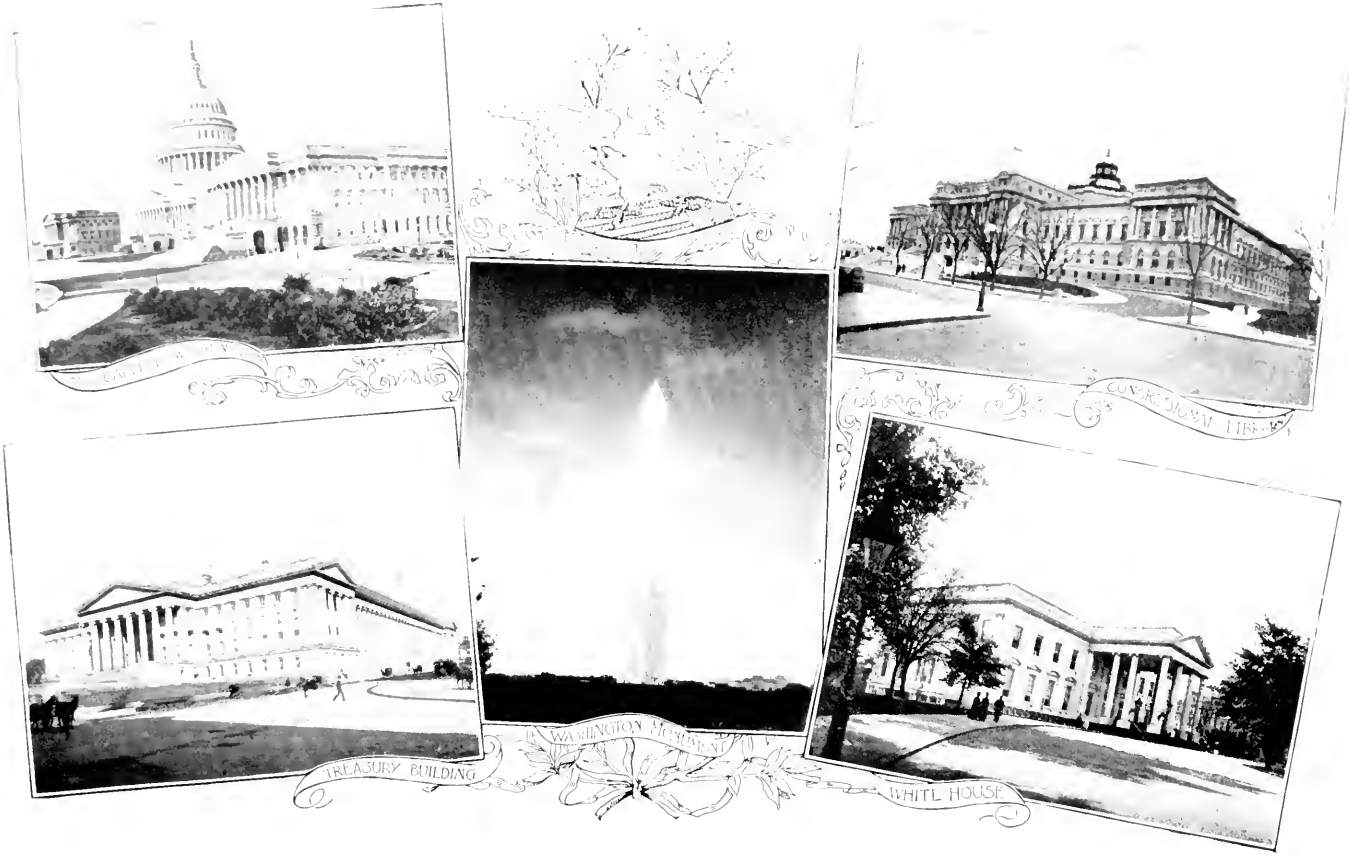
A colony of nine hundred French Huguenots in 1562, which had established themselves at St. Augustine, Fla., were murdered and literally exterminated by a Roman Catholic expedition led by Menendez, before they had opportunity to put their conceptions of Christian civilization into governmental form.

Every community of Anglo-Saxon pioneers constituted a little republic of self-reliant men who respected each others' rights. These miniature republics multiplied, and when the cohesive power of common peril and mutual interest drew them together, the resultant was the greatest experiment in the history of popular government.

While the American Declaration of Independence recognizes "that all men are created equal," and by natural divine endowment possess moral, political, and social rights of equality, capacity for the enjoyment of these rights must determine possession in every case, and in case the individual possesses them he must use them with a regard for the rights of others; otherwise the safety of the many will require the forcible restraint of the natural rights of the few.

MATERIAL RESOURCES AND STRENGTH.

During the 120 years of our national life steam has become man's burden-bearer; electricity has annihilated distance and made the nations neighbors; steel has become both the vehicle and the highway for commerce; the concealed reservoirs of oil in the earth have illuminated the houses of the world. America by her invention, by her food supplies,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WHITE HOUSE

by her success in self-government, has been the largest factor in making the world of nature a new world in human opportunity, comforts, liberty, enlightenment, and civilization.

The financial condition of the United States is impregnable. On December 1, 1898, the total national debt was only fourteen dollars per capita, and was only one-third the amount it was thirty-two years before, and the amount of interest only one-fourth as great. The indebtedness is steadily decreasing, while the credit is constantly increasing. The national expenses are met from customs and internal revenue payments without income or direct taxation.

This prosperity we believe is due both to the character of our liberties and to the protective industrial policy of the nation.

It has accepted and supported the principle that the citizens of the United States are the proprietors of this land, and that foreigners are not its owners, and that they are not to be consulted as to the methods we adopt for increasing the dignity of American labor and for promoting the prosperity of all branches of American industry. Foreign nations ought to be satisfied and grateful to us if we furnish remunerative employment, with all its incident blessings, to the multitudes of their citizens who emigrate from their hard conditions of unrequited toil; and the toiling millions in foreign lands ought to be grateful that our industrial policy has raised the scale of wages in their home countries.

These statements mean, of course, that the policy has been, and is, protection to American industries.

The greatest free-trade country in the world attained its industrial and commercial ascendancy under a protective tariff.

The nations of the earth have not yet reached that ideal condition where each nation ascertains what the other wants, and then proceeds to do it to its own detriment.

It is just as vitally important for a nation to defend itself

against a war on its industries as against a war on its territorial domain or on its civic policy.

Denial to the American Colonies of the right to industrially protect themselves and promote their own prosperity was one of the chief causes of the Revolution which gave birth to the republic.

Protection was the first subject that the first Congress discussed. The framers of our Constitution, and the men who brought the republic of law and liberty out of the Revolution against class and oppression, with unanimity sustained the first protective tariff, which extended through the administrations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, and was repeatedly approved by these Presidents in both speech and message.

While the commercial policy of the United States, under which it has developed its unprecedented growth and strength has been a protective policy, its agricultural resources have put the Old World under its peaceful sway, because its granaries are indispensable to their comfort.

MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES, EXCLUSIVE OF THE NEW POSSESSIONS.

AREA.

	Square miles
Land,	2,970,000
Water,	55,600
Total,	3,025,600

POPULATION.

Official—Census of 1890,	62,622,250
Official—Estimated 1897,	72,807,000
Estimate of experts, 1899,	77,000,000

WEALTH.

The aggregate true valuation or fair selling price of all real and personal property in the United States in the census year, 1890, was carefully estimated to be,	$65,037,000,000

This is an estimated increase of 49 per cent. for the ten years from 1880. The same ratio of increase will make the valuation in 1900 nearly, . . .	$100,000,000,000

DEBT.

The net indebtedness of the United States on July 1, 1897, was, ...	992,022,900.03
On November 1, 1898, it was, ...	1,031,587,733.59
Annual interest charge, ...	34,387,315.20
Debt per capita of population, ...	13.63

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Aggregate receipts for the year ending July 1, 1898,	405,321,335
Aggregate expenditures for the year ending July 1, 1898 (largely increased by the war with Spain), .	443,388,583

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Value of domestic merchandise exported during the year ending June 30, 1898, ...	1,210,291,913
Value of specie exported, ...	70,511,630
Value of merchandise imported during the year ending June 30, 1898, ...	616,049,654
Value of specie imported, ...	150,319,455

BANKS.

The aggregate capital of the National Banks of the United States on September 1, 1898, was, . .	629,151,295

SAVINGS BANKS.

On July 1, 1897, the number of depositors in Savings Banks in the United States was, . . .	5,400,000
The aggregate amount of deposits was, . . .	2,100,000,000
The average amount to each depositor was about, .	400

CLEARING-HOUSE TRANSACTIONS.

For the year ending September 30, 1898, the Clearing-House transactions in the various cities in the United States amounted to, ...	65,924,820,769
The amount of transactions in New York City alone was, ...	39,853,413,948

PATENTS.

In the sixty years ending with 1897, over 1,000,000 applications for patents were filed in the United States Patent Office, and for the single year 1897 the number of applications was about, . .	50,000

RAILROADS.

There are in the United States over 180,000 miles of surface steam railroads, carrying annually more than 500,000,000 passengers and nearly 800,000,000 tons of freight. The amount of capital invested is about, ...	$11,000,000,000

TELEGRAPHS.

There are about 210,000 miles of telegraph lines (nearly 900,000 miles of wires), exclusive of government, private, and telephonic. The total receipts from messages in 1897 was, . . .	24,000,000

TELEPHONES.

The number of miles of telephone wires in operation in the United States is about, ...	550,000
The net earnings in 1896 were about, . . .	3,500,000
And the invested capital nearly, ...	24,000,000

MANUFACTURES.

The number of manufacturing establishments in the United States is about 350,000, and the total value of the annual products of these establishments is over, ...	9,500,000,000

MINERALS.

The value of the mineral products of the United States in 1897 was, ...	742,000,000

CEREALS.

The aggregate annual production of corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, and buckwheat in the United States is over 3,500,000,000 bushels, and its value over,	1,000,000,000
The wheat crop of the United States in 1898 was over one fourth of the total crop of the world.	

As we have seen, our republican form of government guarantees civil and religious liberty, protects persons and property, provides for the administration of justice, and develops society in civilization. The magnificent extent of our territorial domain furnishes an outlet for our multiform energies, without exhausting our vast resources, while our unbounded national prosperity is a wonder to ourselves and to the world, and thus far in our history has only met with occasional local interruption.

Our form of government was in its early history the product of the experience and needs of our ancestors who had voluntarily exiled themselves from their native lands, and was based upon the theory of the greatest good to the greatest number. It is a federal and representative government. It possesses elements of permanency just to the extent that the character and purposes of the people continue to recognize the fundamental principles upon which the civic structure rests, and prove their capacity to assimilate the incoming multitudes from other lands and other civilizations who, like our ancestors, are seeking our larger liberties and broader opportunities, but who, differing in experience from our ancestors, find a new world conquered and ready for their habitation, and prompt in making returns to thrift and industry.

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.—THE CHURCH.

THE RELATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Religious liberty is the most convincing test of free institutions and of the genuine character of civil liberty.

Civil liberty has never materially advanced and never has become satisfactorily secure except as it has been preceded by the recognition of man's right to religious liberty.

All genuine religion is voluntary, and therefore cannot exist without liberty.

Both civil and religious liberty are instinctive in this republic.

Religious liberty, as we understand and enjoy it, is impossible where there is a union of church and state.

A state properly organized represents individual *man*, represents every man as he should be in his normal relations. A state "is an enacted and operative morality."

Religious liberty is not made for man by the state, but he makes it for himself in and by the state.

In all ages the power that founds states is religion. The basis of all states is the sanctity of the truth.

Since the state is created by the moral and religious sense of its people, it therefore cannot create its creator, and hence religious liberty is always a right and never can be a privilege.

That a state or nation should be guided by the same general principles of moral conduct by which an individual is, or ought to be, guided in his private conduct, is a truth which seems involved in the very conception of national being. In the civilized world of modern Europe and America we take theological and political differences for granted; but we assume a common morality. But how shall the state be said to possess any moral code except as the consensus of belief among the people determines it?

For what does the state exist? The very idea and origin of our government is to afford opportunity for the development and protection of man as a moral and social being. Its existence is impossible, as well as uncalled for and criminal, unless it answer these ends. We seek and secure the divorce of the state and formulated religion; but when the Christian religion and the morality it teaches are taken out of our civil government, nothing remains worth preserving. The state, however, as a symbol and embodiment of morality, is a necessity of man's moral nature. The state, under our form of government, has to recognize Christian morality as the basis of its own existence.

And therefore, while it exists for secular and civil purposes, it finds itself substantially the creature of Christianity; and whenever it has found itself engaged in a struggle for its defense or existence, it has never issued from the struggle until it has adopted for its war-cry some principle that has had its birth in Christian morality.

SPHERE AND FUNCTION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The church and the state are both divine institutions, but they have separate spheres and functions.

Both meet on questions of public morals, and both together constitute civilized human society and insure its prosperity.

Dr. Strong says: "Precisely what is meant by the separation of church and state is not commonly, or indeed often, understood. There does not seem to have been made a clear distinction between function and sphere, for lack of which there has been much confusion, and most people have gained a radically wrong idea of the sphere of the Church. Sphere is the extent or field of activity, while function is the kind or nature of that activity. The sphere of an organ is where it operates, its function is what it does.

"As society becomes more highly organized it becomes

more important to keep the function of church and state separate; but it is as great a mistake to limit the sphere of the Church as it is not to limit its functions. The sphere of the Church includes that of the state and much more. It is as broad as the sphere of conscience, which is as far-reaching as all human activity.

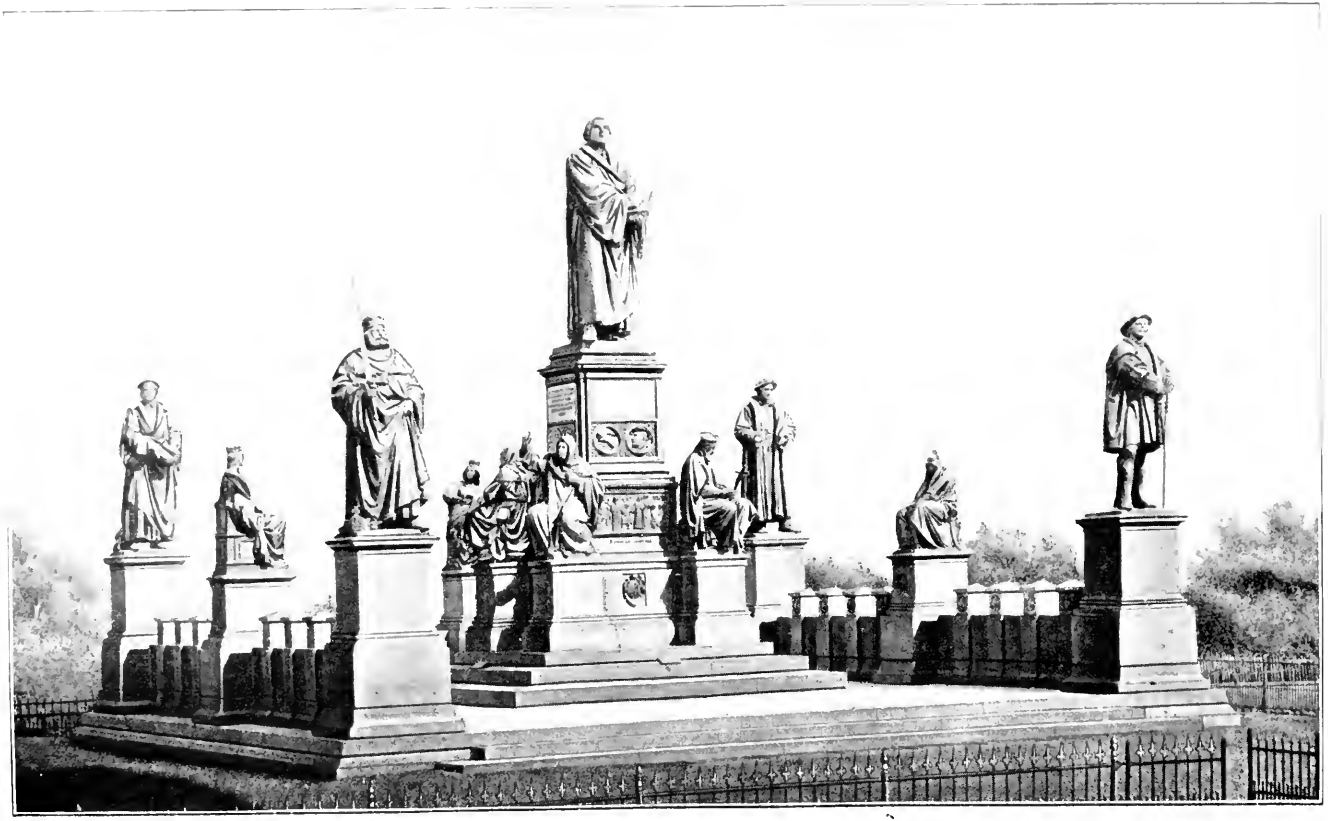
"Of course, the Church has and ought to have authority in the administration of her internal affairs, but she should have no authority whatever over the public or over any individual outside her own institutions. Beyond her own walls let the Church have unbounded influence, but not one iota of authority."

LIMITATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The law of a freeman is a general rule of action, having grown out of the custom of the people, or having been laid down by the authority empowered by the people to do so, and it must be a rule which does not violate a superior law or civil principle.

Religious liberty must have civil limitations, as the law of self-preservation is as vital to the state as to the individual. Individual and public morality, safety, peace, and welfare must be protected against a religion that would injure them.

Chief Justice Waite in rendering the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in the only case in which this government has undertaken to define the limits of religious liberty, where Congress prohibited polygamy in the Territory of Utah, said: "Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices. As a law of the organization of society under the exclusive dominion of the United States, it is provided that plural marriages shall not be allowed. Can a man exercise his practices to the contrary because of his religious belief? To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and in effect to permit every citizen to become a



MONUMENT TO LUTHER AT WORMS.

law unto himself. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances."

Public opinion, which is the creator and interpreter of laws in a free country, must here determine the limitations of religious liberty.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Historically speaking, three theories have prevailed in practice concerning the relations of church and state. First, church supremacy over civil government. Second, state supremacy over the Church. Third, church and state reciprocally independent.

Separation of church and state is both essentially republican and Christian. The author of Christianity distinctly announced for the ages this principle when he said: "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar, the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

Church and state coexist in our land, but they are not wedded. They have their individual work to perform. The secular interests are guarded and promoted by the state; the moral and religious interests by the Church. And yet so closely are they related to each other that the state depends for its existence upon the character given its citizenship by the Church, and the Church, in turn, receives protection from the state for its property and from interference with its worship and instruction. Our experiment has proved that religious liberty is the best friend of genuine Christianity, and that it is also the best foundation for a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The union of church and state is a different question from the union of religion and the state. Union in both of these cases is possible, but separation of religion from the state is impossible.

Dr. Schaff says: "Whatever may be the merits of the theory of the American system, it has worked well in practice. It has

stood the test of experience. It has the advantages of the union of church and state without its disadvantages. It secures all the rights of the Church without the sacrifice of liberty and independence, which are worth more than endowments."

Freedom in civil affairs, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech are valued possessions, but religious freedom is more sacred than all these, because it is first in the estimation of humanity, and because it is the chief protection and guarantee of all other freedom.

The present practical relation between church and state in this country is not thoroughly satisfactory because in important particulars the separation is not absolute.

The God of our fathers, as we have seen, postponed the peopling of this land until the Scriptures had been disentombed in the Old World and they had created a race of men with the heroism of liberated consciences, and with the right character to found a republic. Refugees from civil and religious persecution in lands where church and state were united founded this government, where civil liberty and religious liberty are enjoyed and perpetuated in just so far as the conceded American principle of the separation of church and state is scrupulously maintained.

This principle has not been definitely and adequately expressed in the constitutions of many of the States comprising the Union.

A majority of the forty-five State constitutions contain provision against the violation of religious liberty and expressly prohibit sectarian appropriations; but it is believed that only a national provision can set these questions at rest.

DANGERS FROM THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The relation of church and state has been the vexed problem of the civilization of the centuries. The unholy alliance between church and state has been the principal disturber of the peace of nations. Any courtship or wedded relation has

eventually proved the curse of both. Whenever the Christian Church has sought the favor of rulers or governments, it has become a subject and not a sovereign. Whenever rulers or governments have sought the favor of the Church, they have become the abject slaves of ecclesiasticism, the worst bondage ever known to man.

History shows that where religious sects have been allowed to take public lands or public money they have become gorged with wealth and have forced a union of church and state. It also shows that wherever religion has been wedded to the state, individual conscience has been debauched and a gigantic, tyrannical political machine has been instituted.

The first peril which our fathers thought menaced the republic was this very question. Hence the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares that:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This amendment is protective as well as prohibitive, and was born of respect for and not of contempt for religion and its free exercise.

The chief effort in this country to establish and intrench a body ecclesiastic or bodies ecclesiastic is through access to public treasuries. The union of church and state has uniformly found its strongest bond in the partnership in the educational interests of the people. The introduction of sectarian interests in the matter of public support of schools and charities is a constant element of danger. Taxation for the support of sectarian schools is always a peril for both the church and the state. In educational, penal, reformatory, and benevolent work there exists now in this nation and in many of the States a dangerous financial bond of union. The legislative exemption of church property from taxation is a vital, dangerous, and iniquitous form of union of church and state.

Macaulay said: "The whole history of the Christian

religion shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition."

Dr. Orestes A. Brownson said: "It may be safely asserted that, except in the United States, the Church is either held by the civil power in subjection, or treated as an enemy. The relation is not that of union and harmony, but that of antagonism, to the grave detriment of both religion and civilization."

The consensus of intelligent opinion in this country now favors religious liberty so far as separation of church and state is concerned.

Grant said: "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the state and church forever separate."

Garfield said: "The separation of the church and state on everything relating to taxation should be absolute."

James Madison said: "Religion flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government."

HISTORIC STATEMENT OF THE ORIGIN OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA.

For the first three centuries of Christianity there was no approach toward union of church and state. Christians obeyed the civil laws so far as the higher law of conscience would permit, and faced death rather than disobey its admonitions or retract their demand for religious liberty as a right.

While inheriting many benefits from the Old World, the American theory of the normal relationship of church and state differs both from all European experience and from our own colonial history.

The system of toleration exists in Germany, in England, and generally in Europe, and even to a degree in Roman Catholic countries, where the government supports an established church or churches and permits, under conditions, other

religious organizations to exist. Religious liberty in America has not been inherited from either the legislation or the example found in the history of the mother country.

The establishment in England of the equality of all religious denominations before the law (excepting the Established Church, which has special privileges) is of recent date. In 1689 a partial Act of Toleration was enacted. It was extended to Unitarians in 1813; to Roman Catholics in 1829; to Jews in 1858. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were not open to students of all religious denominations until 1871.

Religious liberty was proclaimed in the United States nearly a hundred years before this last restriction concerning the English universities was removed.

When the thirteen American Colonies adopted State constitutions Virginia and New York alone guaranteed religious liberty. The other States made religious discriminations by religious tests for their officials.

Virginia chiefly was indebted for its religious liberty to French political and philosophical free-thinking ideas through Thomas Jefferson. New York's constitutional provisions, which have furnished the chief foundation for American religious liberty, were generated by freedom of thought, but not by free-thinkers. New York's "Dutch ancestors taught and practiced religious toleration; they expanded toleration into liberty, and in this form transmitted to posterity the heritage which Holland had sent across the sea a century and a half before."

Enforced conformity to the state religion and the suppression of individual religious opinions not in accord with the teachings of the Established Church were, up to the sixteenth century, accounted among the Christian nations of Europe as both the province and the duty of civil government. The Church of Rome claimed the right to demand that the civil power should enforce its edicts to produce conformity in

matters of religion, and rulers generally acceded to the demand.

The Reformation involved no denial of the principle of the state's coercive right, and while its claim of the right of private judgment and individual responsibility to God eventually led to religious toleration, it was no more distinctly recognized by the Reformers than by the Roman hierarchy.

The origin of the Reformation in England was more political than religious. The idea of religious toleration had as little place in the mind of Henry and Elizabeth as in the mind of Mary, and toleration was not the inspiration of the Puritan controversies in England.

The settlers of Plymouth and of the colony of Massachusetts Bay had no practical conception of either the separation of church and state or of religious liberty. Winthrop in 1630, on his way to America, wrote on shipboard that he and his companions came "to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical."

They established a civil government intolerant of religious liberty, where freedom of conscience, of opinion, and of worship was not permitted; but paradoxical as it may appear, they established a form of church government which became a powerful agency in bringing religious toleration.

Hallam said that "the Congregational scheme leads to toleration, as the National Church scheme is adverse to it."

Roger Williams was arraigned and banished in 1635 for holding "that the magistrate ought not to punish breaches of the first table or to enforce religious opinions or observances by law."

While the early settlers in this country from Europe came seeking freedom for themselves, they too often monopolized it and denied it to others. The Congregational, the Church of England, and the Quaker churches were all intolerant. The opposition to the abolition of religious tests was strongest in

Massachusetts, where Congregationalism was the Established Church.

One of the remote causes of the American Revolution was the intolerance and injustice practiced by state churchmen toward dissenters. Several of the American colonies, following the example of England, established churches supported by the state.

England gave Magna Charta, and America gave the liberty of religion and its free exercise, to Christian civilization.

"The United States furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion, which was justly regarded by all older governments as the chief support of public morality, order, peace, and prosperity. But it was an act of wisdom and justice rather than self-denial." "The Constitution did not create a nation, nor its religion and institutions. It found them already existing, and was framed for the purpose of protecting them under a republican form of government."

As a state, France's contribution to religious liberty has been characteristically vacillating. England has made many heroic and successful efforts in the direction of religious liberty, but never has attained complete emancipation either for herself or her colonial dependencies.

Religious liberty, insisted upon by William of Orange, was the corner-stone of the Dutch Republic.

The religious toleration of Holland was the one element that contributed to its vast increase of both population and wealth.

Judge Story said that the charter which Charles II. granted to Rhode Island in response to the appeal of Roger Williams was "the first royal proclamation of religious liberty for man as man that the world had heard since Christianity had ascended the throne of the Cæsars."

Religious tests were abolished by Article VI. of the Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1787, which declares

that all executive, legislative, and judicial officers of the United States and of the several States "shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

This is negative but partially prohibitory, and secures the state from ecclesiastical domination.

The First Amendment, adopted in 1791, prohibits Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, but who did not aid in framing the Constitution, wrote, in reference to the First Amendment: "I contemplate with sovereign reverence the act of the whole American people which declares that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

The exclusion of atheists from office in New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and the exclusion of clergymen in Delaware, Maryland, and Tennessee, constitute the only religious disabilities now existing in any of the United States.

The Baptists were the first body of English Christians that formulated and enforced the doctrine of religious liberty, and a British writer says of the declaration of this body in 1611: "It is believed that this is the first expression of the absolute principle of liberty of conscience in the public articles of any body of Christians."

Bancroft says of Roger Williams that "he was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and superior of Jeremy Taylor."

The principle of religious liberty practically applied, most

largely for English-speaking peoples and notably for the American people, had its birth in Holland.

While Cromwell ruled in England there was for the first time in English history an approach to religious liberty, but this was exclusive and limited.

The constitutions of all the forty-five States contain specific provisions for the free exercise of religious belief and worship.

The constitutions of thirty-one States provide specifically against the compulsory support of any church.

The constitutions of thirty States provide specifically against the creation of an established church.

The constitutions of twenty-eight States declare that no religious test shall be required as a qualification for office.

The constitutions of twenty-two States contain specific provisions against sectarian appropriations to religious institutions, churches, and schools.

Professor Bryce says: "Religious freedom has been generally thought of in America in the form of freedom and equality as between different sorts of Christians, or at any rate different sorts of theists; persons opposed to religion altogether have till recently been extremely few everywhere and practically unknown in the South. The neutrality of the state cannot therefore be said to be theoretically complete.

"The passion for equality in religious as well as in secular matters is everywhere in America far too strong to be braved, and nothing excites more general disapprobation than any attempt by an ecclesiastical organization to interfere in politics.

"Christianity is in fact understood to be, though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion. So far from thinking their commonwealth godless, the Americans conceive that the religious character of a government consists in nothing but the religious belief of the individual citizens and the conformity of their conduct to that belief. They deem

the general acceptance of Christianity to be one of the main sources of their national prosperity, and their nation a special object of the divine favor. The legal position of a Christian church is in the United States simply that of a voluntary association, or group of associations, corporate or unincorporate, under the ordinary law."

In this country all churches and denominations have legal equality; "The Church" is a meaningless phrase in America.

Religious toleration marks the progress of the world toward religious liberty, but it is not religious liberty.

Toleration which may be withdrawn means disapproval primarily, and then grudging concession.

Lord Stanhope in 1827 said: "The time was when toleration was craved by dissenters as a boon; it is now demanded as a right; but a time will come when it will be spurned as an insult."

Judge Cooley says: "It is not toleration which is established in our system, but religious liberty."

We take for granted that freedom of conscience is the gift of God, and this logically requires freedom in its exercise.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Without attempting the expression of personal opinion on America's contribution to religious liberty, we simply summon a few competent witnesses.

Lieber said: "Conscience lies beyond the reach of government. The liberty of worship is one of the primordial rights of man, and no system of liberty can be considered comprehensive which does not include guarantees for the free exercise of this right. It belongs to American liberty to separate entirely the institution which has for its object the support and diffusion of religion from the political government."

David Dudley Field, in 1893, in a paper on "American Progress in Jurisprudence," said: "If we had nothing else to

boast of, we could claim with justice that, first among the nations, we of this country made it an article of organic law that the relations between man and his Maker were a private concern into which other men had no right to intrude."

Ex-Chief Judge Andrews of the Court of Appeals of New York State wrote: "The American States, for the first time in the history of governments, have made it a part of their fundamental law that the civil power shall neither establish nor maintain any form of religion, and that religious belief shall not be subject to the coercive power of the state. This is a contribution by America to the science of government."

Dr. Schaff said: "This relationship of church and state marks an epoch. It is a new chapter in the history of Christianity, and the most important one which America has so far contributed."

The founder of the American republic in his farewell address showed that he was both animated with hope for the new nation and solicitous for its future when he coupled national prosperity with the Christian religion and Christian morality.

Daniel Webster deemed the advance of rationality so great in this nation that only the Christian religion could be regarded as meeting its demands.

In respect to morals and religion it is impossible for the state to be either neutral or indifferent. If the prevailing religious sentiment and profession of the people are Christian, that nation is Christian. On this ground we assert that the American nation is a Christian nation. While the Christian spirit of justice and humanity pervades it, and while its framers were believers in God and in future rewards and punishments, the name of God does not appear in the Constitution of the United States. An overruling Providence in the affairs of nations is recognized in the Declaration of

Independence, in most of the State constitutions, and in the colonial charters. The Declaration appeals to the "Supreme Judge of the world," and speaks of "reliance on the protection of divine Providence."

Goldwin Smith says: "Not democracy in America, but free Christianity in America, is the real key to the study of the people and their institutions."

George Bancroft said: "Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dares to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American constitution, in harmony with the people of the several states, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power."

While by the decisions of the supreme courts of New York and Pennsylvania Christianity is declared to be a part of the common law of these commonwealths, we think it must be conceded that the highest legal authorities in this country agree that offenses against God and his laws cannot be punished under our laws unless they are also offenses against society.

Sunday laws under our constitutional system cannot be sustained because of the religious duty to observe Sunday as a holy day. But the civil Sunday is intrenched in our laws without infringing upon religious liberty.

We will confine our testimony on this phase of our subject to the recently expressed opinion of Judge Cooley: "It is frequently said that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. In a certain sense and for certain purposes this is true. The best features of the common law, and especially those which regard the family and social relations; which compel

the parent to support the child, the husband to support the wife; which make the marriage-tie permanent and forbid polygamy—if not derived from, have at least been improved and strengthened by the prevailing religion and the teachings of its sacred book. But the law does not attempt to enforce the precepts of Christianity on the ground of their sacred character or divine origin. Some of those precepts, though we may admit their continual and universal obligation, we must nevertheless recognize as being incapable of enforcement by human laws."

When the time shall come when, under the inspiration of religious liberty, the individual citizens of this republic and the citizens of all lands shall become free men by a saving and experimental knowledge of the truth, and shall become loyal and loving subjects of the Prince of Peace, then church and state will be united, not by legal enactments which impose unequal burdens and inflict unjust and discriminating penalties, but by the cohesive power of self-sacrificing Christian love, that is above law because it obeys law. Then the organic law of the state will be the expression of the Christian life of the people, themselves the rulers and the ruled, and debates concerning the province of the state and the province of the church will no longer be heard, because the state will be Christian and Christians will constitute the state.

RELIGIOUS RESOURCES.

We are indebted to Henry K. Carroll, LL. D., Special Agent for Religious Statistics in the Eleventh Census of the United States, for the following Statistics of the Churches, corrected to April 1, 1898.

The figures are for the United States only; no missions abroad are included. A number of denominations publish no statistics. For some of them careful estimates, made by the most competent persons, are given:

DENOMINATIONS	MINISTERS	CHURCHES	COMMUNICANTS
Adventists, six bodies,	1,041	2,140	81,945
Baptists, thirteen bodies,	32,597	48,138	4,232,962
Brethren (River), three bodies,	179	111	4,739
Brethren (Plymouth), four bodies,		314	6,661
Catholics (Roman),	10,911	14,675	8,378,128
Catholics (six other bodies),	54	42	32,464
Catholic Apostolic,	95	10	1,491
Chinese Temples,		47	
Christadelphians,		63	1,277
Christians, two bodies,	1,500	1,495	121,500
Christian Catholics, Dowie,	7	13	5,000
Christian Missionary Association,	10	13	754
Christian Scientists,	3,500	343	40,000
Christian Union,	183	294	18,214
Church of God,	460	580	38,000
Church Triumphant,		12	384
Church of the New Jerusalem,	139	150	7,674
Communistic Societies, six bodies,		30	3,930
Congregationalists,	5,465	5,625	630,000
Disciples of Christ,	5,780	10,029	1,051,079
Dunkards, four bodies,	2,720	1,026	101,194
Evangelical, two bodies,	1,421	2,219	151,770
Friends, four bodies,	1,462	1,093	117,474
Friends of the Temple,	4	4	340
German Evangelical Protestant,	45	55	36,500
German Evangelical Synod,	878	1,130	194,618
Jews, two bodies,	301	570	143,000
Latter-Day Saints, two bodies,	2,660	1,209	297,3 0
Lutherans, twenty-one bodies,	6,625	10,738	1,507,466
Waldenstromians,	140	150	20,000
Mennonites, twelve bodies,	1,021	631	54,544
Methodists, seventeen bodies,	35,232	50,948	5,735,898
Moravians,	120	112	14,220
Presbyterians, twelve bodies,	14,321	14,701	1,190,162
Protestant Episcopal, two bodies,	4,745	6,186	667,503
Reformed, three bodies,	1,762	2,398	357,253
Salvationists, two bodies,	3,094	916	47,000
Schwenkfeldians,	3	4	306
Social Brethren,	17	20	913
Society for Ethical Culture,		4	1,064
Spiritualists,		331	45,030
Theosophical Society,		122	3,000
United Brethren, two bodies,	2,421	5,027	280,117
Unitarians,	335	455	70,000
Universalists,	771	783	47,315
Independent Congregations,	54	156	14,126
Total in the United States,	139,579	185,106	26,054,385

NOTE: Net gains in Communicants for 1897, 766,309. Unofficial estimates place the total number of Communicants January 1, 1899, at over 27,500,000, and the net gains for 1898 at 862,000.

This is unquestionably an impressive statement. If it shows that Christianity is greatly divided in this country, so thoroughly devoted to the idea of a "a free church in a free state," it does not indicate that it lacks vigorous life and fruitfulness. A comparison of the totals for 1898 with those of five years ago will prove that there has been a very substantial increase. The Roman Catholic body, which has been more liberally helped by the immense immigration from foreign countries in the last half century than any other denomination, thrives in the free soil of America much better than in those countries where it is the state church and the only church.

The material prosperity of the religious bodies marches with their advance in numerical strength. The net gain of communicants for 1897 was upward of 766,000. There was also a net increase in the number of ministers of 5550, and of church organizations of 3154. It should be remembered that the increase of ministers means a corresponding increase in the free contributions by which they are wholly supported, and that the increase in churches could not take place without large expenditures for new buildings, furnishings, etc. New churches also require additional money for current expenses, for fuel, lighting, insurance, service of various kinds, etc. This is supplied by free offerings. No provisions are made in the annual budgets of States, United States, Territories or districts, counties or municipalities, for the erection or maintenance of churches or for the salaries of ministers, except those who are employed in the public service as chaplains.

The burden of church support is cheerfully borne by those who enjoy the privileges of public worship afforded by the several denominations. Not only so, but millions of dollars are raised annually to conduct missionary enterprises in foreign lands where Christianity is thought to be specially needed. These missions exist even in those lands which

have long had all the known advantages of state churches. The state in our own land contributes nothing to the church directly, although it is true that it remits the taxes on property used for public worship, not because it desires in this way to assist in propagating religion, but because of the moral, intellectual, and educational influence of the churches. The aggregate value now represented by church property dedicated to public worship cannot be much less than $900,000,000. It was $680,000,000 in 1890, when the last Federal Census was taken, and the increase can hardly be less than $220,000,000 since. This is a monument not only to the belief of the people in religion, but to their devotion to the idea of the support and control of churches entirely free from all interference of civil government.

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.—THE SCHOOL.

FREE COMMON-SCHOOL SYSTEM.

The Father of his Country declared that "Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness." In his farewell address he adjured the nation thus: "Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

The author of the Constitution of the United States said: "Education is the only sure foundation that can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness.

"Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them."

The savior of the nation said: "Resolve that either the state or nation, or both combined, shall support institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education."

Perhaps never in any equal space of time in our history

was the question of the common schools so extensively considered, or so thoroughly discussed, as during the past twenty years. Never has so much valuable time been profitably spent in the consideration of the best methods of instruction, of the best training for teachers, and of all the phases of subjects pertaining to the well-being of the schools. It augurs well for the rising generation and thus for the future of the republic; and we believe that the highest reward in the gratitude of the future will come to those who lay broadly and well the foundations of the American public-school system.

Common schools and popular education, as now understood, were unknown among ancient nations. The origin of common schools is found in the Christian Church. It naturally flows out from the life of its beneficent founder in the recognition of the value of human life as such, and the essential dignity of individual man, not dependent on the accidents of birth and rank. The Christian clergy early recognized and assumed the duty of educating the people. Councils ordered provisions for the education of the rich and the poor without distinction. Churches and schools were founded side by side. Monasteries were often the academies, the libraries, and the universities of the early times. But the schools thus established were far removed from the common schools of our day. The meager instruction was largely in church dogma and scholastic theology. The schools then resembled the parish schools of later times more than the common schools of this day. Wars and civil commotions have, through the centuries, interrupted the education of the common people. But the fundamental idea of educating all the people was never lost in the Christian Church, and it finally issued in the common school. Luther's ideas of schools were almost identical with the common-school system now in vogue in this country. In 1527, through his influence, Saxony established a free-school system. The Swiss Reformers and John Knox

of Scotland advocated this educational method. The preeminence of Prussia, which gives the model for all Germany in the direction of common education, where the state rules its schools as strictly as its army, dates back only to the first decade of the present century. Every country in Europe in late years has evinced, with some success, a great interest in popular education, each striving in its own way to establish a school system adapted to its peculiar wants.

In the United States the completest and most successful trial of the common school has been made. The first settlers of Massachusetts and Connecticut immediately made provision for the education of their children, and the early colonial legislatures required a school in every settlement of considerable numbers. Emigrants from these States to the Middle and Western States carried the common-school system with them.

The Hon. Andrew S. Draper claimed at Saratoga, in July, 1890, before the State Teachers' Association, that "the first public school in America of which we have any knowledge was upon Manhattan Island. The principle that all the property should educate all the children of the people was first enforced there. It was in the colony of New York that teachers were first required to be certified or licensed. New York was the first State in the Union to levy a general tax for the encouragement of elementary schools, as she was also the first to establish a permanent State common school fund, and the supervision of elementary schools. She was the first to especially provide for the education of teachers, and is now doing more for the professional training of teachers than any other. The institute system was first established in New York. She was the first to provide school district libraries, and the first to publish a journal exclusively devoted to the interests of common schools. The first local association of a permanent character in the country among school teachers was in New York City, and the first State Teachers' convention in the country was held at Utica."

Since 1865, when the great Civil War ended, the Southern States, in the face of great obstacles, have made commendable exertions to establish public schools. Every State in the Union has now a common-school system in varied stages of honest approach to efficiency. In Europe the national government controls the schools. In the United States each State passes such laws on this subject as it pleases. The support of common schools in this country is derived from various sources. Once it came from town treasuries and from rate-bills. This last source of revenue is now abandoned in all the States. Now common schools receive their support from three sources: first, income of permanent funds; second, taxation; third, voluntary subscriptions or contributions. The conditions of admission of most of the States, since the original Union was formed, have embodied large landed provisions for the support of common schools in these States. Public schools, common schools, or free schools are designations applied to schools established by legislative enactments, supported by funds derived from legislative appropriations for the free elementary education of all the children in a community or State. The extensive common-school systems of large cities are usually chiefly supported by local taxation. The general necessity for every community to promote the diffusion of education among all classes is presupposed in the support of schools either wholly or in part by the state. Democratic governments have always recognized this principle, but the foes of democracy oppose and seek to overthrow it. The safety and prosperity of Sparta are declared to have been based upon the education of every child of the ruling classes in the community, and public schools were furnished also for all the ruling classes of the citizens of Athens; but the free States of the American republic have attempted to carry out this principle to the fullest extent, providing free education of different grades for all classes, recognizing the principle that all the people are sovereigns, making common

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schools institutions of dignity, where the children of the rich and poor may meet together on a common footing, and equally share the advantages and blessings of education without class distinctions, which are looked upon as foes of democracy.

As we have seen, the idea of universal education was developed in the Christian Church, and for centuries popular education was in the hands of the Church. Now in this country it is in the hands of the state, and the religious question, or the question of the amount of moral and religious training, has reached a very perplexing stage.

The religious question in the conduct of common schools is claiming increased attention in all countries where even the pretense of religious liberty exists. It only admits of easy solution by the hasty and thoughtless. Perhaps no single uniform solution will ever be reached.

Dr. Schaff says: "An immense interest like the education of a nation of cosmopolitan and pan-ecclesiastical composition cannot be regulated by a logical syllogism. Life is stronger and more elastic than logic. It is impossible to draw the precise line of separation between secular and moral, and between moral and religious education."

The danger from the religious controversy to the common school has, from time to time, appeared, and has been, in some instances, successfully met. The principal assaults have been, and they have taken on great boldness, in the direction of demands for the division of the school fund on denominational lines.

But the demand for the division of the school moneys among the several religious denominations for maintaining separate schools cannot be assented to without annihilating the common-school system, and without the destruction of the American principle of the complete separation of church and state.

Judge Cooley has said: "Those things which are not law-

ful under any of the American constitutions may be stated thus: first, any law respecting an establishment of religion; second, compulsory support by taxation or otherwise of religious instruction; third, compulsory attendance upon religious worship; fourth, restraints upon the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; fifth, restraints upon the expression of religious belief."

The relation of religious instruction to the common schools and the demand for the sectarian division of the funds designed for the support of public schools are, as we have realized, perplexing questions.

The legal status of the common school in each State, from both the secular and the religious standpoint, is dependent upon that State's constitution and its legislative enactments. There are in these interests certain fundamental principles common to the entire country, certain uniform laws bearing upon the common-school system, giving it a kind of autonomy, and so to speak, establishing a non-partisan republic of letters within the body politic.

Grant said: "Encourage free schools and resolve that not one dollar in money appropriated to their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school."

Garfield said: "Whatever helps the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools, but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools."

The people dividing as they will into sects and creeds, the individual interests of each sect must be advanced by its own effort and at its own cost. The school system uninterrupted has all the power necessary to the attainment of its legitimate purpose, and that is, the well-being of the state through an intelligent and moral citizenship.

It draws from the people the means for its support. It has responsibility incident to authority, a moral responsibility and a legal accountability.

Supported by all, and free to all, there must be nothing about it to which any unprejudiced citizen can rationally object for conscience' sake, and each must use it so as not to interfere with the rights and duties of others.

The governmental power which assesses and collects taxes cannot be employed to promote or repress the interest of any secular or religious section of the citizenship, or for any purpose less than the impartial and highest good of all. Religious education belonging primarily to the family and the Church, the state guaranteeing religious liberty, all denominations which desire to do so are permitted to establish church schools, colleges, and seminaries at their own expense.

The state cannot oblige the church to teach the rights and needs and duties of citizenship. That duty involves both the rights of the child and of the state, and rests largely upon the parents. The state can compel the performance of this duty and can secure these rights by the enactment and enforcement of compulsory laws, binding upon parents and guardians, as the condition of the free existence of civil and religious liberty. If the church pretends in its schools to give the education that the state rightfully requires, then the state must know the fact by having supervisory access to these schools. When the limits of church and state authority in matters of education are properly defined,—and they will be,—and when by each their moral and legitimate work is honestly performed, without arrogant attempts at usurpation on either hand, harmony will ensue. The American people will secure this result if they are obliged to conquer a peace between the contending parties.

From an able and exhaustive report to the government of New Zealand upon state education, by Chevalier Laishley, we may learn some important lessons. He says:

"The following are the main principles recognized in the United States as relating to education:

"The existence of a republic, unless all its citizens are educated, is an admitted impossibility.

"The productive industry of the country is known to have a direct relation to the diffusion of educated intelligence therein. The modern industrial community cannot exist without free popular education carried out in a system of schools ascending from the primary grade to the university.

"By the Constitution of the United States, no powers are vested in the central government of the nation, unless the same relate immediately to the support and defense of the whole people, to their intercourse with foreign powers, or to the subordination of the several States composing the Union.

"The free public education of the children of the United States depends everywhere upon the action taken by the several States and by the citizens of those States in the several localities.

"Very great allowances must be made in view of the colored race element, a result of the abolition of slavery, whereby some additional millions became entitled to claim State rights, and of the vast number of immigrants of various nationalities continually pouring in, to whom the system of the majority has to be adapted. These facts color State laws and administrations, and explain much that would be otherwise inexplicable.

"Primary schools afford gratuitous instruction—it may be termed secular—and attendance is not as a rule compulsory, and even where compulsory, is only so for a limited term.

"Sectarian instruction is not given in the public schools. It is quite a common practice to open or close the public schools with Bible reading and prayer. Singing of religious hymns by the entire school is still more common.

"The influence of the schools is wholly on the side of morality and religion. Religious teaching, however, is entirely entrusted to church and family agencies; but the Com-

missioner informs me that these maintain very full provision for the work.

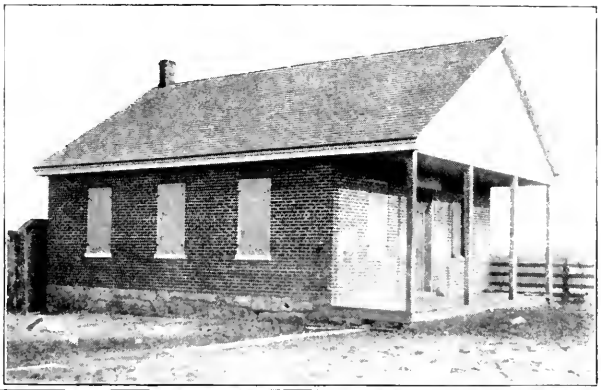
"It may be worth remembering, that, in writing upon 'National Education in America,' the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1875, states, 'In no country, indeed, as yet, has it been found possible to maintain, permanently, a system of unsectarianly Christian common schools against the pleas and persistence of the Roman Catholics.'"

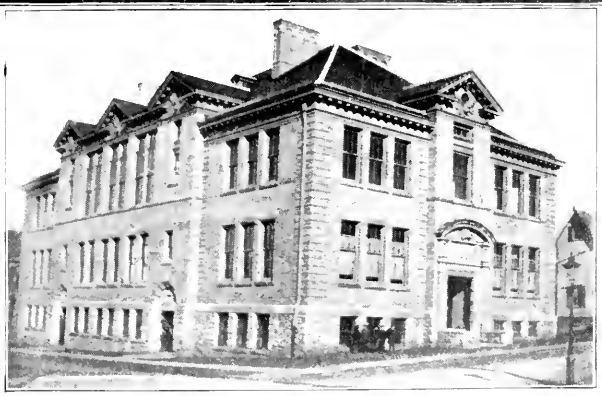
In connection with our common-school system, for which Americans ought to be grateful, and of which they ought to be commendably proud, there are many encouraging facts.

Professor Bryce, that philosophical student of our institutions, said: "Common education is more prevalent in the United States than in any country in the world."

In the United States we have over fourteen and a half million children enrolled in the public schools alone. How to increase this attendance, how to lower absenteeism, how to waste no money, no energy, no time, but to make every effort tell; what methods are best, what studies are essential, what influences are to be stimulated, how to reach the hearts, the minds, the consciences of these children; what moral and patriotic ideals to put before them—these are matters of most profound concern. Our public schools require over 400,000 teachers and cost annually over $187,000,000. These figures simply show the magnitude of the system and are staggering even to the imagination. The future of the republic is largely and safely committed to these 14,652,492 children, and to the hundreds of thousands in private and sectarian schools—to these, and not to any of the political parties.

In several States of the Union more than fifty per cent. of all the tax imposed for State purposes is for the support of the common schools. These schools in many localities and States have attained such high excellence that the best private schools have been obliged largely to model after them, and this is the high ideal that constitutes the loyal inspiration of





A Country Schoolhouse in Pennsylvania.
A State Normal Shoool Building in Ohio.
A Graded School Building in New York.

REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURES IN THE AMERICAN FREE COMMON-SCHOOL SYSTEM.

all lovers of the republic. The army of teachers and superintendents and trustees,—usually the most cultured and public-spirited persons in every community, interested in the common schools,—imperfect in culture and character as they are, constitute largely the power which molds our civilization and determines the character of our citizenship.

SCHOOL STATISTICS—REPORT OF 1896–97.

ENROLLMENT.	
Total enrollment in public schools,	14,652,492
Total enrollment in private schools,	1,317,000
Ratio of enrollment in private schools to total enrollment, per cent.,	8.25
Total enumeration between the ages of 5 and 18,	21,082,472
ATTENDANCE.	
Average daily attendance,	10,089,620
Increase over preceding year,	342,605
Average daily attendance to each 100 enrolled,	68.87
TEACHERS.	
Total male teachers in public schools (32.6 per cent. of the whole),	131,386
Total female teachers in public schools,	271,947
Total,	403,333
SALARIES.	
Average salary male teachers, per month,	$44.62
Average salary female teachers, per month,	38.38
SCHOOL BUILDINGS.	
Total number of public school buildings,	246,823
VALUATION AND EXPENDITURE.	
Estimated cash value of school property,	$469,069,086
Amount expended for 1896–97,	187,320,602
Amount per capita of population,	2.62
SOURCES OF REVENUE.	
Revenue from State and local taxes,	163,023,294
Revenue from permanent funds,	7,846,648
Revenue from other sources,	17,771,301
Total,	$188,641,243

The following statistics exhibit the special provisions for the training of teachers and the opportunities afforded for securing secondary education at public and private expense:

	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS
Public normal schools and institutions for the training of teachers,	701	54,039
Private normal schools and institutions for the training of teachers,	786	35,895
Totals,	1,487	89,934

Of these students about 70 per cent. are females.

	SCHOOLS	MALES	FEMALES
Public High-schools,	5,109	173,445	235,988
Private High-schools,	2,100	53,218	54,415
Totals,	7,209	226,663	290,403

HIGHER EDUCATION ACCESSIBLE TO ALL.

A higher education is substantially accessible to all youth in the land. But what do we mean by higher education? We mean that form of education received in colleges, universities, and in post-graduate courses of study. We have said this higher education is a popular need. With the progress of our civilization, there is an increasing demand for more advanced and thorough forms of education than seemed called for in the earlier years of our country's history. The common school and high school—excellent as are their appliances so far as they go—are but preparatory, after all, to the successful prosecution of higher studies. In the forming days of the republic, while its foundations were yet being laid, the primary and practical elements of mental discipline and educational acquirement might answer; but with the further and fuller development of the nation, there is an increasing population, a greater appreciation of the arts and sciences, and a more strenuous competition in all the walks of life.

There is a natural philosophy illustrated by every phase of popular education in its relation to the evils of illiteracy and ignorance. It is this: "Give light, and the darkness will dispel itself." This whole country—including the lowest stratum of population—is more intellectually alert and eager than ever before in American history. Men and women of all classes—under the tuition of the platform, the pulpit, and the press—are more generally wide awake than are any of the other peoples of the earth. Demands intellectually are more imperative than ever before. Those who would meet these demands must be in the advance. To be a leader of public thought or even largely influential, one must be better equipped than the average citizen of the republic. There may as yet be scarcely any educational test for the privilege of suffrage, but more and more there are coming to be advanced educational tests for high consideration, weighty influence, or accepted leadership in any of the trades, arts, or professions.

In England, as the public schools were largely, for many years, on a charity foundation, so the higher education has been practically restricted to a few. There until recently but limited free education has been afforded to the middle classes, and the higher education is not free to any class. The educational system of the United States was primarily founded on the public-school idea.

The terms college and university are often used interchangeably, and not without warrant; but in more recent years, the university idea is more inclusive and far-reaching than was the old-time college idea. Both colleges and universities are incorporated institutions. It is a long way from the day when, in 1647, the Massachusetts colony passed a law providing that every township of fifty householders should appoint a schoolmaster to teach the children to read and write, to be supported by the parents or the public at large—to the day when an education can be obtained, at compara-

tively slight expense, by our American youth, within our own domain, as good as can be had by the richest of the English aristocracy, in Cambridge or Oxford, or in the far-famed universities of Continental Europe.

The origin of each of our colleges and universities, if investigated and brought out in detail, would be not only interesting, but in very many instances might read like romance. When, in 1636, the colony of Massachusetts voted to establish the first college in America, only two thousand dollars was the original investment, and the college was located sufficiently near the capital of the State to be secure against the attacks of prowling red men. Our colleges and universities are supported mainly by the investment of moneys granted by the state or contributed by our great denominations or by the munificence of private individuals. Within a single decade the sum of twenty-three million dollars was contributed to the cause of the higher education by private individuals. The tuition in many of our great State and other institutions is free.

The post-graduate courses of our colleges and universities are coming to be so extensive and thorough that those most ambitious for advanced education and equipment scarcely need to go abroad.

The standards of admission and graduation are being raised with successive decades, and the curriculum of study is being expanded yearly by the elective system. Originally the ecclesiastical idea was very conspicuous in the founding of the American college. Not a few of our higher institutions, both East and West, owe their origin and chief encouragement and support to the intelligent interest of the Christian ministry. In even the State universities of our day a very large proportion of the professors and tutors consists of members of the Church. More than half our college students are professing Christians.

There are broad opportunities afforded women in the

higher education of America. Three young women graduated at Oberlin College in 1841. They are said to have been the first women who ever received a college degree in America. Co-education is now the rule in at least two-thirds of our higher institutions of learning. Colleges for the advanced education of women only are multiplying with each decade. To-day the higher education is within the reach of any ambitious student of either sex.

Of the thousands graduating from our many colleges and universities a large percentage works its way through. While this is the more readily done in view of the free scholarships which may often be secured, it tells of character which assures success in life.

From the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1896–97, which gives the latest authentic statistics, we collate the following concerning higher education in the United States:

Universities and Colleges for men and for both sexes, . . .	472

These are classed as follows: Non-sectarian, 114; Methodist Episcopal, 86; Roman Catholic, 59; Presbyterian, 54; Baptist, 51; Congregational, 24; Lutheran, 23; Christian, 17; United Brethren, 8; Friends, 7; Reformed, 7; Protestant Episcopal, 5; Universalist, 4; German and United Evangelical, 3; Seventh Day Adventists, 3; Methodist Protestant, 2; all others, 5.

Male students in these institutions, ...	55,755
Female students in these institutions, ...	16,536
Colleges for women only, ...	157
Number of students in these, ...	14,842
Schools of Technology, ...	48
Male students in these, ...	8,907
Female students in these, ...	1,094

Schools of law, medicine, theology, etc., 785, as follows:

	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	NO. OF WOMEN
Theology,	157	8,173	193
Law,	77	10,449	131
Medical,	150	24,377	1,583
Dental,	48	6,460	150
Pharmacy,	43	3,462	131
Veterinary,	12	364	
Nurse-training,	298	7,263	6,705
Totals,	785	60,512	7,783

The aggregate valuation of the buildings and grounds and the scientific apparatus of these institutions is $341,230,000.

EDUCATION OUT OF SCHOOL.

The awakening of people out of school to the possibility of mental growth for people of all classes and of all ages is one of the most important missions in our day. Apathy and neglect in matters educational work great damage not only to the flippant classes of society, but to the toiling masses, who, although endowed with natural gifts, surrender themselves to the groveling and ignorant life.

Education is possible outside of the schoolroom. It is impossible to overstate the value of high school, college, and the processes of advanced training in universities; but we should not be blind to the fact that many people deprived of the superior advantages of these institutions have attained great power, achieved great success, and enriched the world by their contributions to the departments of science, art, and literature. It is not only men of massive mind and native genius who have illustrated this fact, but in all spheres of life we find people lacking educational facilities who do acquire literary and intellectual power, and whose lives of labor—sometimes of lowly labor—are enriched by their appreciation of the better things of life.

There are between fourteen and sixteen millions of our

American people in the schools to-day—from the kindergarten to the university. There are from fifty-six to sixty millions who are to-day out of school. Some of them have completed the formal educational process; some of them have prematurely abandoned the school; and some have never availed themselves of its most initial provisions.

For this large and varied and important majority of our great American public Chautauqua has made appeal, and initiated provisional plans for a course of reading and study out of school, and all the way through the years of life.

In its originality, in its well-defined purpose, and in the scope of its influence, perhaps there is no institution in the country more distinctively American than what is known as "The Chautauqua Movement," for extending the benefits of a liberal education and university outlook to persons out of school. The idea had its conception in the fertile mind and generous heart of Rev. Dr. John H. Vincent, now a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has been nurtured and perfected by him from its birth to the present time.

Chautauqua has especially put emphasis on the possibilities of intellectual and literary work by men and women of mature years.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle provides a course of home reading for busy people. To complete this reading as given in the books and the magazine—*The Chautauquan*—requires about forty minutes a day for ten months in the year. The distinguishing feature of this course of reading is that it attempts to cover the college student's outlook. It gives readings in ancient, mediæval, and modern history, with an estimate of and specimens from the various distinguished writers of the ages. It discusses the popular side of science, and takes up, in a course of four years, the entire world with which the college student in his course becomes familiar. While the boy or girl in college studies Greek, Latin, German, or French, and becomes a criti-

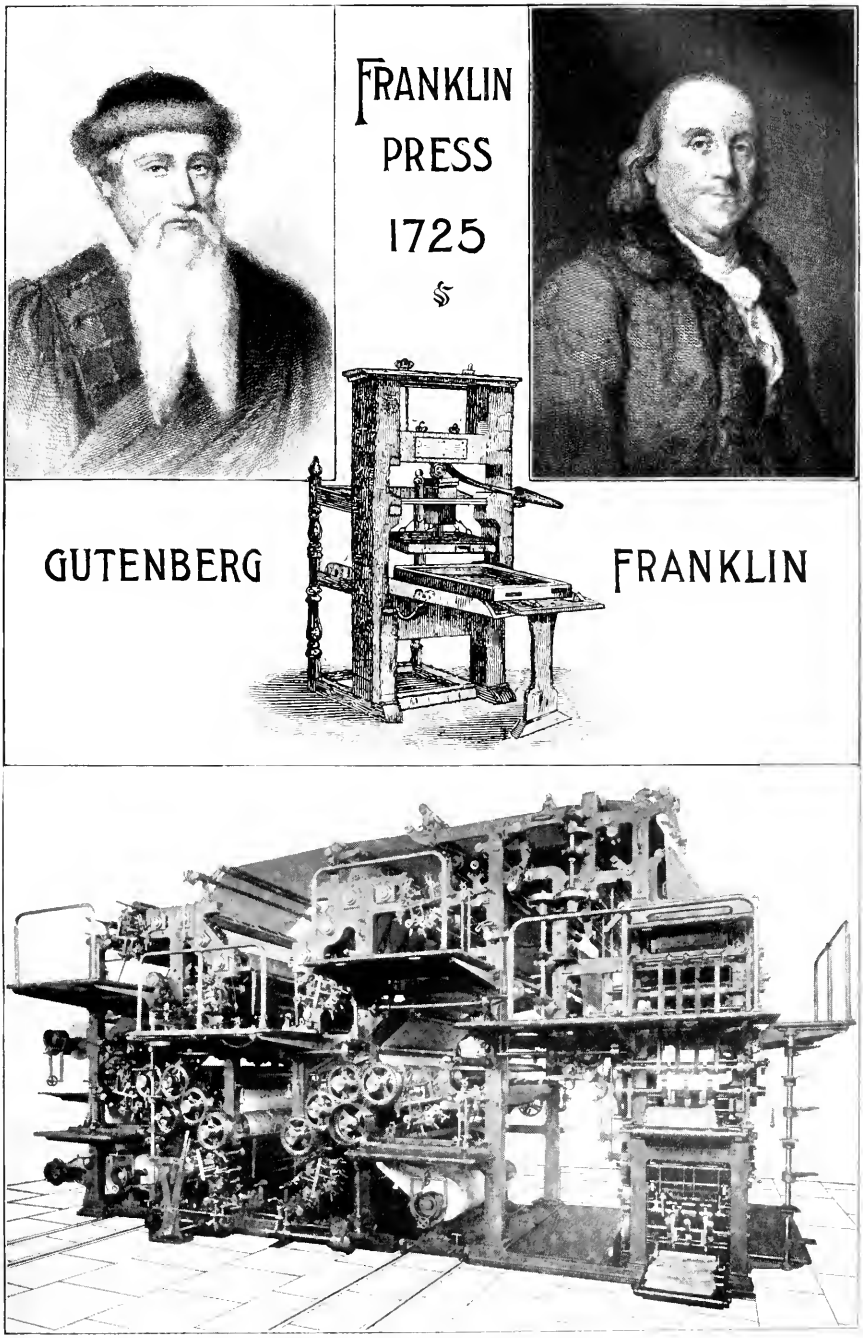
cal student of language, literature, science, and art; the mother at home, burdened with domestic responsibilities, may, by reading attentively every day for less than an hour, be able to know the world unto which her children are introduced through their college training. She and they may talk intelligently together about the same historic characters, the same great writers and artists. She also gets insight into the phenomenal side of the sciences, and reads with some degree of thoroughness in the important world of sociology and political economy. By this admirable plan mother and children are kept together in sympathy and thought, and are able with delight and profit to converse together. It is very evident that for such mothers college boys and girls must have the profoundest respect, and thus the horizon in which all live is substantially the same.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle makes it possible for men who lack early advantages to make up to some extent the deficiency of the other years. It does another thing: it gives college graduates the opportunity of reading in good English, in the world which they have explored during their college lives, but very often in a fragmentary and superficial manner.

The success of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle is phenomenal. More than two hundred thousand names have been enrolled on its lists, and its graduates number many thousands. It would be impossible to compute the beneficent results of this educational movement.

THE FREE PRESS AS AN EDUCATOR.

The free press is one of the weightiest forces now at work in the enlightenment and education of modern society. Whether one stands in Printing House Square, New York City, surrounded by the shouting newsboys, or sits in the quiet retirement of the new Congressional Library in Washington, amid the statuesque representatives of literature,



HOE'S PRESS, 1899.

science, and art of every age, he must realize that the newspaper, the magazine, and the printed volume are potent factors in the development of American thought and character. "Thirty years ago," we are told, "the orators ruled America: to-day it is ruled by the editors."

The invention, in Germany, of the art of printing by the use of movable types was initial to a marvelous increase in modern enlightenment. The familiar picture of Gutenberg, Faust, and Schöffer examining the proof sheets of one of their first ventures in the new typography marks in itself a new era in Western civilization. About the year 1438, in Strasburg, movable wooden types were first employed. Subsequently in Mainz, the first press of any size was set up. On it was printed a large folio Latin Bible in 1455. Amid legal and financial difficulties, in alternating experiences of hope and fear, there were laid "the foundations of an art which was soon to dominate the world." To appreciate our debt of gratitude to John Gutenberg, it must be remembered that up to this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—all books had been written. Beautifully illuminated specimens of this mediæval literature may to-day be seen in the British Museum and in many of the libraries of the land. Notwithstanding the multitude of scribes, transcribers, and illuminators found in the great universities and ecclesiastical establishments of Western Europe, no form of literature could be greatly popularized. Books, thus slowly provided by the calligrapher or illuminated or illustrated by painstaking hand artists became, of course, objects of luxury. Commanding high prices and valued for their richness and variety, they found their place among the coveted treasures of the rich and princely. Dr. Josiah Strong says: "For thousands of years the sun of knowledge was below the world's horizon, and only the very top of the social pyramid could catch his beams."

By "the freedom of the press" in this country is meant the

freedom our people have to print and publish their thoughts, news, and opinions on religious, political, or other subjects, without any official supervision or restriction from church or state—subject only to fixed laws regularly and fairly administered. Said John Milton: "Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all other liberties."

The censorship of the press, affecting the free expression and publication of thought, both restrictive and corrective, was considered for centuries a necessary part of government in Great Britain. By order of the Star Chamber, in the reign of Elizabeth, the right of printing was restricted to the precincts of London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Under its authority the number of printers and presses was limited. An officer called the "messenger of the press" was empowered to search for unlicensed presses and publications. This restraint of the press continued long after the abolition of the Star Chamber, called "the great censorial authority of the Tudor period." It was during the reign of William III. that, in the words of Lord Macaulay, "English literature was emancipated forever from the control of the government." Yet we do well to remember the counter-thought of Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, who, in 1671, wrote back to England: "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them here these three hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

In the Constitution of the United States, as in the constitutions of many of the States, are found strong declarations in favor of the freedom of the press.

While this freedom in our country differs essentially from that prevailing in other countries, large liberty of the press is to-day conceded in most European states. How far the political conditions of Continental governments may have

been influenced for the better by that of our own land we may not certainly say. The dates of a few political enactments are at least suggestive. It was by the Constitution of 1867 that liberty of the press was finally secured to Austria-Hungary. By the Constitution of February 7, 1831, Belgium declared her press to be free. In France, while to print without authority was punishable with death in 1559, by the law of 1881 the liberty of the press and of bookselling was finally asserted. In Germany, as in Italy, the liberty of the press began with the year 1848. The magnificent figure in bronze that looms up to welcome the curious traveler or illiterate immigrant entering the hospitable harbor of New York for the first time is a suggestive symbol of the meaning and mission of the free press of America; it is, "Liberty Enlightening the World."

The benefits of civil and religious liberty are chiefly due to the work of a free and fearless press. The average toiler in factory or in field to-day, among the populations of this broad land, is more intelligent and better informed than were the twenty-six barons in England who signed the Magna Charta. Of these, we are told, only three wrote their names; the remaining twenty-three could only make their mark. The spirit of narrow intolerance, born of ignorance and bigotry, has been often illustrated in the persecution of authors and in the authorized burning of books supposed to be harmful to the interests of state or church. Diocletian caused the Scriptures to be given to the flames. The writings of Arius were burned at the instance of the Council of Nicæa. But a veritable crusade against literature took a new impulse with the discovery of the art of printing. In his "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," John Milton indignantly remonstrated against the work of the clerical censors appointed by the Council of Lateran in 1515. As if, said he, "St. Peter had bequeathed to them the keys of the press as well as of Paradise." Before the invention of printing the press was fettered

by the jealous and zealous espionage of the Roman Church. Any expression of opinions offensive to her tastes, or in antagonism of her authority, teachings, or supposed interests, she aimed to suppress or to control.

In 1543 the Inquisition decreed that no books should be printed without their leave. Booksellers, we are further informed, were required to send in catalogues of their publications. Literary proscription, for many years after this, was so determined that history tells us printing was driven from Italy to Switzerland and to Germany. Expurgatory indexes, issued by Rome at different times, have included the works of names as eminent in English history as those of Gibbon, Hallam, Locke, and Stuart Mill. Literary persecution and proscription have not been confined to the Latin countries alone; they have extended to others as well. In England, early translations of the Bible were suppressed. In fact, Tyndale's Version was publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross on Shrove Tuesday, 1527. In 1607 the English House of Commons ordered Dr. Cowell's Law Dictionary to be burned because the book favored the Divine Right of King James I.

The general enlightenment which a free press helps to secure is an educational force in itself. Education may be formal or informal. The free press, its enlightening influences recognized or unrecognized, is informal in its agency and effects. It may not aim to be an educator while in point of fact it is. One has said: "Machinery is making leisure, popular government is distributing it, and the people are more and more expending it in gaining knowledge." With the application of steam to the means of locomotion and to the printing press, an amazing impulse was given to the circulation of books, periodicals, and dailies throughout the land. Improved postal facilities and the increase, expedition, and enterprise of our great express companies with cheap freightage and rapid transit of every kind—all are contribu-

ting to aid a free press in the spread of popular intelligence. It is but the realization of the word of the prophet—"Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." John Stuart Mill has said: "Almost all travelers are struck by the fact that every American is in some sense both a patriot and a person of cultivated intelligence. No such wide infusion of the ideas, tastes, and sentiments of educated minds has ever been seen elsewhere or conceived of as attainable." In 1884 the public libraries in the United States contained one volume to every two and a half of the population. The newspaper press of this country is the most enterprising newsgatherer known in either hemisphere. Daniel Webster in a discussion on the influence of the press spoke as follows: "Every parent whose son is away from home at school should supply him with a newspaper. I well remember what a marked difference there was between those of my schoolmates who had and those who had not access to newspapers. The first were always superior to the last in debate, composition, and general intelligence."

The free press of America is largely instrumental in forming that public opinion which expresses itself in the votes of the majority and determines the political control of the government. If public opinion, under our republican form of government is, as it has been denominated, a new force in the world, it is the free press in America which most largely molds, directs, and intensifies that force. "The man behind the gun" was the all-important factor in the late war with Spain. The man behind the sermon, the lecture, or the speech has his influence on public thought, but much more has the man behind the free-press editorial. The press is the recognized organ of public opinion. It forms public opinion. It educates it as really as it expresses it. "The man on the cars" is a reading man. Book, magazine, or paper is usually in his hand. He may never have seen either college or high school. His is the informal education of the free press. He

has opinions on the great questions of the day. He feels free to make them known.

In estimating the free press as an educator, we must take into consideration not only the vast energies and enterprise of the distinctively secular press, with its enormous annual output of works literary, philosophic, and scientific, but we must think of the moral and religious uplift afforded the nations of the earth by the polyglot publications in this country and in Great Britain of the great Bible societies of the world. We may well be reminded of the historic fact in our own country that "the first Congress assumed the right and performed the duty of a Bible society long before such an institution had an existence in the world." The many denominational publishing houses also have made their distinct contribution to the moral and religious betterment of the people of our own and of other lands. The great tract societies of the country have been an educational power in themselves. It is significant that the oldest religious newspaper was named *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, and was published at Portsmouth, N. H., September 1, 1803.

The English language is rapidly becoming a world language. If it be true that "it is the final competition of races for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled," it is evident that the free press of America is to be a mighty agency in the schooling.

There are necessary limitations which must be put upon even the freedom of the press when that freedom is mistakenly understood. Under even the best forms of government, men are free only to do right. They must not mistake license for liberty. The state has a right to guard itself against the machinations of the traitor. Society must protect itself against any assaults made on the foundations of morality. Even the free press may give us a literature that is pernicious rather than pure. It may be a demoralizing agency positive and widespread. Its influence for evil, as for good, may be

incalculable. It may be "perdition literature," sapping the very foundations of morality and virtue. It may deprave the public taste, and eat out of the heart of the young and inexperienced every lofty sentiment and every noble desire. Joseph Cook once said: "There is a long tail to the kite of American journalism, and a considerable portion of it is bedraggled by the gutters."

One justification of the absolute freedom of the press is found in the fact that when any particular newspaper establishes a reputation for lying by manufacturing its news, or by continuous vilifying personal assaults, it loses its influence upon the public mind and is never thereafter taken seriously or given credibility; and from its experience with one such newspaper the public comes to weigh suspiciously and carefully the claims to credence of the entire press. Thus the public judgment sets bounds to the freedom of the press, and when it confounds license with liberty it loses its influence and becomes an object of scorn instead of an educator of opinion and a promoter of action.

The United States Congress, by an enactment March 3, 1873, prohibits the printing and circulation of obscene literature. Men may abuse the liberty accorded to them under laws as beneficent as those of our republic, but they are responsible for such abuses. This fact is nobly educational. Added to this is the challenge made to an antagonistic public sentiment which, aside from the enactments of special laws, can demand the correction of these abuses.

Another has said:

"We seldom pass the pressroom of a large printing house or daily journal without being reminded of this impressive fact. We look upon one of these vast machines as a magazine of power which laughs to scorn the archimedean problem. It is a power with a lever as long as eternity, as subtle as thought, as quick as the sunlight, and resting on the fulcrum of the mind, bedded in the immortality of the soul. He who uses

that power has a responsibility which sweeps in the lines of his active influence beyond the stars and upward to the bar of final accountability."

The historic record between Franklin's Press of 1725 and Hoe's Press of 1899 embraces the most important events, excepting only the event which gave birth to the Christian era, in the annals of time, and in the development of a civilization made possible by the illuminating and liberating power of a press which first asserted its own freedom and then demanded it for man.

There are published in the United States 23,000 newspapers and periodicals.

Of these about 2200 are published daily; nearly 16,000 are weekly publications, and over 2000 are monthly.

Over 800 are published in the interests of religion.

Four hundred and sixty are devoted to education, about 300 of these being college publications.

Medicine and surgery are represented by 200, and science, mechanics, and art by about 300.

Agricultural interests have 400 publications and trade and commerce have 1100.

There are 1175 newspapers and periodicals published in languages other than the English.

From the latest statistics published by the United States Bureau of Education, we tabulate the following instructive information concerning Libraries:

There are in the United States over 8000 libraries of over 300 volumes each. More than 4000 of these possess 1000 volumes or over.

In these 8000 libraries the aggregate number of bound volumes is not less than 35,000,000, and the number of pamphlets about 6,000,000.

Included in the above enumeration are over 650 libraries, each containing 3000 volumes or over, which are entirely free to the public.

Philip II.
Charles V.
Pope Pius IV.

Catherine de Medici

A GALLERY OF TYRANTS AND FOES OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

PART III.

ANGLO-SAXON AND LATIN CIVILIZATIONS.

SPAIN IN HISTORY THE REPRESENTATIVE LATIN TYPE.

THE Spaniards of early history were a composite people; a great variety of stocks mingled in their blood.

Celts, Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Franks, Vandals, Visigoths, and Saracens, by forcible invasion or peaceful settlement, took part in peopling the Iberian Peninsula. When the Peninsula became by conquest a Roman province it was called Hispania, and Roman customs and laws and the Latin language were introduced. The Roman system of jurisprudence and the Latin language, which forms the substance of the Spanish language, still remain.

When Spain's rulers first embraced the Catholic faith her history of intolerance began, by compelling its acceptance by the people, by persecution of the Jews, and by tortures and confiscations.

The crowns and kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, on October 19, 1469, were united by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand. The ties of consanguinity were so close that this marriage could not be legally consummated without papal dispensation, which could not at that time be secured; but this difficulty was easily surmounted by the Archbishop of Toledo forging a bull of dispensation with the approval of the royal bridegroom, but not with the knowledge of the royal bride, who, upon the discovery of the ecclesiastical forgery, was indignant; but the matter was adjusted by a succeeding Pope, who gave validity to the fraudulent marriage by issuing an orthodox and authoritative bull. In 1479 Ferdinand suc-

ceeded to the throne of his fathers, and then the Spanish kingdom absorbed Castile and Aragon.

The united reign of Ferdinand and Isabella marked an historic era of fruitfulness in conscienceless intolerance and ingenious cruelty, and of extended territorial conquest; of exhibitions of knightly valor, of heartless persecutions, and of the discovery of the New World. In 1481 the Inquisition was established; and in 1492 Granada was conquered and consolidated with Spain, the Jews were expelled, and America was discovered.

The Inquisition is a papal Roman Catholic institution or tribunal employed as a converting and financial agency in many countries where Romanism has held sway. As an institution it reached the limits of its perfected possibilities in Spain, and therefore has come to be generally known as "The Spanish Inquisition." It was constituted by papal bull. The first Inquisitor General of Spain was Friar Torquemada. It is interesting to note that Martin Luther was born the same year that Torquemada began his official work. Prescott says of him: "This man's zeal was of such an extravagant character that it may almost shelter itself under the name of insanity." The Moors and the Jews, who had been baptized into the Roman faith by compulsion, were the first victims to be burned at Seville on a scaffold, "with the statues of four prophets attached to the corners."

The Inquisition was an ecclesiastical torture machine run with religious zeal and employed for political purposes, to enrich the treasuries of subservient and despotic monarchs, that they in turn might be firmly held in bondage to the papal head of ecclesiasticism. This was an effective process for shaping Spanish-Latin civilization.

From the first Ferdinand gladly welcomed this revenue-producing machine, but Isabella resisted its introduction into Spain, until her scruples were overcome by the spiritual counsels of the inventors.

The Inquisition was styled the Holy Office. The accused, when summoned, paralyzed with fear, appeared without protest and without knowledge of charge or testimony, for secret trial, and without counsel with family or friends or knowledge of the process of his trial, except as its steps were punctuated with tortures. Appeal to Rome could only be made through the Inquisitor himself.

By the power given to the Inquisition by papal order every Roman Catholic was obliged to convey to its authorities information in his possession against all, even his nearest kindred. The secret of the diabolical possibilities of the Holy Office was found in the confessional, where the more honest and pious the believer the more valuable the testimony he would be liable to give to the unscrupulous priest who stood between his soul and his God; and, prostituting his sacred office, the priest passed the secrets of the soul and the safety and lives of kindred into the hands of the pitiless Inquisitor. Has dishonor ever exceeded this?

The confessional has for centuries been the chief secret of the power of Roman Catholicism in many directions, over the faith, the morals, the social and political beliefs of its adherents. It is a doubtfully delicate and often a dangerously exercised power.

The Inquisition inflicted as penalties: Confiscation of property, which was divided between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; the dungeon, the galley, the lash, the brand of infamy upon the subject and his descendants, and death in various forms—the most popular being the *auto-da-fé*, where, after a long and ostentatious celebration, the victims were burned as an exhibition.

It is asserted by high authorities that the official records show that during the eighteen years of the Inquisitor-generalship of Torquemada, 10,220 victims were burned, 6860 condemned and burned in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 subjected to penalties less than death.

Intolerance invented the Inquisition. The sanctions of the religion bearing the name of the crucified Christ were used by Rome in Spain to cover the cruelties of thousands of crucifixions, and to debase a nation by familiarizing its people, many of whom were both cultured and chivalrous, with a public spectacle of the terrible sufferings of those who had violated no just law of God or man. For three hundred years the Inquisition seized and sacrificed its victims in Spain; and while it no longer ventures to face with its tortures the civilization of the century closing, Spain yet has no religious liberty, and only grudging toleration.

When the Saracens and the Moors conquered Granada, they proved by their treatment of the Spaniards that their Mohammedanism possessed less bigotry and intolerance than the type of Christianity illustrated by their antagonists.

When, under Ferdinand and Isabella, Granada was conquered, the land was made desolate by a barbarous system of warfare, which not only confiscated the property of the conquered and destroyed their national wealth, but substantially either drove them into exile or consigned them to slavery.

The Spanish theory of government which that nation has practiced for four centuries grew out of its military prowess in its wonderful war with the Saracens when the nation was unified. It is based upon military might which first conquers and then holds a people in submission without the slightest care as to their material and social well-being, and which is only scrupulous about prompt payments of excessive demands for national revenue and unquestioning adherence to the religion of the state.

March 30, 1492, is the date of one of the most cruel and infamous acts in human history, as on this date at Granada the edict was signed for the expulsion of 160,000 Jews from Spain because of their thrift and wealth, and because they declined to be forced to the acceptance of Spanish Roman Catholicism. They had been native Spaniards for fifty generations. They

were allowed only four months to effect their permanent departure, and upon property conditions that made them paupers. The penalty for return was death; the penalty of compulsory departure was banishment from their homes, with destitution and death in many strange lands.

A century later, by religious persecutions, political proscriptions, and royal edicts, the Moors had all been driven from Spain. In 117 years Spain drove nearly 700,000 of her people into banishment.

The last years of the fifteenth century witnessed Spain's highest prosperity in all her history. The confiscation of the property of the peoples she had exiled, peace among her various provinces, her victory over Italy, the commerce and treasure of newly discovered countries, and astute rulers made her great and powerful.

Columbus, an Italian turned Spaniard, his theories rejected by the other European sovereigns, found favor with Isabella, to whose foresight, sagacity, self-sacrifice, and courage credit must be accorded.

It looks like a strange providence that monarchs of the history and character of Ferdinand and Isabella, representing a civilization infamous for cruelties, should be permitted to send out the discoverer of this New World.

No sooner had the discoverer set up the cross on the island outposts of the New World—not as a sign of liberty for man, but, as the event proved, the sign of discovery, spoliation, and slavery—than Spaniards in Columbus' train gave vent, in their treatment of the inhabitants, to the inherent qualities of their nature by what has been fittingly described as "a visitation of hell." They enslaved the natives, and gave as a reason for their course that it would bring them into contact with the Christian religion.

At the various stages of Isabella's progress as a sovereign, she seemed to be moved by humane promptings and generous purposes; but she was with great uniformity overruled in the

one and thwarted in the other. Ecclesiastics could persuade or dissuade her concerning almost any course of action.

Irving, in his "Life of Columbus," says: "Twelve years had not elapsed since the discovery of the island [of Hispaniola], and several hundred thousand of its native inhabitants had perished, miserable victims of the white men."

The history of the conquests of Mexico and Peru by Cortez and Pizarro, early in the sixteenth century, reads like a record of the sport of fiends or like a tragedy founded upon the prowess of the emissaries of Satan. Cortez and Pizarro and their following exhibited courage and valor, cruelty and treachery, boldness and sagacity, avarice and wantonness. They were faithful exponents of the civilization which made them possible and of a type of religion which it was both blasphemous and infamous to call Christian. Mexico was enslaved by Spain in 1519, and liberated by rebellion in 1824. Peru was crushed by Spain in 1532, and resurrected by revolution in 1820. It is a marvel that these peoples, after three hundred years of ideal and oppressive Spanish rule, are making any creditable advance in self-government. The civil oppressor has departed, but the ecclesiastical oppressor remains, and is making an agonizing effort to maintain his intolerant clutch.

In the Preface to "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" Motley says: "The splendid empire of Charles V. was erected upon the grave of liberty. The ancient streams of national freedom and human progress, through many of the fairest regions of the world, were emptied and lost in that enormous gulf. It is a consolation to those who have hope in humanity to watch, under the reign of his successors, the gradual but triumphant resurrection of the spirit over which the sepulcher had so long been sealed."

The relation of Charles to the Netherlands, where he had been born and educated and of which he had been the nominal ruler since 1506, was that of unmitigated oppression.

He shed the blood of their bravest people. He enriched himself from their treasures, and spent enormous sums extorted from them in wars in which they had no concern, and sought in every way to destroy their dearly-bought civil and religious liberties. He planted the Inquisition in their fair land. The number of Netherlanders who by his edicts were "burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive" for reading the Scriptures and other kindred crimes, has never been put lower than fifty thousand, and by many authorities as high as one hundred thousand. This infamous wretch summoned his Estates about him and, assuring them of his past and present affection, abdicated. What possibilities of infamy are open to Spanish royal scoundrels may be appreciated when history tells us that Charles "was never as odious as his successor."

While the domain of Charles was a vast European empire he depended upon Spain for his soldiers and his finances.

Philip II. was Charles' only legitimate son and his successor. He established a crushing despotism. He used the army of one province to overcome the liberties of another. He used the Inquisition to suppress both secular and religious dissent. He compelled the Cortes to legalize his tyrannies and remove all obstacles to their exercise. His intolerance caused the Netherlands successfully to revolt and secure independence. In 1567 Philip sent Alva to the Netherlands with 10,000 armed men and 2000 prostitutes, and established "The Council of Troubles" as a re-enforcement to the Inquisition. As part of the fruit of this new engine of tyranny, Motley says: "The whole country became a charnel house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village. Columns and stakes in every street, the doors of private houses, the fences in the fields, were laden with human carcasses, strangled, burned, beheaded. The orchards in the country bore on many a tree the fruit of human bodies." Alva, after six years' rule, boasted that in addition to those slain in battle and

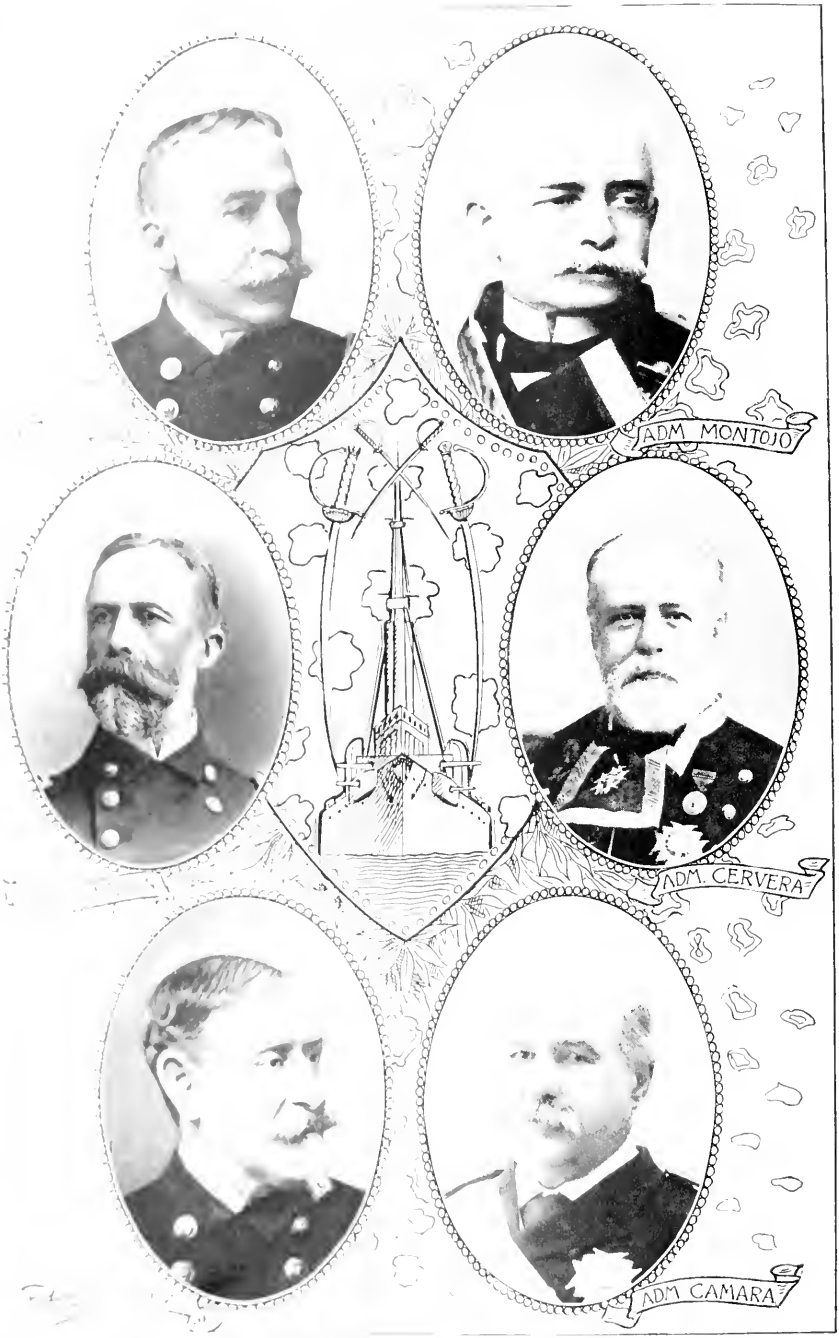
massacred he had executed 18,600 people, and in a single massacre mercilessly slaughtered 7000 patriots. For forty years Spain through her instruments continued her work of attempted extermination of liberty in the Netherlands, even hiring the assassination of William of Orange and rewarding the assassin and his heirs.

If character had floated on her ships and stood in command on her decks and behind her guns, Spain would normally have been the mistress of the seas, from the choice geographical position she occupied, with her extended coastline washed by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and her colonial possessions embracing the wealth of the Orient and of the New World. Captain Mahan, in his work on "The Influence of Sea-Power upon History," says: "Since the battle of Lepanto in 1571, though engaged in many wars, no sea victory of any consequence shines on the pages of Spanish history; and the decay of her commerce sufficiently accounts for the painful and sometimes ludicrous inaptness shown on the decks of her ships of war." The Spanish were always defeated by the Dutch and English. Their one victory was over the Turks, after forming an alliance with the Pope's forces and the fleets of Venice and Genoa.

In 1587 30 English ships destroyed the Spanish war-ships and merchantmen in the harbor of Cadiz.

In 1588 "The Invincible Armada," composed of 130 ships, 3165 guns, 30,000 men, 300 monks and priests, and the near general of the Inquisition, which it was proposed to set up in England, entered the English Channel. The English had 67 ships. After days of battle with shot and fire, re-enforced by storm, there returned to the Spanish coast 54 shattered vessels of the "Armada" and about 10,000 demoralized and disease-stricken men. A higher civilization was afloat on all seas.

In 1639 a Spanish navy composed of about 70 ships was captured or destroyed by about 20 Dutch ships.



THE COMMANDERS OF THE OPPOSING FLEETS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

In 1718 the Spanish navy was destroyed at Cape Passaro.

In 1805 at Trafalgar the combined Spanish and French fleets were defeated by the English.

On May 1, 1898, the Spaniard again meets the Anglo-Saxon, of the American type, in Manila Bay, and in a few hours his entire Asiatic fleet is destroyed. On July 3, 1898, the best ships of the Spanish navy comprising the Atlantic fleet, which was expected to destroy the cities on the American coast, were utterly annihilated at Santiago. A higher civilization was afloat on all seas.

History repeated itself in many particulars in these last naval contests between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin Spaniard.

In 1588 Howard in the English Channel commanded a ship named *Raleigh*, and in 1898 in Manila Bay there was a ship named *Raleigh* in Dewey's fleet. In 1588 the loss on the English ships was inconsiderable, while the Spanish lost two-thirds of their entire force of men and most of their ships. In 1898 the loss on the American ships was inconsiderable, while the Spanish lost all of their ships and all of their men by death or as prisoners.

In 1588 the Spanish people were told that the Armada had been victorious, and that "the great dog, Sir Francis Drake," had been taken prisoner and put in chains. In 1898, after the naval battles of Manila and Santiago, the Spanish people were told that the "Yankee pigs" had been beaten and their commanders had been taken prisoners.

One of the Spanish traits emphasized by the war was their capacity for lying, not simply to their enemies, but to their own people. In their reports of engagements on sea and land it would be difficult to find a single instance in which they told the simple truth. They seemed to have an unconquerable prejudice, amounting to hatred, against veracity. Their souls seemed to feed on deception as a regular diet. A glimmer of the sunshine of truth seemed to dazzle their vision.

For Spain a war with the United States was necessary, to cover up the stealings of military, naval, and civil officers at home and abroad and to preserve untarnished her Latin sense of honor.

Mrs. J. Addison Porter reported from the seat of war that Spanish troops at Santiago fired upon the Red Cross ambulances.

Lieutenant Joseph A. Carr says: "While under the shadow of the Red Cross I was shot again in the hip. The Spanish seemed to direct their most savage fire wherever they saw the Red Cross." This is the all but unanimous testimony of the wounded at Santiago, and of those who had them in charge, among the American troops.

In the light of history, the following statement by Father Hecker reads strangely:

"The discovery of the Western Continent was eminently a religious enterprise. Columbus had in vain sought aid for his great undertaking from his native city Genoa, from Portugal, England, Venice, and the court of Spain; and it was after these fruitless applications that Juan Perez, the prior of La Rabida, took up his cause and pleaded it with so much earnestness and ability in a letter to Queen Isabella that she at once sent for Columbus and offered to pledge her jewels to obtain funds for the expedition. The motive which animated Columbus, in common with the Franciscan friar and Isabella the Catholic, was the burning desire to carry the blessings of the Christian faith to the inhabitants of a new continent, and it was the inspiration of this idea which brought a new world to light."

There is nothing except the bare fact of discovery, in connection with the Spanish conquest and occupation for three centuries of the Americas, that is worthy of any favorable judgment from mankind. The experiment may have been necessary to prove that God would not permit such a civilization to control the New World.

Two hundred and seventy-five years ago the Latin powers had no rival on this continent. One hundred and fifty years ago there were a few Dutch and English colonists on the northern Atlantic coast. Now, without an exception worth noting, the Anglo-Saxon race rules North America with constitutional government based upon Christian principles.

Under Spanish occupation, native and African slavery was introduced into the islands Columbus discovered, exterminating the original inhabitants, and placing the native races of half the continent in the rear of all the Christian peoples in the world at the end of four centuries. An insane hunt for gold, and the mediæval union of church and state, were the propelling powers of Spanish-American occupation.

The Latin nations—the Spanish, French, and Portuguese—settled and practically occupied the western continent for two centuries. What did they do for their race, and what did they do in making this and the other American republics?

The joint governments of Castile and Aragon, under Ferdinand and Isabella, represent the initiation of an era of civil and religious despotism and of a destructive industrial policy which in these four centuries has reduced the proudest nation in Europe to a power that the other nations neither fear nor respect.

Spain has always been an exterminator among the nations and never a civilizer. She has never assimilated the peoples she has conquered or ruled, but has isolated and exasperated them to hatred and rebellion. Incapable of governing herself, she of necessity cannot govern colonies.

In her conquest of nations in the Old World, and in her conquest of nations and planting of colonies in the New World, she made everything contribute to the increase of wealth and power of the home government; we will not say the mother government, because she never sustained such a relation to the people she subdued as to inspire the feeling of filial loyalty.

the Spaniard is cruel and conscienceless, but very religious. The copartnership of bullfights and religious devotions cogently put to the front a Weyler.

"The reader will now be able to understand the real nature of Spanish civilization. He will see how, under the high-sounding names of loyalty and religion, lurk the deadly evils which those names have always concealed, but which it is the business of the historian to drag to light and expose. A blind spirit of reverence, taking the form of an unworthy and ignominious submission to the crown and the Church, is the capital and essential vice of the Spanish people. It is their sole national vice, and it has sufficed to ruin them. From it all nations have grievously suffered, and many still suffer. But nowhere in Europe has this principle been so long supreme as in Spain. Therefore, nowhere else in Europe are the consequences so manifest and so fatal. The idea of liberty is extinct, if, indeed, in the true sense of the word, it ever can be said to have existed.

"Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impressions upon it. There she lies, at the further extremity of the Continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of the feelings and knowledge of the Middle Ages. And, what is the worst symptom of all, she is satisfied with her own condition. Though she is the most backward country in Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of everything of which she should be ashamed. She is proud of the antiquity of her opinions; proud of her orthodoxy; proud of the strength of her faith; proud of her immeasurable and childish credulity; proud of her unwillingness to amend either her creed or her customs; proud of her hatred of heretics; and proud of the undying ignorance with which she has baffled their efforts to obtain a full and legal establishment on her soil.

"All these things, conspiring together, produce, in their

aggregate, that melancholy exhibition to which we give the collective name of Spain. The history of that single word is the history of nearly every vicissitude of which the human species is capable."—"*History of Civilization*," *Buckle, vol. ii. pp. 119–122.*

AMERICA'S EARLY ESCAPE FROM THE GRASP OF LATIN CIVILIZATION.

No new worlds on the earth are hidden awaiting a discoverer. The discovery of the New World completed the territorial circuit of the globe. Civilization must be perfected where nations now exist, as no virgin soil remains for the planting of new seeds, and no new theater can be opened for the trial of experiments. Problems must be solved, perils must be averted, principles must be intrenched in the midst of conditions caused by conflicting civilizations. The last, and thus far the most successful experiment in civilization in its western course, is found in the Christian, republican, Anglo-Saxon civilization of the American republic, because it has secured civil and religious liberty, industrial progress, social happiness, educational opportunities, and individual prosperity to more people under one national and political system than history has ever before been permitted to record.

The race, with its best as well as its worst religions and philosophies, was cradled in the East. But as it moved out and away from its cradle, the character of its civilization has improved in strength and sturdiness in its westward march; its religions becoming tolerant and its philosophies practical. The races which have remained in the lands adjacent to the birthplace of the race, and multiplied into hundreds of millions, are separated from Western civilization by a chasm the width of which is not measured by seas or continents, but by centuries belated by a conservatism that has erected impassable barriers.

The parallels of latitude which embrace our geographical and climatic limitations also mark the birthplace of the greatest leaders of humanity, the theater of the greatest events in history, of the greatest triumphs of genius, and of the procession of the mightiest races of men.

We have greater natural, political, and economic advantages than any other people, and therefore greater responsibilities. We have great problems to solve.

"Unsettled questions and pressing problems are the police of the world, always on duty, giving nations no repose, and bidding humanity move ever on."

How these problems are solved must be dictated by the character of our civilization.

The theory of our civilization certainly is the greatest good of the greatest number, and that greatest number certainly hold the political power and fortunes of the commonwealth in their hands.

Of our civilization Matthew Arnold says: "The political and social problem does seem to be solved there with remarkable success."

Our civilization is Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon civilization is Protestant civilization. Latin civilization is Roman Catholic civilization.

We can hardly subscribe to the sentiment uttered by the late Archbishop Hughes that "The jewels of Isabella the Catholic would be an appropriate ornament for the sword of Washington."

While we ought to be grateful that Columbus, aided by Isabella, discovered the outposts of this continent, we ought to be supremely grateful that the civilization they represented neither ornamented nor wielded the sword of Washington.

Papal Spain put Columbus in chains and disgraced him, then scattered monuments over its possessions in his memory.

The Anglo-Saxon intellect and conscience have never in-

dorsed the pretensions or dogmas of the papacy, although they have at times been compelled to submit to its supremacy.

Latin civilization at the present time has only one bond in common, and that is the recognition of Romanism as a politico-ecclesiastical religious power used for political purposes.

The first devotion of the Latin is given to a person and not to a principle, but the first devotion of an Anglo-Saxon is given to a principle and not to a person.

The English language makes no distinction between law and justice as the Latin language does, and this constitutes the vital difference between the English and Latin civilizations.

In countries of Anglo-Saxon civilization an accused man is considered innocent until proved guilty, but in countries of Latin civilization an accused man is considered guilty until he is proved innocent. The Dreyfus and Picquart cases in so-called republican France illustrate even the most liberal and advanced type of Latin civilization's conception of justice to individual man, where the accused were not only assumed to be guilty, but were denied the opportunity of proving their innocence. The spirit and character of the Inquisition have poisoned the blood of the body politic in every nation where Rome yet has ecclesiastical hold upon the people.

Surpassed by Venice in the national rivalry for wealth and empire, and excluded from approach to Asia by any overland route, the nations of Western Europe in their quest for an unobstructed entrance to the golden gates turned westward, and without intent revealed to the Old World a new continent and a New World, which were to furnish the human race a new chance for development, freed from despotism, fanaticism, and pauperism.

The discovery of America is referred to by Humboldt as a "wonderful concatenation of trivial circumstances," which undeniably exercised an influence on the course of the world's destiny. "These circumstances are," Washington Irving has justly observed, "that if Columbus had resisted the counsel

of Martin Alonso Pinzon, and continued to steer westward, he would have entered the Gulf Stream, and been borne to Florida, and from thence probably to Cape Hatteras and Virginia, a circumstance of incalculable importance, since it might have been the means of giving the United States of North America a Catholic-Spanish population in the place of the Protestant-English, one by which those regions were subsequently colonized. 'It seems to me like an inspiration,' said Pinzon to the admiral, 'that my heart dictates to me that we ought to steer in a different direction.' It was on the strength of this circumstance that, in the celebrated lawsuit which Pinzon carried on against the heirs of Columbus between 1513 and 1515, he maintained that the discovery of America was alone due to him. This inspiration, Pinzon owed, as related by an old sailor, at the same trial, *to the flight of a flock of parrots*, which he had observed in the evening flying toward the southwest, in order, as he might well have conjectured, to roost on trees on the land. *Never has a flight of birds been attended with more important results.*"

Franz Sigel writes: "If the decree of Pope Alexander VI. had prevailed, the American continent would have become a Spanish province; but fortunately, not only Portugal, but France, England, the Dutch, and the Swedes very soon entered into practical competition with the Spanish conquerors, and while the French began their operations in Canada and in the Mississippi Valley, the English, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Germans settled, slowly but securely, upon the Atlantic coast, forming the very germ and nucleus of what is now the United States of America.

"By a coincidence of most fortunate circumstances it so happened that, while everywhere else on this continent the despotic and bigoted governments of France and Spain held unrestricted sway over conquered provinces, here, on the Eastern slope of the Alleghanies, grew up corporations and colonies of quite a different sort. Instead of the hidalgo and

Ferdinand. *Caravels of Columbus.* *Isabella.*

Columbus. *Vespucius.*

filibuster, the wild speculator and adventurer, the friar and the Jesuit, there came the Puritan and the Quaker, the Huguenot, the Dutch Reformer and the Swedish Protestant, the Moravian and Baptist, the German Lutheran and refugee from devastated Palatinate, Alsace, and Southern Germany. In fact, the most persecuted, but also the most liberal elements of European society sought shelter and a new home in the New World, and finally succeeded, by their energy, self-reliance, and faith, by their love of liberty and love of labor, in building up new communities, cities, and States, and in laying the foundation of a powerful empire as a counterpoise to despotism, suppression, and religious intolerance."

The present generations of American citizens ought to be grateful that God postponed their arrival on this globe until the nineteenth century of the Christian era, when man is no longer the slave but the master of nature; when science tunnels the mountains, skims the seas, transforms thought into implements of daily use, and is harnessed to Jehovah's triumphal chariot in its way among the nations, and when there is one land in which civil and religious liberty is the unquestioned right of all men.

In these history-making times it becomes all citizens to do some serious thinking and recall the sources of our civilization. Since the gun on the *Pinta's* deck, on October 12, 1492, caused air to vibrate which until that hour had never resounded to cannon's roar, four centuries of American history have been enacted and recorded. The highest proof of the favor of the Divine Ruler of the universe toward this land is found in the fact that during the first century of the four of our history God stretched his omnipotent hand over North America, and did not permit the type of civilization represented by the nations from which the discoverer came to take root.

After America was discovered the hand of God hid and sheltered it, and prohibited from settlement for a century

its three thousand miles of coast line. "The Almighty paced up and down America, after its discovery, like a stern sentry, holding off the nations for a hundred years," said Dr. Roswell Hitchcock. The new continent had been revealed. Its possession was coveted by the nations of the Old World, but they were restrained. The explanation of the cause of this restraint is found in the events which were transpiring in Europe in the first American century. The Scriptures were being disentombed and being read, and were quickening intellect, purifying politics, and inspiring heroic faith. The colonizers of our country were all inspired by the power of a liberated Bible. The Bible, buried for a thousand years, was resurrected just at the time when the men who were to colonize America were born, and in these men the germ of republicanism, which was the written and preserved thought of God for man's government of man, was born.

Edward Everett says of the source of the power of these men: "Although born the subjects of a monarchy, accustomed to an hereditary nobility and a splendid hierarchy, they put everything at once on the footing of a broad, downright political equality. Why? Under what influence? Men do not, like Divine Power, create worlds out of nothing. Where did our fathers find the elements out of which they constructed the social edifice? They found them in the Bible. The plan of a representative republic, which they devised, will go down with the Scriptures from which its principles are drawn, to the latest posterity."

Under God, these men rescued us from the grasp of a Latin civilization, and furnished fountains of life-blood for a noble national life with all its infinite current of blessings.

Latin civilization, with its union of church and state, in the Central and South American states, in Mexico and Cuba, reveals to us what we have escaped. Ferdinand and Isabella united the crowns of Castile and Aragon and became the inventors of the Inquisition, which sent to death, for the

crime of holding personal religious opinions, ten thousand of their subjects, and deluged Europe with blood. "Spanish policy in America has always been the same; a policy of suppression and spoliation, of death and desolation, and it has never been relinquished save when set aside by successive revolts and revolutions." African slavery was our inheritance from Spain. Then Spain was honored and feared by all nations; now she is honored and feared by none but despised by all.

The discovery of America marked a new departure in the history of the human race, with the best of the past civilizations surrounding its initial movements. One of our scholars has said: "America is but another name for opportunity," and one of our orators has said: "The cross on Calvary meant hope; the cross on San Salvador meant opportunity," but God required this goodly land to wait for a prepared race of men to enter into opportunity.

As we have seen, our civilization sprang from types of character which legitimately should produce an intelligent, full-orbed, and sovereign manhood.

As the resultant of this American Christian civilization from such a marvelous and composite heredity, we enjoy our distinctively American institutions, principles, and privileges, which we ought to appreciate and which we are bound to defend.

These institutions are in vital particulars distinctively American and original, and not inherited from the civilizations of nations of longer lineage. With such an inheritance and with such privileges ought not our people to be patriotic? Patriotism is an American instinct. It is the vital air of citizenship in the republic. We welcome the representatives of all inferior civilizations to enjoy our superior civilization, but not to undermine or destroy it. We welcome the refugees from civil and religious bondage and persecution from all climes to the freedom and protection of our

restrictions, but they must not confound liberty with license, nor use our free air to float the banners of anarchy and nihilism.

AMERICAN POPULATIONS AND CIVILIZATION ESSENTIALLY ANGLO-SAXON.

All the facts and approximate estimates concerning the racial constitution of the American people go to show that the Anglo-Saxon element strongly preponderates, constituting nearly two-thirds of the white population. Our origin, our language, our institutions, our distinctive character are all Anglo-Saxon, and the contributions from other races to our national progress have been valuable only as they have been molded by our institutions and have not sought to change them.

Dr. Edward E. Cornwall, as the result of discriminating study, furnishes the following statement in the New York Sun, September, 1898:

"Of the 3,000,000 white Americans of 1790, five-sixths were Anglo-Saxon; the remaining sixth were divided among the Continental Teutonic, the Celtic, and the miscellaneous classes, the Teutonic embracing the largest share.

"Dividing, according to these proportions, the 32,500,000 who in 1890 represented the natural increase of the 3,000,000 of 1790, I find that the Anglo-Saxons amounted to 27,000,000, the Continental Teutons to 3,500,000, the Celts to 1,500,000, and the miscellaneous to 500,000.

"Now, making a final summation, I find that the 55,000,000 white Americans of 1890 are racially divided as follows:

Anglo-Saxon of colonial ancestry,	27,000,000
Anglo-Saxon of American, but post colonial ancestry,	1,000,000
Anglo-Saxon of foreign parentage,	2,000,000
Anglo-Saxon of foreign birth,	2,000,000
Total Anglo-Saxon,	32,000,000

Continental Teutonic of colonial ancestry,	3,500,000
Continental Teutonic of American, but post-colonial ancestry,	500,000
Continental Teutonic of foreign parentage,	5,000,000
Continental Teutonic of foreign birth,	4,000,000
Total Continental Teutonic,	13,000,000
Celtic of colonial ancestry,	1,500,000
Celtic of American, but post-colonial ancestry,	500,000
Celtic of foreign parentage,	3,000,000
Celtic of foreign birth,	2,000,000
Total Celtic,	7,000,000
Miscellaneous of colonial ancestry,	500,000
Miscellaneous of American, but post-colonial ancestry,	500,000
Miscellaneous of foreign parentage,	1,000,000
Miscellaneous of foreign birth,	1,000,000
Total miscellaneous,	3,000,000

A ROMAN CATHOLIC TRIBUTE TO OUR ANGLO-SAXON CIVILIZATION.

"The Anglo-Saxon race in the United States were given the conservative instincts which arose from their thorough knowledge of the laws and institutions which had been in the old country the outcome and expression of their whole social life —a life continued in the new, and there expressed by the same institutions, the same laws, the same forms of government, in so far as the altered circumstances of a new existence permitted their doing so.

"God gave the Anglo-Saxon race at home, in what, in the fullest comprehensiveness of the word, we may call the British Constitution, this full embodiment of the character, the tendencies, the needs of the race ; He gave them with that enlightened love and a deep attachment to these forms of their social life.

"In America these forms, with the very important exception of the feudal proprietary system imported into England by the Normans, were planted and cherished by the early British colonists. It was an invasion of the most sacred constitutional rights of the people of the colonies by the British Parliament which led to the War of Independence in 1775. The war, miscalled a revolution, was entirely conservative. Americans fought to defend their rights, to preserve from usurpation or infraction the dearest privileges of British freemen and citizens. The war over, and even from their solemn Declaration of Independence, their governmental forms, their laws, the entire framework of their social life, remained what they had been.

"How strange, but how striking, that while the French statesmen of 1789 were thus blowing up the social edifice reared by their fathers, and inoculating all the Latin nations with the virus of their own political and religious madness, the assembled representatives of the American Union should have been laying simultaneously the foundations of a system which preserved all that was best in the political life of their forefathers."—*O'Reilly's "Life of Leo XIII," pp. 444–46.*

Some conception of the blighting effects of Latin civilization upon character and race in the country where its central power is located may be had by studying the condition of the emigrants who have for many years been flocking to this country from Rome and other cities of Italy. "I am a Roman citizen," was once the proud boast of proud men in ancient Rome, but these representatives of modern Rome among our citizenship contribute little to the causes for individual national pride in the boast, "I am an American citizen."

While the same Latin origin of language and the same system of Roman jurisprudence inherited from Imperial Rome may largely determine what constitute Latin races, these are not the only or the chief factors in determining what nations are wholly or in part the products of Latin civilization. The

Latin civilization of the mediæval and modern centuries is the product of the power and teachings not of Imperial Rome, but of Imperial Papal Rome.

Latin civilization, which has had the largest opportunities in all history, has proved itself incapable of founding enduring empires, because it has never based them upon justice and the rights of men; because it has denied the claims of individual conscience and private judgment; because it has depended solely upon two forces to hold peoples in subjection—the might of irresponsible military power and the slavery of fanatical and conscienceless ecclesiastical terrors, backed up by the awful sanctions of religion. Its very genius breeds disloyalty among aspiring peoples and degrades the lowly.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has founded enduring empires, because its purpose has been to promote the prosperity, the thrift, the comfort, and the happiness of the people it has brought under its dominion, through guarantees of civil and religious liberty. It possesses a virility of character which enables it to colonize without losing its identity, and to bring order out of the chaos of an inferior civilization.

It has largely absorbed and assimilated the composite peoples it has ruled, raising them to a higher level instead of being degraded by them. Its very genius is uplifting.

Contrast the Latin civilization of Spain with the Anglo-Saxon civilization of Great Britain in relation to their efforts at colonization in America. With Spain it was the soldier to subdue, and the priest to convert, that ecclesiasticism might enslave. With Britain it was new fields for industry and for homes, with its ministers of religion appealing to conscience. With Spain it was a quest for treasure; with Britain it was a search for civil and religious liberty. With Spain, nature was compelled to surrender her wealth by the unrequited toil of slaves; with Britain, nature was conquered by the sweat of the labor of free men. Ecclesiasticism and Puritanism

produced colonial results as antithetic as darkness and light, bigotry and toleration, as slavery and freedom.

The history of English colonization in the Western Hemisphere, while not exempt from dark chapters, has been a record of fruitfulness for the best civilization. It has multiplied resources, developed wealth, inspired invention, created statesmen, and put a premium upon thrift, enterprise, courage, and capacity.

American civilization, or the civilization of the United States, is Anglo-Saxon. An effort of desperation, on the part of those who seek to dampen the ardor of the newly and extensively manifested friendship between the United States and Great Britain, is being made to assault the suggested possible Anglo-Saxon Alliance on the ground that the Americans of to-day cannot accurately be described as Anglo-Saxons.

Suppose, for purposes of argument only, we admit the contention. Suppose that an inconsiderable portion of our population are of Anglo-Saxon origin. These admissions, if they were true, would not change the incontestable fact that our civilization is Anglo-Saxon in contradistinction to Latin civilization. It is significant that the chief writers and speakers in opposition to the closer alliance of the peoples whose institutions are the product of Anglo-Saxon civilization are themselves, ecclesiastically, the products of Latin civilization.

Professor Waldstein in the *North American Review* for August, 1898, gives as the essential elements of Anglo-American unity: "A common country; a common nationality; a common language; common forms of government; common culture, including customs and institutions; a common history; a common religion, in so far as religion stands for the same basis of morality; and, finally, common interests."

The two peoples are essentially akin in sufficient of these enumerated elements to justify and dictate close and permanent amity for mutual weal. British and American institu-

tions have largely a common origin and historic development, and both when united and when separated they have contended for self-government and independence, for civil and religious liberty, and they now have a "common foundation of popular and national ethics and religion."

Professor Waldstein also says: "Britains and Americans stand in the forefront of civilization; in political, social, and economical education they stand as high as any nation, and higher than any group of nations that could be massed against them. In furthering our sphere of influence we are necessarily spreading the most advanced and highest results of man's collective efforts in the history of his civilization. An English-speaking brotherhood will, after all, only be a step and link in the general alliance of civilized peoples."

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Spain and Turkey were the two greatest and most dreaded powers in the Old World. Turkey is now leaving Europe and retreating into her native Asia. Spain has been expelled from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Italy, the Philippines, and the Western Hemisphere. The banner of England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was excluded from Eastern waters, but at the close of the nineteenth century it floats over merchantmen and warships on every sea, and over benignly ruled colonies around the globe.

The contest for the control of the world between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races for the past two centuries is startlingly set forth in the following statistical facts:

	1700	1800	1898.
Populations under Anglo-Saxon control,	9,000,000	96,000,000	475,000,000
Populations under Latin control,	41,000,000	65,000,000	255,000,000
Domain in square miles under Anglo-Saxon control,	650,000	8,750,000	15,050,000
Domain in square miles under Latin control,	8,050,000	11,450,000	14,950,000

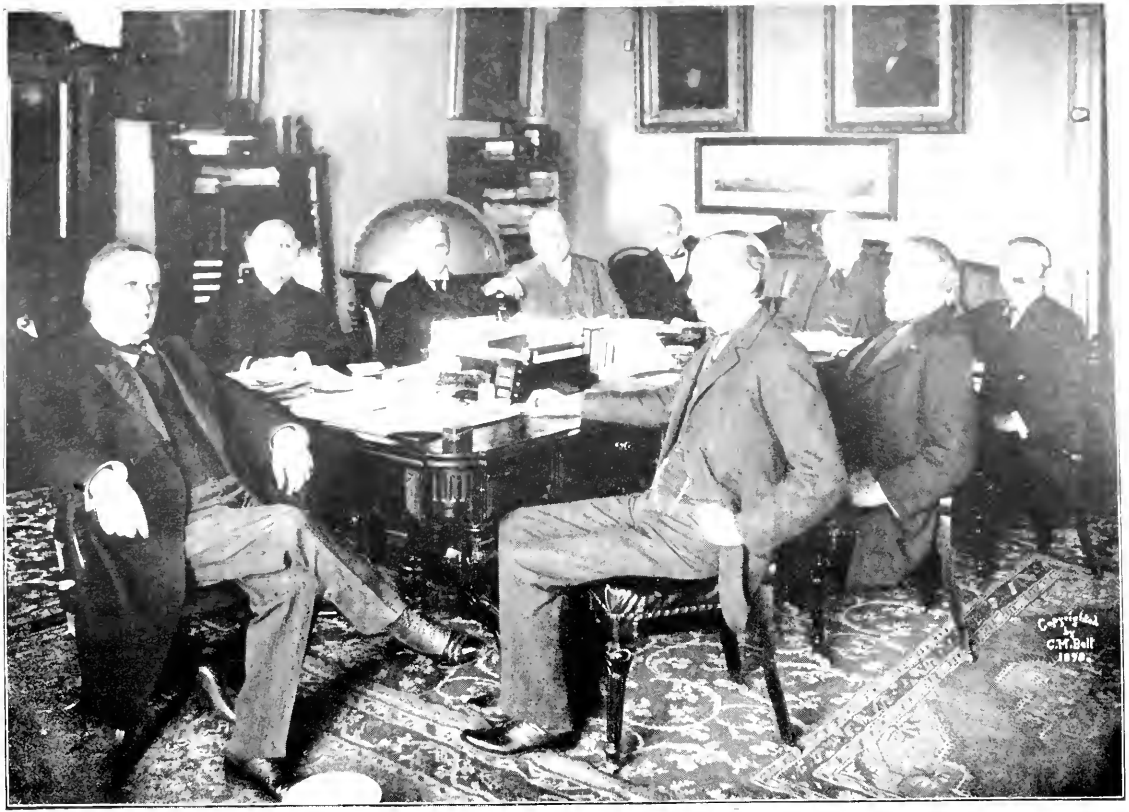
During the nineteenth century the use of the English language throughout the world, in comparison with other European languages, has increased over fifteen per cent., while there has been a decrease ranging from one to seven per cent. in the use of the other European languages, excepting the German, which has remained stationary.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR OF CIVILIZATIONS.

The nineteenth century closes with a war of civilizations in which Latin civilization, as represented by Spain, is banished from the Western Hemisphere.

We are citizens of the great republic which was born on July 4, 1776, which has concededly furnished the most successful experiment in self-government on the grandest scale the world has ever witnessed. We are the heirs of history, and we are living in times when history is being made. The best of the past civilizations were focused at the initial movements which culminated in a governmental structure with civil and religious liberty as the corner stone. The foundations of the republic were laid in prayer by men who had fled from civil and ecclesiastical persecutions.

The republic in its early history had some minor struggles with other powers, while the crowned sovereigns of the older nations were reluctantly adjusting themselves to the arrival in their midst of a nation of sovereigns. As this stalwart youth among the nations has grown in strength and felt the need of a more ample domain for the exercise of its matured powers, it has increased its possessions to meet its needs. From time to time we have, in sympathy with struggling peoples, forcibly suggested to Old World tyrannical powers that the Western Hemisphere was not an appropriate field for exploiting any discarded civilization. And the suggestions have been favorably acted upon with commendable promptness. We have engaged in a terrific civil strife and have established the integrity of the Union. For thirty-three



THE PRESIDENT AND THE WAR CABINET OF 1898.

years we had been at peace with ourselves and with the world. We have had growth in numbers and in wealth without a parallel in human history. While enjoying our great privileges in perfect security, and furnishing refuge and opportunity for millions of the people of the Old World, who had fled to us from hard conditions, we were compelled to recognize the fact that for years a tragedy of horrors was being enacted on the fairest island of the seas and within the very shadow of our Southern domain.

Less than one hundred miles from our Southern coast Spain had held Cuba by fire and sword and murder for four centuries. It enslaved and virtually exterminated the native populations, and introduced African slavery. It had never recognized the civil rights of natives even if they were of pure Spanish blood. Its governors general had been appointed that they might become rich by robbing the people and return to Spain to extend their fortunes. When the people of Cuba rebelled, Spain pretended to make some liberal concessions, and sent over armies to "pacify" by subjugation, and more surely forge the chains of bondage.

War after war was waged for liberty by the Cubans, one revolt extending through ten years. Their last war for freedom began in 1895, and continued for three years.

During that time Spain sought to suppress the insurrection by a military force composed of 150,000 imported troops and 75,000 volunteers. The unspeakably infamous General Weyler commanded these forces and ruled the island. He enforced the *reconcentrado* system. By it over 500,000 noncombatants, largely women and children and aged people, were corraled in the towns, hedged in by bayonets, until over 400,000 were starved to death. The crimes of Alva must take second rank with those of Weyler.

The following table of statistics was published on the 16th of February, 1898, in the *Christian Herald*, whose editor, Dr. Klopsch, raised large sums of money for the relief of

reconcentrados, and superintended the distribution of supplies.

These statistics of Cuba's hunger plagues were furnished by Mr. Sylvester Scovel, then in Cuba, and were drawn from official and other sources. They are believed to be entirely reliable:

Normal population of Cuba, ...		1,600,000
Cubans driven out of Cuba during the war, .	100,000	
Cuban insurgents and their families in field, .	270,000	370,000
Number of "concentrados" in fortified towns,		1,230,000
Reconcentrados brought into towns (now dead),	380,000	
Lower classes of townspeople (dead), . .	100,000	
Estimated number dead of starvation, ...		480,000
Now in the towns of Cuba to-day, ...		750,000

These figures are wholly outside of losses sustained by the war.

Captain General Weyler, in an interview published in the London *Daily Telegraph*, said, when asked if he had been cruel:

"I don't know. I don't trouble to consider. I am a military man and do not live for myself, but for my country. I was sent to make war upon the rebels, and I did this, and neither more nor less than this.

"I am old-fashioned enough to think myself merciful. I was rigorous, just, and resolute. I had a problem to solve by the rules of military science. I have earned the hatred and provoked the curses of the sworn enemies of Spain; but it will never cause me a bad night's sleep."

The United States by armed force contested Spain's right to rule and ruin Cuba.

President McKinley, in his Message to Congress, April 11, 1898, said:

CAPTAIN-GENERAL WEYLER, THE ALVA OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

"The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured, is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop."

April 18, 1898, both houses of Congress passed the following resolutions:

"First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent.

"Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect."

As President of the Republic, William McKinley has affixed his signature to two documents that will lend immortality to his fame as a ruler, and will place his name above that of whole processions of hereditary monarchs.

The signing of the joint resolutions of Congress for the expulsion of Spain from Cuba by President McKinley at about noon on April 20, 1898, was the Emancipation Proclamation of the Western Hemisphere from the last bondage clutch of a Latin civilization, terminating four hundred years of intolerance, rapacity, and cruelty. It was one of the pivotal points in the history of the race. The Proclamation was signed by the firm hand of a ruler in whose veins courses the blood of an ancestry which helped secure for us our civil and religious liberties, and by the hand that wielded a sword

which helped to make Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation effective in breaking the chains of millions of bondsmen.

On June 7, 1898, the same hand signed the enactment doing away with all the disabilities incident to the Civil War.

By historic origin and precedent, by principles of legislative action, by the character of our fundamental institutions, by judicial decisions and by the genius of our civilization, we are a Christian nation.

Whether war is a justifiable resort for Christian people is hardly a question open to debate, in view of the fact that the privileges and liberties we enjoy have been largely secured by war.

The God of Revelation has often in history become the God of Revolution. In Apocalyptic vision the Prince of Peace was seen on the great white horse, "Riding with vestures dipped in blood and drawn sword in hand, followed by all the mounted hosts of heaven, judging and waging war in righteousness and treading out the wine-press of the wrath of God."

It is more unselfishly Christian to rescue others from peril and redress their wrongs than to defend ourselves; and no one who has the right to live among men would deny the Christian right of self-defense.

Perpetuation of wrong does not make it right. Tyranny, hoary with years, is tyranny still, and has established no rights which Christian men or nations can concede.

Principle and not expediency has made this nation great in so far as it is great.

War is serious and terrible business, but peace without war is more serious and more terrible business when it is the result of cowardice and compromise with cruelty and oppression. There is nothing so fatal for man or nation as the fear of doing right.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the blessings of war are often necessary to overcome the horrors of peace.

In every controversy where principle and righteousness are involved there never can be permanent peace until principle is vindicated and righteousness is established.

We could not ignore the main and moral issue before the nation if we would, and we would not if we could. We belong to the family of nations. We belong to the humanity in whose line the Saviour of men came.

It was impossible to minify or narrow the scope and meaning of the contest. It was not a commercial and financial contest. It was not a naval and military contest. It was not a political or police contest. All these were incidental and not primary considerations. It was a contest in which the character of civilization and the interpretation of the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount were involved.

In this and in many lands God is summoning the nations with the challenge, "Who is on the Lord's side?"

We see the nations which are the conservators of human rights and liberties in the front, and the nations nurtured by exaction and tyranny in decadence.

The Christian nations now police the globe and will be held responsible for liberty and order wherever man abides.

The war was another "irrepressible conflict." A state of organized society resting upon the bondage of a Latin civilization stood confronting a state of organized society resting upon the liberty of an Anglo-Saxon civilization.

There is no difference in character and purpose between Alva and Weyler, who stand at either end of a history embracing three and a half centuries of human struggles for civil and religious liberty. During this period human rights have been victorious on every continent and in the islands of the sea, but never by Spanish permission or promotion, but always despite her resistance. She has contested the progress of human liberty at every step. Was not our cause against her right?

The judgment of Christendom and the law of God both

justified us in the face of the cruel facts confronting us, without hatred, revenge, or vindictiveness in declaring that, "In the name of our God, we will set up our banners," and we held them on high until the oppressed were relieved and the grasp of tyranny was broken.

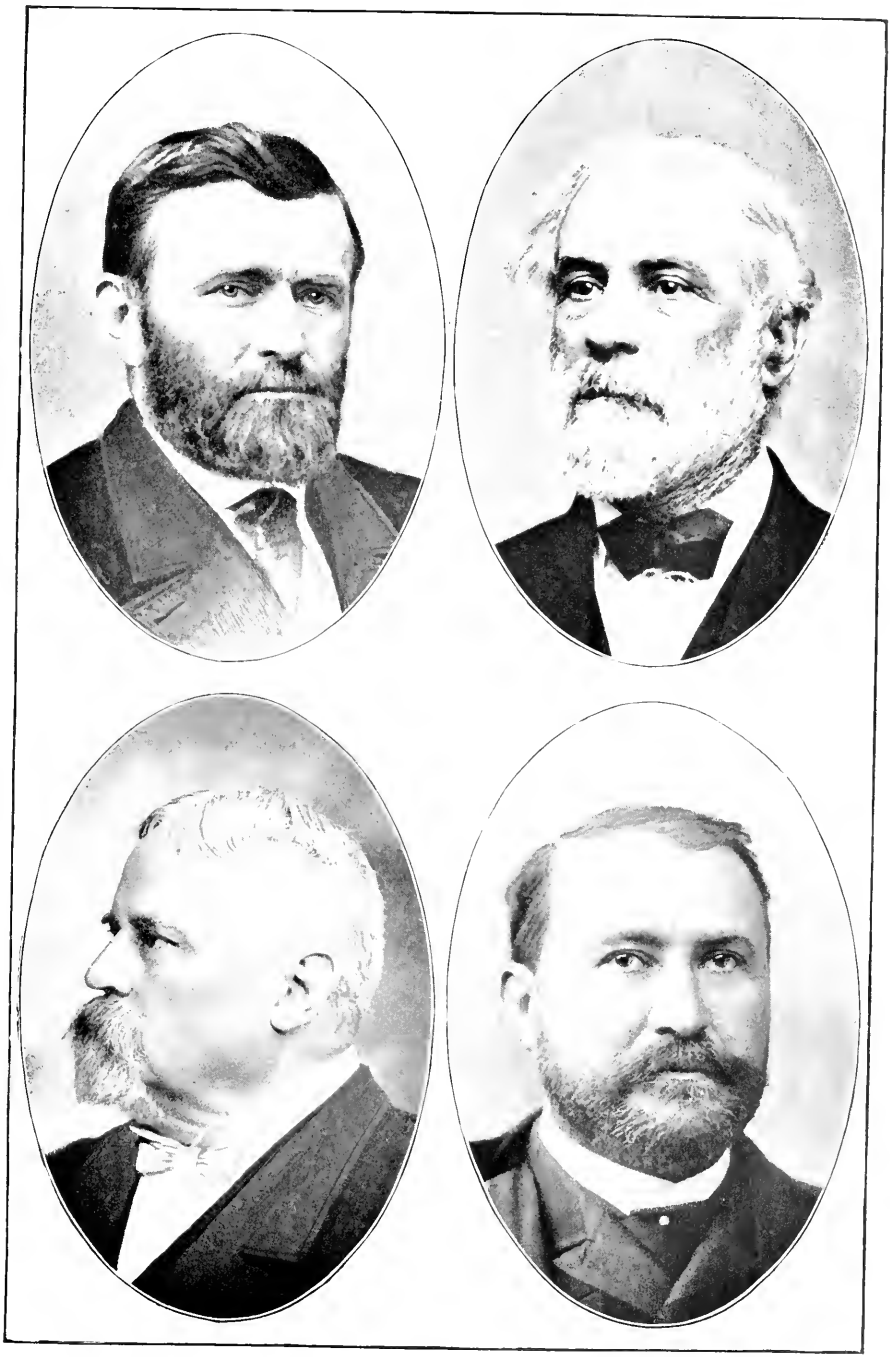
Liberty finally confronted bondage; freedom confronted slavery; mercy confronted cruelty; manliness confronted meanness; virtue confronted vice; plenty confronted hunger; thrift confronted poverty; intelligence confronted ignorance; civilization confronted barbarism, and tolerance confronted intolerance. These opposites faced each other from yawning cannon, and the better civilization prevailed.

Will the war pay? was often asked, and it was a very mean question for a patriot to ask. Was the war right? was the question for righteous men to ask. If it was right it must pay. Do the results warrant the outlay? Yes! a thousand-fold.

One of the worst results of the Spanish-American situation was the blunting of the moral sense of our citizens by compelling them to become familiar with Spanish cruelty as unresisting witnesses. The virility of American patriotism was resurrected.

The renaissance of self-respect asserted itself, and the people ventured to look up to God in confident supplication for the blessing that he always bestows upon the hearts and lives of men who dare to defend the oppressed, though it may require the punishment of the oppressor.

Nationality asserted itself. The new patriotism came to the front. Before the war for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery patriotism was based upon historic, revolutionary memories, and upon State pride. Since the war the patriotism based upon nationality had been slowly developing. The crisis in the relation of the republic to Spain forced to fruition the results of our Civil War. Sectionalism was blotted out, and the representatives and citizens of forty-five sovereign States contended with each other in their eager-



U. S. Grant.
Fitzhugh Lee.

R. E. Lee.
Frederick D. Grant.

"LET US HAVE PEACE."

ness to plant the ensign of the republic where its ample folds should protect a people struggling for liberty against the iron heel of an oppressor. The nation first saw William McKinley in Washington and Fitzhugh Lee in Havana; then the commissioning in the volunteer army by the President and Senate of generals who fought in our Civil War on the Union side and on the Confederate side; then the command of Commodore Dewey from the decks of the *Olympia* to "open with all guns," responded to by the *Boston* and the *Baltimore*, the *Concord* and the *Raleigh*; then, a little later on, the *Oregon* and the *Texas*, the *Iowa* and the *Brooklyn*, responded to Commodore Sampson's command, and we thus and then served notice upon the family of nations that, looking this way, they must face an undivided Nation and not a confederation of States.

The tattered battle flags, telling of alternating victory and defeat of thirty-five years ago, are not decaying, but are transfigured, while thirteen Stripes and forty-five Stars are made to mean *E pluribus unum*.

It is not simply welding, but under the alchemy of patriotic ardor it is union and oneness. It is not simply amalgamation, but by yielding personal prejudice, by curbing individuality, and by suppressing identity, the oneness of a common national personality is begotten and born.

Grant said: "Let us have peace"—and the utterance is carved upon his tomb, where his body was laid by hands which warred with him and warred against him. If he were alive and with us to-day, he would say, let us have peace that we may be prepared for righteous war.

The roll call in army and navy, of leaders and heroes and martyrs, tells the story of the Nation, peaceful and united as never before in its history.

The reflex influence of an unselfish act upon an individual or a nation is often more powerful for good than the act itself. We started out to right the wrongs of an oppressed and

wounded people, and the first result of our action was the gift of a balm that has healed our own wounds and blotted out the scars caused by our civil strife.

We twice argued in battle by sea and land with our British ancestors and secured our liberties by revolution. Then we argued with each other in battle on sea and land, and determined the governmental methods of administering and perpetuating the liberties thus secured. Now we have no argument among ourselves because we are of one mind, and because we are standing heart to heart in love for, and in defense of, the principles and honor of our one common beloved country; while the mighty nation which a century ago yielded to us our liberties under compulsion allies herself to us in our war for humanity, with a bond based upon kinship and upon sympathy for our unselfish purpose, and therefore stronger than any written treaty or sealed compact.

We hear much talk in these days about an international Anglo-Saxon alliance, and it is good and healthful. But we now have an assured alliance between forty-five sovereign States. It is this union at home, constituting a mighty and unconquerable nation, that attracts the attention of the nations of the Old World and makes them think an alliance desirable. Some would seek such an alliance, all would recognize its omnipotence.

The war in which we engaged was initiated upon a high moral plane of national responsibility. The adjustment of its results must be kept there. No unworthy partisan political purpose must divert us.

The God of Nations revealed himself in our international struggle. Let men who count themselves statesmen be careful how they attempt to steady the Ark of God and beware of the fate of Uzzah. Let us, as a nation divinely favored in all our history, earnestly and reverently seek his guidance, legislate as he wills, and be careful not to legislate with a purpose to direct the Almighty.

In an emergency never prophesied or dreamed, a free people's war for humanity and the rights of man caused on May 1, 1898, the starry ensign of the republic, with all it means, to float over fertile islands on the other side of the globe, inhabited by eight millions of oppressed, plundered, and misruled people. Thus suddenly the Stars and Stripes took on new beauty for friendly eyes and new terror for the foes of liberty.

The sun of heaven now greets the stars of hope in liberty's banner during every hour of every revolution of the round earth. A blow from the strong right hand of this nation, designed to break the grasp of a cruel oppressor in an island just off our coast, first paralyzed the same oppressor's hand, deprived her of her richest colonies, and liberated millions of her victims on the other side of the world. Kinship in suffering and in hopes makes all the race neighbors.

We purpose here to give some arguments, facts, incidents and authorities to corroborate the claim that the war was one of civilizations.

On April 5, 1898, the writer prepared and presented a report to a Conference, of which he was a member, of some hundreds of ministers of the Gospel, on the state of the country in its relations to Spain. The report was adopted with unanimity and enthusiasm. The action met with severe criticism from various sources. We submit that in the light of history the indictment against Spain reads well to-day. We repeat it:

"We believe that the following facts constitute an indictment demanding the expulsion of Spanish rule from Cuba:

"1. Its destruction of commercial interests of the United States, already making an invoice of millions of treasure.

"2. Its insolence in searching our merchantmen on the high seas, and repudiation of claims for restitution.

"3. Its cowardly insult to our honored President, by its representative at our nation's capital.

"4. Its trivial treatment of international diplomatic relations.

"5. Its requiring the United States in obedience to humiliating treaty obligations to police the seas, to prevent the extension of assistance to struggling patriots seeking aid.

"6. Its criminally permissive, if not ordered, destruction of the United States battleship *Maine*, with the loss of the lives of 266 American defenders.

"7. Its barbarity and inhumanity in the methods of warfare, with its treacherous murder of men, its herding and starving of aged men and women and children to the extent of over 400,000 in number, its ingenious and exterminating tortures of a people it has neither the courage nor the vigor to conquer.

"8. Its sacrilegious pretext of claiming to be a Christian nation.

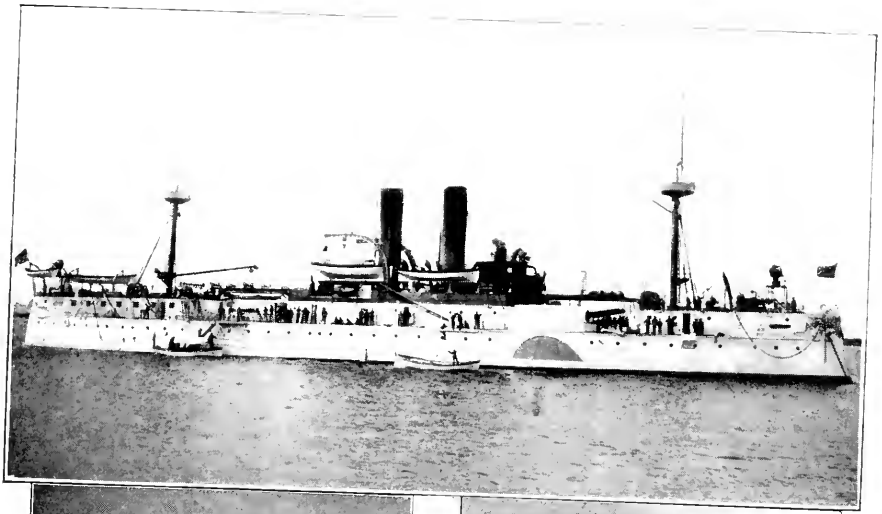
"9. Its prostitution of the moral sense of our citizens by obliging them for years to look upon and become familiar with fiendish barbarism so near us that we can almost hear the cries of its victims.

"10. Its paralyzing power upon the Christian civilization of the century, by holding in darkness, denser than that of the Middle Ages, the inhabitants of the fairest island of the sea.

"Humanity, honesty, virtue, reason, liberty, civilization, and Christianity demand the expulsion of this last consummate specimen of the frightful cruelties of a Latin civilization from the island whose shores are touched by the same tides that wash the coasts of this republic.

"We want no overtures from our government nor to our government for settlement of the burning questions confronting us as a nation, based upon propositions emanating from Rome. Let efforts emanating from that source exhaust themselves in humanizing and civilizing Spain. American institutions will guard their own honor."

On April 15, 1898, almost every one of these ten points of



SIGSBEE AND WAINWRIGHT, AND THE "MAINE" AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS.

indictment, in an elaborated form, was mentioned in the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate, and upon which the Committee asked the Senate to vote to expel Spain from Cuba by instructing the President to use the army and navy for the purpose.

When the United States entered upon the war with Spain the President's proclamation explicitly announced the highest principles of civilized warfare, which not only measured up to all the requirements of international law, but took in the domain of courtesy, morality, and humanity. These principles embodied abstinence from privateering, despite the fact that our government was not a party to the international declaration prohibiting privateering by the signatory powers, having refused to sign the declaration because the other nations would not agree that all private property on both sea and land should be exempt from seizure, unless it was contraband of war. The principles announced substantially carried out our humane propositions which had been rejected by the other nations. The proclamation guaranteed a month's exemption from seizure to all of the enemy's merchantmen loading in or sailing from American ports, and permitted all Spanish vessels which had sailed for an American port previous to the date of the declaration of war to enter that port, discharge their cargoes and resail unmolested. All this leniency was not only beyond the requirements of existing international law, but put war on a more exalted and more humane level than the world had before witnessed, and was in marked contrast with the historic methods of warfare of the nation whose corrupt civilization our country was called upon to expel from Cuba.

President McKinley, at the Peace Jubilee in Chicago, October 18, 1898, said :

"It is gratifying to all of us to know that this never ceased to be a war of humanity. The last ship that went out of the harbor of Havana before war was declared was an American

ip, which had taken to the suffering people of Cuba the supplies furnished by American charity. And the first ship to sail into the harbor of Santiago was another American ship bearing food supplies to the suffering Cubans, and I am sure it is the universal prayer of American citizens that justice and humanity and civilization shall characterize the final settlement of peace as they have distinguished the progress of the war."

Whenever in naval warfare the Anglo-Saxon has been back of the guns which have faced the Spaniard he has, with unvarying uniformity, not only defeated him, but destroyed the ships which carried Spain's ensign of mediæval civilization.

Commodore Philip of the warship *Texas*, when asked on September 10, 1898, "How about the personnel of the American crews to-day in the matter of birth?" "A large majority," replied the Commodore, "come of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian blood. This includes men of direct American, English, and Irish pedigree, and the sons of the old Norsemen, and, bunch them all together, they are the best seafaring and sea-fighting stock on earth. All lend themselves easily to American citizenship, including the Germans, of whom we have a fair proportion. Of the French and other Latin races we have mighty few."

The late Captain Charles V. Gridley of the *Olympia* wrote from Manila Bay, May 3, 1898: "We are busy now burying their [Spanish] dead and caring for their wounded. After surrendering they went off, leaving them, after promising to look out for them. We are superior to the Latin and the Bourbon, and we must conquer."

It is an interesting and significant fact that, during the war, America's great commanders, in civil affairs and on sea and land, were almost without exception men who descended from progenitors who were the creators of our Anglo-Saxon American Christian civilization. The Providence which did not permit our institutions in our early history to be shaped by a Latin civilization still dealt kindly with us.

It was a magnificent spectacle at the close of the nineteenth century to behold the two great English-speaking nationalities standing shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart; and, on the other hand, it was an instructive spectacle to behold the nations of Latin civilization trying to stand together, while Italy, in her new liberty, tried to neutralize the meddling tendencies of the Prisoner of the Vatican.

On December 8, 1898, the greatest of English statesmen said:

"Already the United States, if regarded from the standpoint of potential resources, is the greatest of civilized States, with its immense population of intelligent citizens, chiefly Anglo-Saxons, and if we are assured of the Anglo-Saxon race, whether it abides under the Stars and Stripes or the Union Jack, there is no other combination that can make us afraid."

The war with Spain was the sixth foreign war in our history, the first in half a century, and one of the first in the importance of its results. It has greatly increased our possessions, enlarged our policy, planted our flag in another hemisphere, vindicated the high order of our diplomacy, proved the marvelous efficiency of our navy and army, and placed the United States in the front rank of the world-Powers. It has been forcefully said that:

"Just two hundred years after the sovereigns of Great Britain and France bargained together for the partition of Spain the Spanish Empire is partitioned, without French or British aid, by a power of which these monarchs had no knowledge. In its immediate changes of the maps and international relations of the world the Spanish-American war was one of the most important of the century. In its ultimate possibilities it vies with any that has been fought since the British and Spanish races first grappled in a deathlock. The work that Drake began at Cadiz was completed by Dewey and Sampson at Manila and Santiago, and it may well be that the last act will prove as full of moment as was the first."

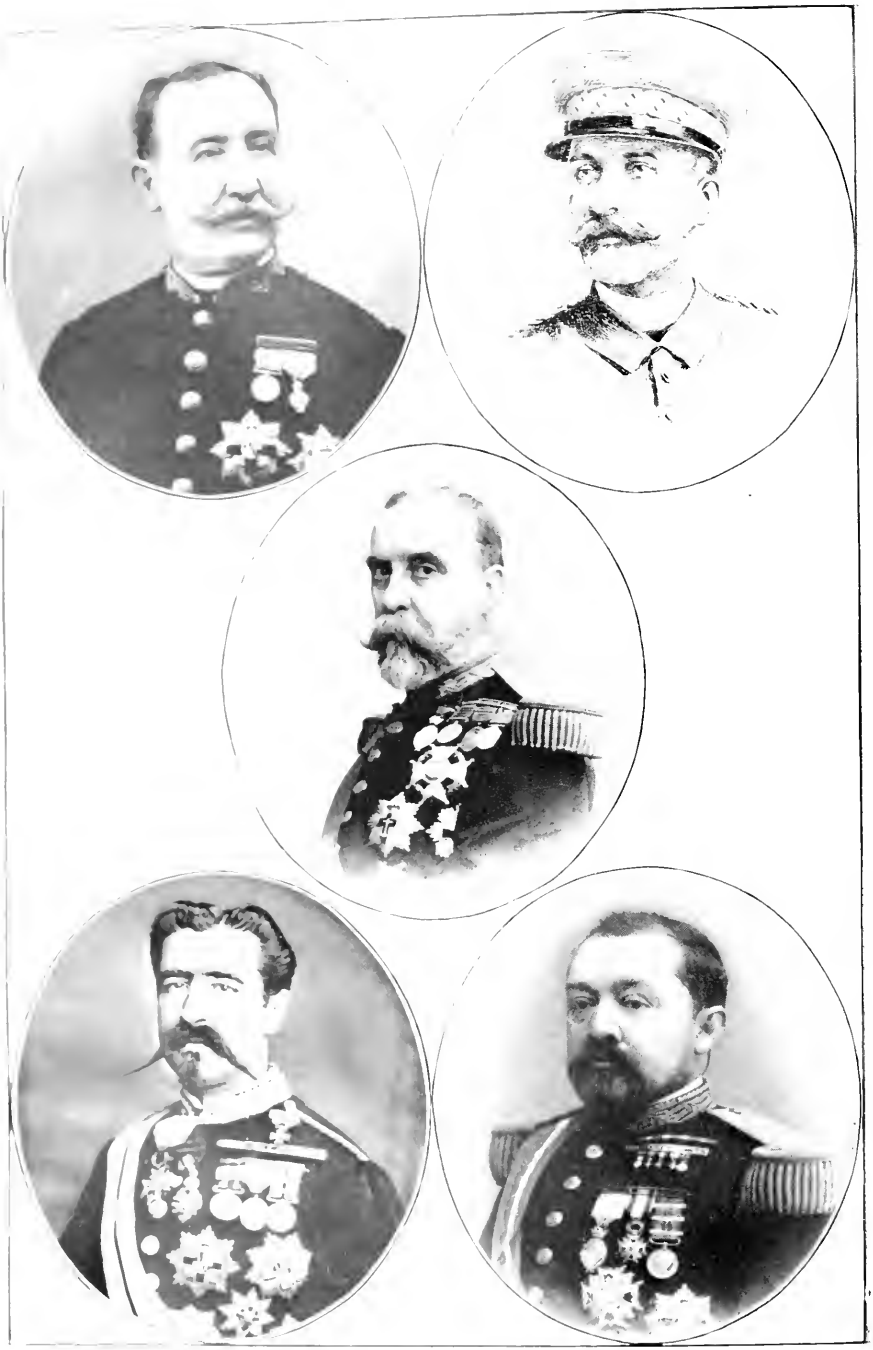
The trend of sentiment among all the civilized nations other than those of Latin leaning and lineage evidently is that France, Italy, and Austria, having become stationary, and Spain, as the result of the war, having been eliminated as an international power, the ultimate disappearance of the Latin race as a factor in human affairs will not long be postponed.

No wonder France made a desperate effort to get the Powers to unite with her in the beginning of our contest with Spain, to befriend cowardly and corrupt Spain against our demands in the interests of humanity, as at that very hour France, calling herself a republic, but really a government of militarism and beaurocracy, was in courts, army, and in civil administration steeped in the intolerance, the cowardice, and corruption of the Dreyfus case. The poor Jew was exiled to Devil's Isle, for the Devil had free range in Paris.

One of the most significant recognitions of the fact that our war with Spain was a war in the interests of better civilization came from Jerusalem. In that city, on June 17, 1898, in the Beth Jacob Synagogue, prayer was offered in behalf of the American arms. Is it to be wondered at, when it is remembered that Spain and other Latin nations have made history black by their persecution of the Jews? The prayer in part is as follows:

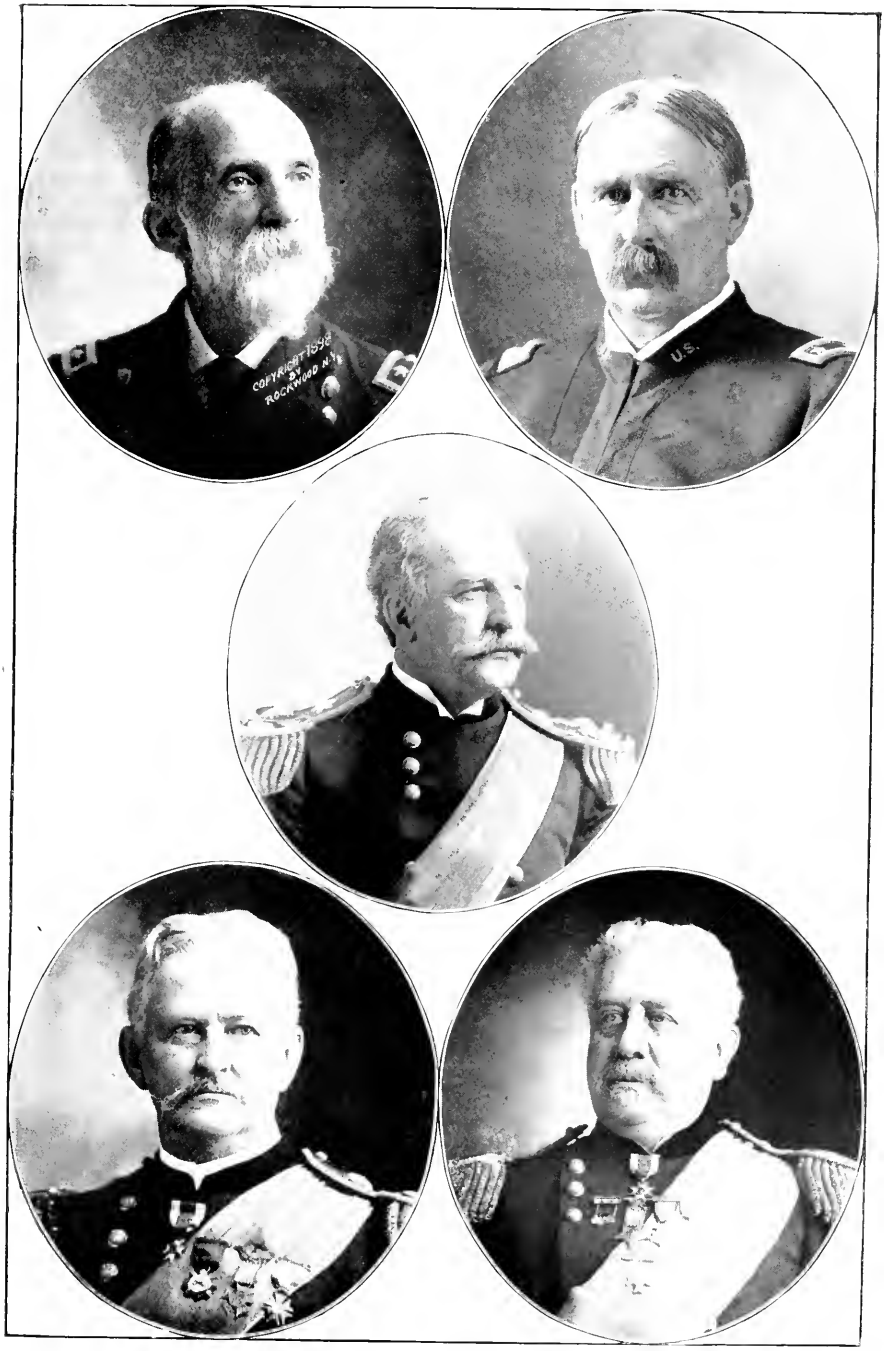
"We beseech Thee, O God of mercy and compassion, who hearest prayer; we Thy servants of the House of Jacob, who dwell in Thy holy precincts; we come to-day to pour out our prayer for our brethren, the people of America who live in the United States; the people in whom Thou hast implanted the love of liberty and humanity more than in any other. These blessed people went out to battle against a mighty foe, not to widen territory or to conquer neighbors, but to proclaim liberty to captives and to deliver a poor people from the wrath of their despoilers.

"Thou, O God, who examinest the heart, look down from



M. *Linares.*
Blanco.
Pando.

A GROUP OF SPANISH GENERALS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.



Wheeler. *Shafter.*
Merritt. *Miles.* *Brooke.*

A GROUP OF AMERICAN GENERALS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

heaven and see the battling armies, and let Thy countenance shine on the army that is actuated by the feelings of righteousness and the love of humanity, and on the young men and their leaders who risk their lives for a just cause to save the oppressed from their oppressors.

"Lift up the hand of the ruler of that country and crown his heroes with the crown of victory.

"But on their adversaries show Thy might and annihilate their power. Avenge the blood of Thy servants that has been shed by a cruel nation and crush Thy enemies for aye."

On October 13, 1898, in a public speech, the President asserted the patriotism and civilization involved in the war when he said:

"We have been patriotic in every crisis of our history, and never more patriotic than from April, 1898, to the present hour. Our patriotism must be continued. We must not permit it to abate, but we must stand unitedly until every settlement of the recent contest shall be written in enduring form and shall record a triumph for civilization and humanity."

Dr. Lyman Abbott put the issues of the war thus:

"I believe that the war just ended is the inevitable outcome of the antagonisms of three centuries here and for eighteen centuries in the world; the conflict between the notion of government embodied in the public school and the government embodied in the Inquisition. I thank God that the dominion of the government in which was embodied the principle of taxing the people for the government alone, and which stands for the Inquisition, is dead on this continent."

On September 13, 1898, Premier Sagasta, in the Spanish Senate, in the debate on the Peace Protocol, in response to the assaults upon himself and upon his predecessor Canovas, said: "that neither Señor Canovas nor himself had ruled long enough to change the character of the race," which was the true cause, he asserted, of the disaster to Spain. Later, the Premier remarked: "We are an anæmic country."

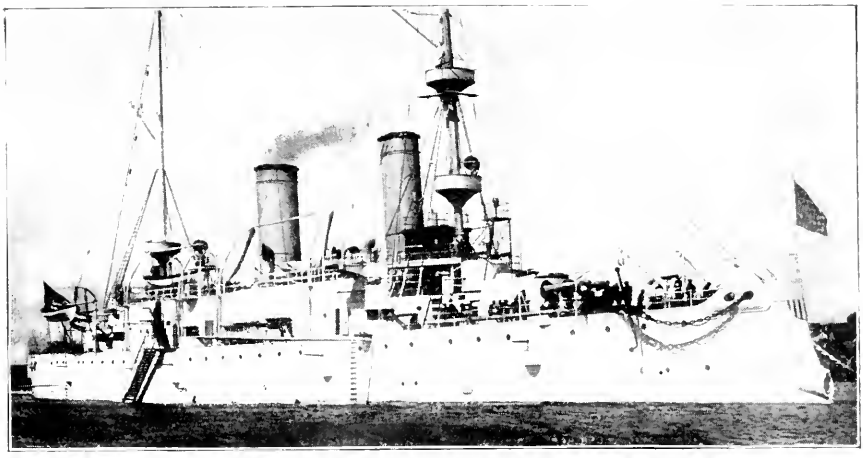
While General Blanco with great bluster was consummating arrangements for the removal of the dust of Columbus from Cuba to Spain, a dispatch was received from Madrid stating that: "A mob of women at Granada, considering that the discovery of America was, in their opinion, the principal cause of Spain's misfortunes, stoned the statue of Columbus there."

The *Cristobal Colon* was the last ship of Cervera's Spanish fleet destroyed. It seemed the irony of fate that Spain's last representative of naval power in this Western Hemisphere should not only bear the name of the discoverer of America, but should be sunk near the spot where four centuries ago he planted the Spanish flag, having discovered the outposts of a new world, and near the city where his ashes were believed to repose.

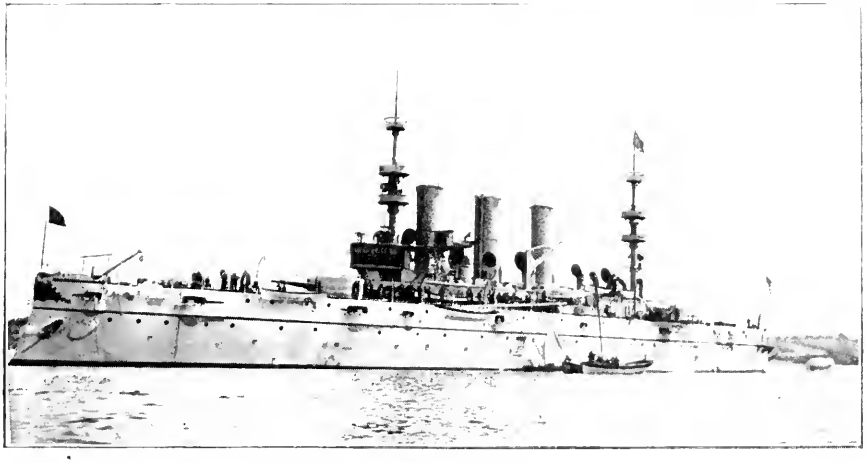
San Salvador, one of the Bahamas, where Columbus landed October 12, 1492, is now owned by Great Britain; and Cuba, one of the Antilles, is in the possession of the United States.

There is not an instance recorded in history where Spain has given evidence that the welfare of a colony had precedence in her thought and purpose. Her standard of colonial government has remained mediæval, while the world's standard has moved up and away, carrying her possessions with it, until she now stands a pitiable member of the family of nations, stripped of her once extended colonial domain, in the isolation of pride, ignorance, and unrepentant intolerance. Four elements were always present in Spain's theory and practice of colonial control: heartless tyranny, conscienceless clericalism, mercenary misgovernment, and haughty race distinctions.

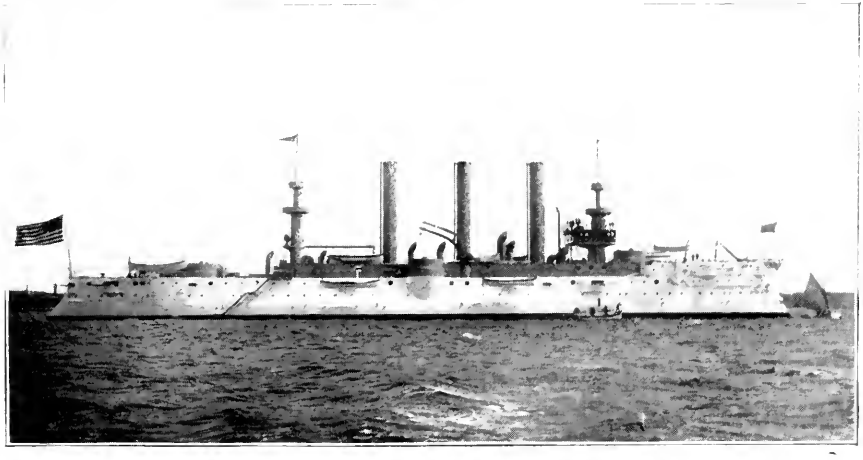
In our war with Spain, while it would from a standpoint of liberal principles be natural to expect that the South American republics would sympathize with the United States, they were not only outspoken in their attitude of unfriendliness to-



DEWEY'S FLAGSHIP "OLYMPIA."



SAMPSON'S FLAGSHIP "NEW YORK."



SCHLEY'S FLAGSHIP "BROOKLYN."

ward us, but gave many indications of their sympathy with Spain. Their people are of the Latin race and their civilization is yet dominated by the ecclesiasticism of a Latin civilization. Their antagonism to Anglo-Saxon civilization was stronger than their love for the institutions based upon that civilization, although it made even the partial civil and religious liberty they enjoy possible.

While the cruelties and crimes of Spain in history, it would be natural to suppose, would touch the character and the destinies of our nation more closely if they were committed in the Western Hemisphere than if they were committed in the Old World, the fact remains that the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands, and the political and ecclesiastical iniquities of the same origin in France during the sixteenth century, developed forces that, entering into the character of American pioneers, gave our nation much of the moral virility and uncompromising courage which enabled it in its youth, and which has thus far enabled it successfully, to resist the encroachments of a Latin civilization.

OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

Consult a map of the world, and as you view the Eastern and Western hemispheres, with the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, a fact of geographic interest will present itself. The new possessions of the United States—all of them—lie in almost a direct line drawn around the globe. Cuba, Port Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii lie within the same belt of latitude. As islands of the sea, they closely resemble each other in their history, government, religion, and the richness of their material resources.

A concise compilation and a clear comparison of the leading facts in the historic record and natural resources of these islands will better enable us to understand the situation.

CUBA.

The island of Cuba—the largest among the group known as the Greater Antilles—lies 90 miles south of the coast of Florida. It is in latitude 20° N. to 23° N. It occupies 11 degrees of longitude, and is 760 miles in length. Its least breadth is from 30 to 36 miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, and on the south and west by the Caribbean Sea. It has six territorial divisions—Pinar Del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Puerto Principe, and Santiago de Cuba. Its geographic area is 45,883 square miles. England has but 5000 more. The State of Pennsylvania has but 600 less. Cuba was discovered by Columbus in 1492 on his first voyage, while sailing westward over the Atlantic with a crew of 90 men. To him it was "the goodliest land that eye ever saw." Geologically, there is evidence that Cuba was, in ages gone by, an extremity of North America. Its climate, while tropical, is mild. Two seasons only are recognized—the dry and the rainy. The dry season is especially delightful. The annual rainfall is estimated to be 40 inches. The atmosphere is singularly transparent. The skies, with their glowing sunsets, are of unrivalled beauty. The sea is described as "a deep green with shifting coppery lights, like liquid opal."

Cuba, for vegetation, is a terrestrial paradise. It is exuberant with tropical luxuriance. It is so fertile that two crops of some cereals may be obtained, at times, in the same year. Sugar, tobacco, and coffee are the principal agricultural products. Sea-island cotton of a fine quality is readily raised on the low lands of the coast. Besides Indian corn, yams, and sweet potatoes, the pineapple, orange, banana, fig, and pomegranate grow freely. Cocoa, honey, and wax are among the exports. It is estimated that there are more than 10,000,000 acres of dense, uncleared forests, rich in hard and valuable

woods like cedar, ebony, and mahogany. The island is mountainous. The copper mines of Santiago de Cuba are rich in useful ores. The cataracts and caves of Cuba, "The Pearl of the Antilles," are a wonder to the traveler.

The habitable area of Cuba is but little more than 32,000 square miles, with a population estimated to be 1,631,000. The aborigines were long since practically exterminated. Spaniards, Cubans of Spanish ancestry, Africans, mulattoes, and a few Asiatics constitute in part the racial distinctions. They are divided largely into so-called "Peninsulars" and "Insulars," into whites and negroes. The negro element to-day is represented by scarcely more than a quarter of the entire population. African slavery existed for many years. It was abolished as recently as in 1886.

Industry, enterprise, and thrift have not had encouragement in the Island of Cuba, during all these centuries of Spanish misgovernment. Under Spanish dominion, with its lust of wealth and power, Cuba, though rich in its latent resources, beautiful in its landscape, and fertile in its loamy soil, has been permitted to remain practically uncultivated and undeveloped. Armed occupation on the part of its Spanish conquerers and owners has been ceaseless—with only brief intermissions—for four hundred years. A Spanish governor general has from time to time been appointed by the authorities in Madrid. Even Spaniards themselves, not native to the soil of Spain, have been excluded from holding office in Cuba, whether civil or military. "Creoles"—that is, people of Spanish blood born on Cuban soil—have had no place in the official or governing class. The proud Spanish grandees and hidalgos have held in contempt a people whose annual revenues, amounting to many millions, while collected in Cuba, have been spent or treasured in Spain.

"The Roman Catholic is the only religion tolerated in Cuba." This statement, made by a traveler in 1896, will never again be truthfully uttered.

PORTO RICO.

This is among the smallest of our recent conquests, yet, perhaps, the most attractive and interesting. It is one of the West India Islands, southeast of Cuba. It lies 70 miles east of Hayti; it is 108 miles long, and a little less than 40 broad. Its area is estimated to be 3668 square miles. A backbone of hills, running east and west, finds its loftiest elevation at the northeast, in a peak 3600 feet high. These hills are influential, as they intercept the trade winds and affect meteorologic conditions. Well-watered, the hilltops covered with fruits, the island presents a beautiful appearance. It was discovered by Columbus in November, 1493. In 1511 the city of San Juan was founded by Ponce de Leon. The aboriginal inhabitants were promptly subdued and speedily disappeared. The present population of the island is estimated at a little more than 800,000. Spaniards, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Russians, and other people of European origin, occupy Porto Rico, with natives of the Canary Islands and a few Chinese. Sugar and coffee are the two staples. Tobacco, cotton, rice, and maize, with the fruits belonging to the tropics, are successfully cultivated. With a soil extremely fertile, the exports of Porto Rico are comparatively large and remunerative. Exports and imports more than doubled in value between the years 1850 and 1883. Only salt mines are worked, though gold, iron, copper, and coal may be found. San Juan, the capital, lies on the north coast. A palace, a cathedral, town hall, and theater are there. Ponce, Mayaguez, and Naguabo are the other principal towns. The people are ordinarily intelligent, their religion, as might be expected, is the state religion of Spain. The degree of their civilization is what Spanish subjection and priestly domination have allowed. In 1820 the Porto Ricans attempted to throw off the Spanish yoke, but in vain. Until the United States came

into possession of this island, in 1898, the Spanish government was supreme. This island is the only one of the entire number of islands wrested from Spain as the result of the late war over which the United States claims ownership and permanent sovereignty.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The Philippine Islands constitute an archipelago in themselves. They number, islands and islets, by various estimates from 600 to 1200. The principal islands are Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Panay, Negros, Palawan, Cebu, and Mindoro. The area of the entire group is estimated to be 114,000 square miles. Luzon and Mindanao exceed in area all the others put together. They are of volcanic origin. Two of the volcanoes are active. They have been destructive. The Albay volcano towers, a perfect cone, to the height of over 8000 feet. Earthquake shocks are not infrequent. In view of this fact, the islanders generally build their homes of light material, with grass or palm-leaf roofs. The climate is essentially tropical, and is described as a continual summer, the temperature varying but little from 80° F. As might be expected, the Philippine Islands are rich in agricultural products, though the land is largely undeveloped. The population, a mixture of races, is estimated at between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000. In view of their tropical environment, the people are naturally of an indolent disposition. They are said, however, to be ingenious. Their devices for manufacture are as yet crude. Still, they manufacture and export large quantities of manila hemp. Rice, sugar, and coffee, with tobacco, are among the products of their fertile soil. The islands are abundant also in vegetable and fruit products. From the cocoanut's meat and milk the inhabitants prepare various drinks, foods, spirits, and medicines.

The Philippine Islands were discovered March 16, 1521, by Hernando Magellan, a Portuguese noble, who had renounced

his allegiance to Portugal and had become a subject of Spain. The discoveries of Christopher Columbus in 1492, with the adventures and conquests of Cortez, Balboa, and others, had aroused the enterprising spirit of this restless cavalier. The existence of the Pacific Ocean was known; but how to reach it by sailing the Atlantic was yet a mystery. With the discovery of the Straits of Magellan that mystery was solved. After reaching and naming this passage between the Island of Tierra del Fuego and the mainland of Patagonia, October 28, 1520, Magellan sailed the Pacific Ocean for months before he reached the Ladrone Islands. Subsequently, coasting along the island of Mindanao, he landed, upraised the Spanish flag, and took formal possession in the name of Charles I.

The population is decidedly mongrel. Spaniards, Chinese, and an English-speaking contingent constitute a large proportion of the foreign element, which is represented mostly in Manila and in the chief seaports of the archipelago. The indigenous population is made up of various tribes and races, chief among which are the Negritos, the Gaddanes, the Iggorotes, and the Tingnianes. Some of these tribes, like the Gaddanes, are described as "entirely out of the pale of civilization."

To depict the true character of the domesticated natives of these islands is confessedly difficult. In many respects it is enigmatical and unsatisfactory. The evidences of civilization found in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, among the native population, is not a fair index, of course, of the ignorance, the indolence, and the irreligion which mark the millions who live remote from this comparatively cultivated center. Although Spain discovered and conquered these islands, she has done but little to enlighten them. Manufactures and commerce have lacked management. Material resources have been left undeveloped. The forms of government are arbitrary and oppressive. Added to the effects of climate, leading men naturally to do as little work as possible,—no more

Alfonso XIII. *Maria Christina.* *Sagasta.*

THE QUEEN REGENT, THE KING, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF SPAIN, 1898.

indeed than is absolutely necessary for existence and to secure the commonest conveniences and comforts of life,—there has been little or nothing to encourage activity, industry, and enterprise. There has been much to foster resentment and rebellion. Robbed by the Spanish authorities—Spain claiming the right to tax everything in sight, even to the wheels of a cart—the oppressed Philippinos have also been the victims of oppression on the part of their religious teachers. The enforced support of the Romish Church has likewise been a form of imposition. Between the exactions and extortions of state and church, the energies of the mixed races of these many islands have not only remained undeveloped, but have been discouraged and repressed.

The religion of the Philippines is what might be looked for when Roman Catholics and Mussulmans have for centuries vied with one another for the spiritual domination over an idolatrous and barbarous people. The power of the Friars is today recognized by the authorities of government, and the parish priest is all-influential as he appeals to the superstitions and fears of an ignorant native community. Mr. Foreman says: "A royal decree, or the sound of the cornet, would not be half so effective as the elevation of the Holy Cross before the fanatical majority, who yet become an easy prey to fantastic promises of eternal bliss or the threats of everlasting perdition."

Since the original occupation of these islands by the Spanish Government, they have been ruled, for the most part, by military men. Captains general of late years have been at the head of affairs with a three-year term of office. The subjugation of the people to the sway of Spain has been gradual, and this colony, like the others within her domain, has been divided and subdivided into provinces and military districts.

Within the last twenty-five years the Philippine Islands, it is conceded by observant travelers and scholars like Foreman and Worcester, have made "great strides on the path of

social and material progress." Their importance, politically and commercially, has for years been increasingly obvious.

These islands came under the control of the United States when, on Sunday morning, May 1, 1898, Commodore Dewey entered the outer harbor of Manila, the capital of these Spanish possessions, and destroyed the Spanish fleet under Admiral Montojo. On October 31 the United States Peace Commission presented the demand of this nation for the Philippines; and on December 10 the Treaty of Peace was signed at Paris. By this Spain yielded her possessions in the Pacific archipelago to the government of this nation.

THE LADRONE ISLANDS.

The Ladrone Islands constitute fifteen links in a seeming chain of islands. They are found in the Pacific Ocean, north of the Carolines. Their latitude is 13° and 21° North, their longitude 144° and 146° East. They were discovered by Magellan March 6, 1521. They are variously named "Los Ladrones" or "Las Marianas." The largest island is Guahan or Guam. It is the most southern of the entire group. Like the Philippines, these islands are mountainous; the northern group is especially so. Their estimated area is 200 square miles. Agriculture has been greatly neglected: yet areca and cocoanut palms, rice, maize, sugar, tobacco, indigo, fruits, and castor oil are named among the products. The climate and soil are most favorable to their better cultivation. Swine and oxen are permitted to run wild. The population of these islands is about 8000. It is made up of the descendants of the aborigines, of settlers from the Philippines, and of others of a mixed race. Excepting a colony from the Caroline Islands, the majority of the population are lacking in energy. The natives themselves are indolent and even lazy. They have been oppressed and dispirited. Their numbers have been fearfully wasted by Spanish conquest. Within two centuries the original islanders suffered losses which reduced their

population from an estimated 50,000 to less than 2000. During one year a large proportion of the population died from an epidemic. With such a history and such discouragements, it can scarcely be matter of wonder that, apart from the influence of climate, these people should be inactive, poor, and of doubtful moral character. With but few schools and little encouragement or opportunity for the development of their intellectual, social, and spiritual life, these people all speak Spanish and have thus far been under the Spanish form of government and the Spanish form of faith.

On the 25th of May, 1898, the first Manila expedition started from San Francisco; and on June 21 the Ladrone Islands were captured, and Guam is now the possession of the United States by the Treaty of Paris.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

The Hawaiian Islands—long known as the Sandwich Islands—are found in the North Pacific Ocean. They lie between 18° 54′ and 22° 2′ N. lat., in long. 155° and 161° W. These islands are twelve in number, four being as yet practically uninhabited. The island of Hawaii is the largest of the group. Their total area is estimated as 6740 square miles. They were discovered by Captain Cook in 1778, and were named by him in honor of the Earl of Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty at that time in England. The Spaniards claim a previous discovery. The native population represents the Malayo-Polynesian race, their complexion being of a reddish brown. Their number, originally 200,000, is to-day less than 31,000. Half-castes, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and an English-speaking people, with German, French, Norwegians, and others complete the population of 109,000. Sugar, coffee, tropical fruits, and rice are the main products. The large exportation of sugar in 1895 was nearly doubled in 1897. In the matter of imports, American products have had marked preference. The islands are

mountainous and volcanic. The mineral products are said to be scanty. The native Hawaiians physically are tall and muscular. They are more industrious and enduring than other islanders of the Pacific living in a climate less salubrious. In moral character and intelligence, they are what might be expected a people would be so recently recovered from cannibalism and subsequently the victims of European vices. Intemperance and licentiousness have done much to threaten the actual extinction of the race. In 1820—about thirty years after the discovery of these islands—they were visited by American missionaries. They succeeded in reducing the native language to writing. The advancement of the Hawaiians in civilization was very marked. Their ancient idolatrous religion was long since abandoned. The inhabitants of the islands have formally accepted the Christian faith. At one time in their early history an attempt was made by force of arms to establish the Roman Catholic religion among the Hawaiians; but an appeal from the native sovereign to the British government, to France, and the United States secured the independence of their islands in 1844, under King Kamé-hamé-ha III., and precluded the possibility of the repetition of this and kindred outrages. The form of government became that of a constitutional monarchy, with a legislature appointed in part by the king, and in part elected by the people. Each of the larger islands had a governor appointed by the king, while diplomatic and consular agents were received from and sent to foreign powers. Honolulu, the capital, stands on the S. W. coast of the island Oahu. It is 2100 miles from San Francisco. With a good harbor, the capital of Hawaii is connected by mail steamers with the great *entrepots* of Great Britain, Australia, the United States, and the European continent.

In January, 1893, Queen Liliuokalani and her cabinet were in disagreement about a new constitution. A committee of safety took possession of the government. Liliuokalani

was deposed and then imprisoned. The people, chiefly American residents, established a provisional government. Mr. Stevens, the United States Minister, sustained them in their action, to guard American interests. A republic was proclaimed on the 4th of July, 1894. After a constitution had been adopted, the question of annexation to the United States was agitated. Sanford B. Dole was chosen president of the Hawaiian Republic, his term to expire in the year 1900.

On June 16, 1897, a treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and of the Republic of Hawaii, providing for the annexation of the islands. July 17 the offered cession was adopted by the United States Congress. The transfer of sovereignty was accomplished August 12, 1898. On the presentation of a certified copy of the resolution of Congress by Rear Admiral Miller to President Dole at Honolulu, the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian Islands were yielded to our representative. The oath of allegiance to the United States was taken by the Hawaiian authorities, and the administration of the Hawaiian government proceeded subject to the future enactments of the United States Congress.

The Hawaiian Commission appointed by President McKinley, under provision of Congress, consisted of Sanford B. Dole, President of Hawaii; Judge Frear of the Supreme Court of Hawaii; United States Senators Morgan and Cullom, and Mr. Hitt, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives. On December 6, 1898, the report of the Commission was presented to Congress, providing for a territorial government of our new possessions. In his Annual Message subsequently, President McKinley said concerning the work of this Commission: "It is believed that their recommendations will have the earnest consideration due to the magnitude of the responsibility resting upon you to give such shape to the relationship of these mid-Pacific

lands to our home Union as will benefit both in the highest degree; realizing the aspiration of the community that has cast its lot with us and elected to share our political heritage, while at the same time justifying the foresight of those who for three-quarters of a century have looked to the assimilation of Hawaii as a natural and inevitable consummation, in harmony with our needs and in fulfillment of our cherished traditions."

PART IV.

THE MENACE TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS FROM POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL ROMANISM.

PRELIMINARY.

We have given some account of the sources of our civilization and of the institutions which are the product of that civilization, and also some account of the type of civilization whose grasp under the providence of God we escaped in the early history of our country, when the fiber of our body politic was being formed, and whose last colonial tyrannical rule has been banished from the Western Hemisphere, as the result of a short but decisive contest on sea and land between the forces of our Anglo-Saxon civilization and the mediæval Latin civilization of Spain.

We now propose to consider the *claims*, *relations*, and *methods* in our Republic, of the prime factor which produces a Latin civilization and which constitutes its one abiding characteristic and cohesive power throughout the world, which bears the name of *politico-ecclesiastical Romanism.*

We look upon this power as an active, persistent, and omnipresent menace to American institutions.

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism presents *claims* concerning universal dominion in both spiritual and temporal affairs; concerning the essential character of civil liberty; concerning religious liberty and the union of church and state; and concerning the voter as a citizen and responsible sovereign, in direct antagonism to the genius and guarantees of American institutions. It sustains *relations* to party

politics and politicians; to legislative, executive, and judicial administration; to education and the schools; to the press and literature; to charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions; to labor and other organizations and to corporations; to the boycott and the boss; to "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion"; to the government of the commercial metropolis of the New World; and to the Spanish-American war, which prove it a constant corruptor of political life and a persistent disturber of the equal and peaceful relations of citizens in public and in social life.

It practices *methods* in assuming to make condescending concessions to American institutions; in preserving voting solidarity by promoting isolation and preventing assimilation in citizenship; in insisting upon all Romanists entering civic associations *as* Romanists and not *as* Americans; which are humiliating to national self-respect, detrimental to the best interests of its own people, and which put a premium upon corrupt political bargains.

We propose to conclude this department of our discussion with proofs showing the decline in both numbers and political power of Romanism throughout the world; and to furnish, in the Appendix to this volume, a carefully summarized statement of *ecclesiastical* and *canon law* from Roman Catholic authorities, in so far as it contains matters of import to American citizens.

Satolli, the Papal Apostolic Delegate, wrote in his book on "Loyalty to Church and State" in 1895:

"A disinterested study of religion, as embodied in the Catholic Church, will show that nowhere is there a power appealing to conscience more able to hold up our constitution above the storms of human passions, more congenial to the spirit of your republic, than the Church of which you and I are children."

And yet every official act of this papal representative while in this country proved that he cared little for the

republic, but was here for the purpose of temporarily lulling the storm of indignation which was raging against his Church authorities because of their hostility to the public schools, and to compose the differences existing in the American hierarchy on the question of methods of securing public funds for parochial schools. He found not a single advocate of the public schools as such among the members of the hierarchy, but he did find diversity of opinion as to which was the surest way to get the people's money for sectarian propagation: the Archbishop Ireland way of compromise and indirection, or the Archbishop Corrigan way of demand and direct approach.

Let us hope that Mr. Minturn, a Roman Catholic lawyer of Hoboken, N. J., represents hosts of the laymen of his Church when, speaking on "The American Catholic," he says:

"The recent agitation by some of the clergymen, bishops, as well as priests, in the Catholic Church, concerning the school question has led to counter-agitations by zealous, short-sighted, yet patriotic men, outside of the Church, who profess to see in the movement of the clergy an attempt on the part of the Catholics to change and displace the public-school question of the land. The agitation of the Catholic clergy, and the counter-agitation of the American Protective Association, are both based upon the unfounded and baseless assumption that the Catholic bishops and clergymen represent the Catholic people in matters purely civil and political."

The greatest triumphs in late years of Rome as a political power have been witnessed in this republic, by its influence over executives in municipalities, States, and nation, by its control of legislatures, by its drafts upon public treasuries, by its control of the balance of power in the centers of population all over the nation as the result of the solidarity of its votes. And yet men claiming to be intelligent continue to assert that America has nothing to fear from Romanism. This fact emphasizes the peril.

The American republic has a right in the first place to expect perfect loyalty to its institutions from all who enjoy its privileges and protection.

Of course we must conclude that all of the active manifestations of the presence of Romanism in these directions are political, for they certainly are not religious, although pursued with religious zeal.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that we make a broad distinction between the system controlled by a Jesuitical power for political ends and the individual members of the Roman Catholic Church, multitudes of whom are honest in their religious convictions, but have no adequate realization of the tyrannical claims of the hierarchy upon their obedience. The people want to know the authenticated facts about the insidious encroachments by political Romanism upon our republican institutions, and the methods resorted to by its apologists to conceal the purposes of encroachment.

In the course of this discussion it will be found necessary to quote largely from the utterances of the opponents of our institutions, "our enemies themselves being judges." Otherwise the wily and astutely unscrupulous Roman critic will say that the statements are false and have no foundation in fact; the common method of argument with him being to call his antagonist a liar and persecutor, and then to act as though he thought that simple rude denial annihilated facts. Not a quotation is made in these pages that cannot be authenticated. Large opportunity is afforded here, in the discussion of the various relations of Romanism to our institutions, to her highest authorities and representatives to speak their minds freely and prove our contention against her.

We are aware that books and pamphlets by the thousand have been written upon the relation of political and religious Romanism to our institutions, until many people have become wearied because of the irresponsible character of much of this

literature. But the purpose of this discussion is, dispassionately and without exaggeration, to place the menace of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in the midst of a discussion of the institutions which it is in honor bound loyally to maintain and not seek to pervert or destroy.

One of the results of this discussion of the menacing relations of Romanism to our civil institutions will be that politicians among clergymen, office-holders, office-seekers, and other public men, will rush into print and speech to declare that they know many men among their Roman Catholic constituents and acquaintances who are just as loyal and patriotic as any other citizens, and from this particular premise will vociferously assert that Romanism as a system is not hostile to our institutions, but is liberal in this country and is adapting itself to the character and genius of American republicanism. There can be now, and there have been for years, but two reasons for this kind of unintelligent talk: garrulous ignorance and political selfishness. Every ecclesiastical, secular, and political organization must be held responsible for the official announcements of its highest authorities; and the responsibility is neither modified nor annulled because some members of these organizations, in spite of their political or other creed, are, because of the slack hold the organization of which they are a part has upon them, just so much better than their creed. The virtue of a higher loyalty to civil institutions, at the expense of lower loyalty to an accepted ecclesiastical system, must be measured by each man's conception of moral obligation. But where evident antagonism of principle exists there can be no debate and no compromise, with honest men. "No man can serve two masters."

The safe American programme must be absolute civil and religious equality before the law, for all of whatever faith, including Roman Catholics, as citizens but not as Romanists, and with no special privileges for any, and with prompt and stern resistance to any aggressions upon our institutions in the

interests of sectarian propagation at public expense. A lamentable lack of courage in these vital matters now exists among our countrymen. Virile and fearless leaders are in demand who will refuse to consult expediency or selfishness, and who believe that the battle of justice promptly fought is both more surely won and more beneficent in its permanent results.

Every intelligent citizen knows that the essential principles of Romanism are antagonistic to free institutions in the abstract, but the concrete consideration is here proposed.

In our study of abstract principles in securing legislative and constitutional changes in the nation and in the States for the protection of the common schools and for the prohibition of sectarian appropriations, we have found that politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is not only the chief obstacle in the path of such legislation, but that it tries in every possible way to circumvent where it cannot defeat. We are therefore forced to study the concrete.

It is high time that these questions were thus considered. In response to abstract assertions and negations of Roman functionaries and their apologists among political, commercial, cowardly, and self-interested Protestants, one individual instance of the practical illustration of a theory is more convincing than volumes of abstractions.

This power has the most minute ramifications in municipal, State, national, and international affairs. It is an impertinent and dangerous meddler in all civic concerns.

How is it that the secular papers will discuss and criticise the theology and internal economy of Presbyterianism, Methodism, Episcopalianism, and other Protestant Churches and uniformly deal so gently with Romanism? The reader knows why.

Why is it that when vigorous and truthful things are said about the aggressions of Rome, by assemblies of public men like a Methodist or a Baptist Conference, some Protestant

preachers and laymen begin to protest and apologize, indicating that their tender feelings have been hurt? Nothing of this kind ever occurs on the part of Roman priests when Protestants are assaulted from any source. This state of facts disgusts men in normal condition.

Romanists claim and exercise the right in this country, while enjoying the liberties so dearly bought for them, to criticise and undermine our fundamental institutions, but chafe and protest against any criticism of their methods and efforts. We make no apology for plain speaking concerning this interference with our civil affairs and institutions, but propose to get out of the prisoner's box and put the aggressive enemy on the defensive.

"When Hercules turned the purifying river into King Augeus's stables, I have no doubt the confusion that resulted was considerable, all around; but I think it was not Hercules's blame; it was some other's blame" (Carlyle).

Knowing perfectly well the value of cunning accompanied by fair pretenses, the Church of Rome carefully conceals her methods, and in a measure disclaims any movement against our institutions. But this only serves to increase the danger. Under any circumstances the Roman Catholic Church would be the natural enemy of the principles which underlie our theory of government. But when we properly understand her methods it is easy to see that the danger is largely increased, because the appearances are so strongly calculated to mislead.

Assuming honesty on the part of conspicuous Roman Catholics, they are forced into the most humiliating inconsistencies in attempting to be loyal to the politico-ecclesiastical features of Romanism, and at the same time loyal to fundamental American principles and institutions.

The knowledge of the facts we state does not in any way detract from our confidence in and admiration for many Romanists, whom we personally know, and in whose charac-

ter and patriotism we have faith. It is the system we condemn in its political workings.

There are some hopeful indications that honest and intelligent Roman Catholics are breaking away from the bondage of politico-ecclesiastical power. They are asserting independence as voters in increasingly large numbers. They are patronizing the public schools, thus defying ecclesiastical dictation in these matters, and thus acting like Americans in their intercourse with their fellow-citizens.

Some of the most conspicuous members of the Roman Catholic faith in public life, who are genuine Americans, resent the persistent pushing of politico-ecclesiasticism into public affairs. Many priests tell us so. But they fear to state their sentiments publicly, as it would involve ecclesiastical penalties and would probably end their priestly and religious work. Such men are especially helpless.

We know many priests and Roman Catholic laymen who despise the political machinations of the hierarchy, but they dare not speak out, for they would be punished and degraded, as many have been, for trying to think and act for themselves.

Dr. McGlynn told some wholesome truths once, but was soon crushed by punishment; called down from his old throne of power in New York, and, having returned to subserviency, was banished to obscurity. He was graciously permitted, in 1897, to come to town and pronounce a eulogy over the dead body of his friend Henry George, and then he obediently returned to exile.

Many of these Roman Catholic priests and laymen agree with us in the attitude taken in this volume concerning the menace to our institutions from politico-ecclesiastical Romanism. Some of them have furnished us with many of the facts used in this discussion. These men ought to be liberated from the bondage which is a constant humiliation.

One purpose of this plain discussion of the relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to American institutions is not to

deprive American citizens who adhere to the Roman Catholic religion of any of their rights, but to convince them, if it may be, that they put themselves under suspicion when they act in civic matters, first as Romanists, then as American citizens; and also to warn American citizens that they must watch Romanists when they enter politics *as* Romanists and try to set up an *imperium in imperio*, and resist them because they then constitute a peril.

Because many writers, convinced of the iniquity of Romanism as a religion, make assaults upon the religious character of popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and laymen, many people look upon anything said about politico-ecclesiastical Romanism as a part of the same crusade. We have here only to do with the corrupting political power of ecclesiastical Romanism. Let citizens take note of this and not allow themselves to be blinded by the attempt to sound the false alarm of religious persecution.

We purpose in this presentation to warn politico-ecclesiastical Romanism and professional politicians, and inform the American people concerning the illicit partnership existing between these self-constituted masters, and seek to lead religious men and organizations to be patriotic in their own right and not dupes and slaves to the will of any foreign or domestic tyrant.

Everything in the relation of sects to public or private associations, organizations, or individuals, that is not evidently and axiomatically religious and altruistic in its purpose, must be classed as political or ecclesiastical.

Honest, unselfish citizens not only want to know facts and act in the light of them, but they do not understand why other honest citizens should seek either to conceal facts, or refuse to face them in a manly way, when they are brought to light. No moral principle and no civil or religious right of man were ever promoted by secrecy or concealment. Indirection in methods and trickery in purpose can only thus pros-

per. Jesuit ecclesiasticism is an historical synonym for unscrupulous indirection and carnally cunning trickery. All these purposes are alien to republican institutions. They are the progenitors of all tricksters in politics and the debauchers of the political conscience.

Professor S. F. B. Morse says that Lafayette, who was a Romanist by birth and education, said to him, and again and again repeated the warning: "If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy."

The ignorance of American history and of the sources of our civilization, indifference to the underlying principles of our government and of our liberties, the pusillanimity of many citizens inspired by ignorance and sloth, constitute elements of strength to Romanism and of peril to our institutions. And this class of people call themselves liberal and wish to become smart and conservative. It is the conservatism of persistent ignorance and the smartness of unreasoning egotism.

Political party leaders must be made to understand that they have to reckon with the overwhelming majority of our citizens as well as with the minority solidarity under politico-ecclesiastical control.

The question of ecclesiastical interference in American politics has been raised as a vital issue before the people, and has been persistently and openly pushed by the Roman Catholics, and the American people must pronounce their verdict upon it. The issue cannot be side-tracked, the question cannot be laughed out of court.

That wise and experienced and venerable statesman, the Hon. R. W. Thompson, in his work on "The Papacy and the Civil Power," makes the following comments on the relations of the Papacy to the organic law of the land (pp. 209–11):

"The Constitution of the United States repudiates the idea of an established religion, yet the Pope tells us that this is in violation of God's law, and that, by that law, the Roman

Catholic religion should be made exclusive, and that the Roman Catholic Church, acting alone through him, should have sovereign authority, 'not only over individuals, but nations, peoples, and sovereigns,' so that the whole world may be brought under its dominion, and be made to obey all the laws that he and his hierarchy shall choose to promulgate! And that this same church shall have power also to inflict whatever penalties he shall prescribe upon all those who dare to violate any of these laws! The Constitution guarantees liberty of speech and of the press; yet the Pope says this is 'the liberty of perdition,' and should not be tolerated. The Constitution requires that all the people, and all the churches, shall obey the laws of the United States; yet the Pope anathematizes this provision, because it requires the Roman Catholic Church to pay the same measure of obedience to law that is paid by the Protestant churches; and claims that the government shall obey him in all religious affairs, and in all *secular* affairs which pertain to religion and the church, so that *his will, in all these matters, shall become the law of the land.* The Constitution subordinates all churches to the civil power except in matters of faith and discipline; yet the Pope declares this to be heresy, because God has commanded that the Government of the United States, and all other governments, shall be subordinate to the Roman Catholic Church. The Constitution repudiates all 'royal power,' yet the Pope condemns this, and proclaims that the world must be governed by 'royal power,' in order that it may protect the Roman Catholic Church to the exclusion of all other churches! The Constitution allows the free circulation of the Bible and the right of private judgment in interpreting it; yet the Pope denounces this, and says that the Roman Catholic Church is the only 'living authority' which has the right to interpret it, and that *its* interpretation should be the only one allowed, and should be protected by law, while all others should be condemned and disallowed. In all these respects, and upon each

of these important and fundamental ideas of government, there is an irreconcilable difference between the Constitution of the United States and the Papal principles announced by this encyclical letter. The two classes of principles cannot both exist, anywhere, at the same time. Where one is, there it is impossible for the other to be."

Such is perverse human nature that the man who warns people of perils they are unwilling to recognize is often either ridiculed for his presumption or scorned for his temerity, by those who speedily pay the penalty of their ridicule and scorn. The Jews would not believe the noble and prophetic warnings of Samuel; the Athenians scouted the Philippics of Demosthenes; the Greeks discredited the truths uttered by Themistocles; Rome rejected the report of her faithful envoys; but the prophesied misfortunes overtook the Jews; the Athenians soon beheld their ruin; the Greeks were humbled by the Persians, and Rome was crushed by Sulla. These historic illustrations might be run through the centuries, to prove that men and nations are unwilling to be warned of peril, or to be reminded of an old adage worthy of inspiration which runs: "There is always danger when the persuasion exists that there is none."

Nation after nation, for centuries, has been warned of the peril of permitting political Jesuitical Romanism to make an alliance with the state. The warnings have uniformly been unheeded, and to undo the wickedness which the warning heeded would have averted has cost untold treasure and baptized the continents and many islands of the sea with blood.

We hope to be able to show that despite the multiform evidences of the active presence and persistent threats of this menace to civil and religious liberty which has become hoary with age, by extended study and increased watchfulness the inheritors of our priceless American patrimony will meet these perils and paralyze their power. The patriotic move-

ment to the front is now the one prominent fact in American political experience. It cannot be frowned down, scared away, or bowed out. Politicians and political parties must reckon with it. It is to the front to stay until the relations of ecclesiasticism and sectarianism to our civil institutions are normally adjusted and our institutions are intrenched by constitutional safeguards. Mistakes will be made as to methods of work, and consequent defeats will be suffered, but these will only be temporary, as, learning wisdom from mistakes and defeats, the patriotic forces will be mobilized and consolidated and present an undivided front, which means victory.

CLAIMS.—CONCERNING UNIVERSAL DOMINION IN BOTH SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL AFFAIRS.

"The polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. . . The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have improved that polity to such perfection that, among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and controlling mankind, it occupies the highest place." —*Macaulay.*

"There is no patriotism without publicity, and though publicity cannot always prevent mischief, it is at all events an alarm bell, which calls the public to the spot of danger."—*Lieber.*

On the following syllogism Romanism as a religious and political organization stands, and by it determines all its relations to individuals and to society: The Church of Christ is infallible; the Church of Rome is the Church of Christ; and therefore the Church of Rome alone is infallible, and the head of an infallible church must himself be infallible. This logically puts the stamp of permanency and universality upon all its exercise of power upon the conscience of its following, destroying individuality and prohibiting the spirit of inquiry.

Facts concerning the relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to our civil institutions have been repeatedly

given to the public in books and pamphlets, but seldom through the newspapers, which in these modern times constitute the chief sources of instruction for most of the American people. While no citizen ought to make statements for the purpose of alarming his fellow-citizens, every patriotic citizen ought to be willing to state and hear the truth bearing upon the safety or peril of the institutions he holds dear, and hold himself in readiness for their defense and perpetuation. Blindness to truth does not destroy it, and declining to recognize peril does not avert it. Clamor against exposition of danger only intrenches it, and denial of its existence is the congenial occupation of fools and fanatics, and ought not to intimidate the wise and courageous. Light has but one essay, and though it may present various phases, darkness is its comprehensive name.

Romanism in history has been one continuous politico-ecclesiastical conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. It has never deviated from its purpose to conquer nations and subject rulers to its sway.

We cheerfully give it credit for plainness of speech in the statement of its claims. No man can have excuse for misunderstanding the primary statement of these claims, despite the ingenuity sometimes exhibited in concealing the immediate purposes.

Dr. G. F. Von Schulte, Professor of Canonical Law at Prague, gives the following digest, the fairness and accuracy of which have never been contested, of the code of Romanism styled the Canon Law:

"All human power is from evil, and must therefore be standing under the Pope.

"The temporal powers must act unconditionally, in accordance with the orders of the spiritual.

"The Church is empowered to grant, or to take away, any temporal possession.

"The Pope has the right to give countries and nations

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which are non-Catholic to Catholic regents, who can reduce them to slavery.

"The Pope can make slaves of those Christian subjects whose prince or ruling power is interdicted by the Pope.

"The Pope has the right to annul State laws, treaties, constitutions, etc.; to absolve from obedience thereto, as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the Church, or those of the clergy.

"The Pope possesses the right of admonishing, and, if needs be, of punishing the temporal rulers, emperors, and kings, as well as of drawing before the spiritual forum any case in which a mortal sin occurs.

"Without the consent of the Pope no tax or rate of any kind can be levied upon a clergyman, or upon any church whatsoever.

"The Pope has the right to absolve from oaths, and obedience to the persons and laws of the princes whom he excommunicates."

Cardinal Manning says: "There is a divine obligation binding the Church to enter into the most intricate relations with the natural society or commonwealth of men, or, in other words, with peoples, states, and civil powers.

"The Church has in every age striven to direct, not the life of individual men only, but the collective life of nations in their organized forms of republics, monarchies, and empires.

"As soon as the society of the empire became Christian, the Church penetrated all its legislative and executive action. The temporal power of the Pontiffs is the providential condition under which the Church has fulfilled its mission to human society.

"The Church never withdraws from the state as such, which would be to abandon the natural society of man to its own maladies and mortality.

"While it permits the sons of heretics to frequent its own

schools, it forbids Catholic parents to send their sons to the schools of those who are out of the faith.

"We now come to define what is meant by modern society.

"Modern society is the old society of the Christian world mutilated by the character forced upon it by the last three hundred years:

"First, by the so-called Reformation, which, wheresoever it prevailed, destroyed the Catholic unity and extinguished the Catholic mind of the Christian society.

"Secondly, by the principles of 1789, which were not a mere local formula of French opinion, but a dogmatic theory of revolution, promulgated by its pretentious authors for all nations. It has now, in fact, directly and indirectly pervaded the whole political society of modern Europe.

"Thirdly, by the recent international settlement, or law, which has admitted the kingdom of Italy, with Rome as capital, and, therefore, with the usurpation of the rights and sovereignty of the pontiffs, into the commonwealth of European states; and, so far as any *jus gentium* now survives, into the diplomacy of Europe.

"Modern society, therefore, is not the natural society of the world before Christianity, nor is it the society of Christendom, when the two societies were in amity and coincidence of law and of intention. It is the political society of the natural order, fallen from the unity of faith, communion, and obedience to the divine voice of the Church, revolutionary in its political creed and practice, and either in usurpation, or in culpable connivance at the usurpation, of the sacred rights and sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ."

The purpose of the Founder of Christianity was universal empire, by the extension of his reign of love over the hearts of men. The purpose of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is universal empire, but by different methods than those used by the Founder. If Roman Catholicism had adhered to the methods of the Founder of Christianity, and politico-ecclesias-

ticism had not come to be supreme, Catholicism would to-day have universal empire, with no rival in the affections and loyalty of men.

The evolution which has turned the religion of primitive Christianity into Romanism has had its germ and propelling power in politico-ecclesiasticism.

The universal rule of the known world by Augustus has been the type of the ambition of all the Popes.

The avowed purpose of universal spiritual and temporal empire, on the part of Roman Catholicism, differentiates it both in the scope and character of its claims from all other Christian organizations.

Milton said: "Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a two-fold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other."

The claims of Romanism, when properly understood, admit of no limitation whatever. They are simply absolute, and amenable to no human law. According to Cardinal Manning, "The Church itself is the divine witness, teacher, judge of the revelation intrusted to it. There exists no other. There is no tribunal to which appeal from the Church can lie. There is no co-ordinate witness, teacher, or judge who can revise or criticise or test the teaching of the Church. It is sole and alone in the world. . . It belongs to the Church alone to determine the limits of its own infallibility."

The attempt on the part of the Popes to establish some official relation with the United States as the initial step toward more extended dominion, furnishes an interesting chapter in our national history.

"The illustrious Pope Pius IX. showed his interest in America also by sending a Nuncio to the United States. Our Government some years previously had sent an Ambassador to Rome, apparently without any knowledge of the long established system of diplomatic intercourse between the Popes and foreign powers. No intimation was given to the

Holy See of any wish on the part of the American Government to derogate from the custom of centuries. The Sovereign Pontiff did not at once send a Nuncio to this country, but in 1852 he dispatched Mgr. Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes, a prelate of great ability, learning, and mildness, as Nuncio to Brazil, and intrusted him with a letter to the President of the United States, so as gradually to open official intercourse.

"At this moment an anti-Catholic excitement had again arisen in the United States. An organization known as the Order of United Americans had spread over the country, the object of which was to exclude Catholics from office, business, and as far as possible from all civil rights. The party of which this society was the nucleus was popularly called Know-Nothings.

"The arrival of Mgr. Bedini gave fresh impulse to the intolerant spirit, and the great German infidel element in the country, with similar refugees from other parts of Europe, whose great object was the overthrow of the Papal power of Rome, gave all their aid. Mgr. Bedini had been Governor of Bologna when that city was occupied by the Austrians, who arrested and shot several revolutionists, including a priest named Bassi. All these executions were now ascribed to Mgr. Bedini as his work, although he was utterly powerless and had taken no part in the affair. A plot was formed to assassinate the Nuncio, and though he escaped by a timely warning, his informant was poniarded in the streets of New York, and the authorities dared not investigate the affair. As the Nuncio visited other cities he was mobbed, especially at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. At Washington the question of his reception led to most pitiable equivocation, and they finally took the ground that under our Constitution a Nuncio could not be received, but that a simple ambassador would be, although from the outset they knew that the Popes never sent any.

SEBASTIAN MARTINELLI, PAPAL APOSTOLIC DELEGATE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

FRANCIS SATOLLI, LATE PAPAL APOSTOLIC DELEGATE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

"All this fed the anti-Catholic excitement, which soon culminated in acts of violence. As usual the cry was raised that Catholics wished to drive the Bible out of the common schools, and meanwhile they forced Catholic pupils in the schools to take part in the reading of the Protestant Bible and the offering of Protestant prayers."—*Businger and Shea's "History of the Cath. Church," pp. 395–96.*

O'Reilly, in his "Life of Leo XIII.," p. 34, in speaking of the condition of the Papacy in its relations to the governments of the world at the close of the reign of Pius IX., says of the United States: "The Republican Congress of the United States had, after our war, and forgetful of the thousands of Catholics who had died for the Union, suppressed the American Legation at the Vatican. It was an ungenerous and impolitic act, which another Congress and President will not fail to undo in the near future."

The primary object of Mgr. Satolli, the Papal "Apostolic Delegate" to this country, in taking up his residence in Washington, was that the American people might become familiar with the Pope's representative, and when the temporal power was restored he would be near at hand for recognition as Minister Plenopitentiary, accredited from His Holiness' sectarian and secular government. The secondary object of his mission was contained in his commission from Leo XIII., to conciliate the opponents of the papal school programme, which had caused rebellion in the ranks of the American Roman Catholics who were patronizing the public schools. The time of his coming was in the midst of a heated Presidential political campaign. The Chairmen of the National Committee of both the Republican and Democratic parties were Roman Catholics. A threat was sent by one of these chairmen to the Propaganda at Rome, that unless the Roman Catholic assault upon the public schools should be more moderate and less severe and audacious, a strong plank would be put in the party platform defending the schools. Satolli came, and both

parties put in their platforms planks on the school question couched in such language that they could by no possibility wound the delicate sensibilities of the most vindictive enemy of the schools. This historic incident is one of the most humiliating in American political annals. The Republican party was deservedly defeated for its compromising cowardice, and the Democratic party, which equally deserved defeat, benefited by this political abasement of both parties. The Pope's commission to Satolli reads: "We grant you all and singular powers necessary and expedient for the carrying on of such delegation. . . We command all whom it concerns to recognize in you as apostolic delegate the supreme power of the delegating pontiff. We command that they give you aid, concurrence, and obedience in all things; that they receive with reverence your salutary admonitions and orders. Whatever sentence or penalty you shall declare or inflict duly against those who oppose your authority, we will ratify, and with the authority given us by the Lord, will cause to be observed inviolably until condign satisfaction is made, notwithstanding constitutions and apostolic ordinances or any other to the contrary."

Satolli's efforts for the settlement of the school controversy and the work of his successor will be considered elsewhere.

One of the methods used by political Romanism for promoting universal domination has been securing from ignorant and superstitious people, by fraudulent and intimidating methods, accumulations of almost unlimited wealth. One of the principal sources of its revenue has been the treasuries of governments which hold the moneys of the people, which it has forced open by preying on the fears and by inspiring the cowardice of politicians. To this end it has threatened and cajoled legislatures and debauched courts and executives. Self-preservation has often compelled civilized governments to paralyze this power by confiscation. The apparently normal

relation of things in pronouncedly Roman Catholic countries has come to be that the richer the church the poorer the people; the more absolute the domination of political Romanism the lower the people in the scale of a civilization based upon civil and religious liberty.

The experience of Pius IX. in trying to be a liberal republican Pope is one of the monumental jokes of papal history, while under him the claims of the papal system culminated in the dogma of infallibility with its blasphemous pretense. Leo XIII. succeeds to the throne with so-called liberal notions and with an ambition to be known in history as the statesman Pope of the century. He makes haste to accept and ratify the bold, brazen, and exclusive prerogatives of his predecessor, and in the details of administration exceeds him in offensiveness, paying little attention to the rhetorical explanations by his prelates in this and in other countries of the repulsive rigors of Canon Law, until their utterances begin to be taken too seriously by the people, when his iron hand does its work. One of the most demoralizing features of the world-wide ambition of ecclesiastical Romanism is that it not only permits but compels its representatives to make excuses for, and explanations of, its unreasonable and audacious claims, which they know are false and deceptive.

Leo XIII., at the age of eight, was put for molding into the hands of the Jesuits. They did their work well and never have permitted their subject to escape from their grasp. His administration has been a Jesuit administration, and his views concerning the relation of the temporal to the spiritual power have been in harmony with Jesuit views. The conclave which elected him in 1878 was Jesuitical in the character and dictation of all its transactions.

To establish the fact clearly that the Jesuits were the educators of Leo XIII., and that he in turn made them rich requital for their services, we quote from the biography of the Pope, which has been approved by him:

"The Jesuits had opened a college at Viterbo, which was soon filled with the sons of the best families of Rome and all Italy. Thither, in the autumn of 1818, Joseph and Joachim Vincent Pecci were sent to begin their long and careful education for public life."—*O'Reilly's "Life of Leo XIII.," p. 52–53.*

"Just as he had completed his twelfth year a college festival was got up to welcome the Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Vincent Pavani. This gave to Vincent Pecci the first recorded opportunity of showing his proficiency in Latin verse, as well as his admiration for the character of the venerable man who honored the name of Vincent."—*Ib., p. 55.*

"His masters—the very best classic scholars whom the Society of Jesus had in the Peninsula—knowing what precious material they had in Vincent Pecci, took especial pains to form and perfect his taste."—*Ib., p. 59.*

"Leo XII., in the year 1824, restored the famous Collegio Romano to the Jesuits. Few, indeed, as were the men who had survived the long period of dispersion, exile, poverty, and proscription consequent upon the suppression of the Society of the Bourbons, their spirit had passed into the noble band nursed among the snows of Russia; and the young men who flocked to the Jesuit novitiates after the restoration of the Society allowed themselves to be molded to the same heroic generosity and lofty intellectual ideas which had characterized, in their long and cruel trial, the dispersed sons of St. Ignatius.

"When, in the autumn of 1825, the Roman College solemnly inaugurated its courses of ecclesiastical and secular teaching, its halls were at once filled by fourteen hundred students. Among these was Vincent Pecci."—*Ib., p. 65.*

"The apostolic virtues, the eminent learning, and the still more eminent holiness of life of the first generation of restored Jesuits, were Pecci's admiration at Viterbo and in Rome."—*Ib., p. 55.*

Now let us concisely consider what this Jesuit power is, that

we may as Americans understand our relations to the claims of this foreign ruler to universal dominion.

The Order of Jesuits was first recognized by the papal power in 1540. It is the most ghastly institution in human history. It is unique. It has been courted and feared, and hated and banished by almost every nation in the world where it has gained a footing. It has done great pioneer, educational, and charitable work. It has made and controlled Popes and been suppressed by them. It has been expelled from the territory of European governments over seventy times. It has exemplified the most abject poverty and reveled in fabulous wealth. It has espoused the cause of nations and ruined them. It has planned conspiracies, plotted against sovereigns, overthrown cabinets, kindled insurrections, incited wars, promoted persecutions, and procured assassinations. The darkest deeds of rascality which have cursed the history of civilization for four centuries have revealed the figure of a Jesuit in the background. The absolute surrender of the will of the Jesuit novice to his superior has deprived the order of great leaders of independent mind, and left it in control of men of tyrannical will and conscienceless character. Wherever its power has been dominant there has been intellectual sterility. Where its representatives have succeeded in benefiting a race of people by missionary effort, it has been the result of a departure from the conspicuous practical principles of the order, and an accommodation to environment by some leader in distant isolation and separated from the authority of his superior. Compared with the entirety of their work, these exceptions are so rare as to be notable, although, despite the system which destroys individuality, some of them have become heroes, saints, and martyrs. The principal efforts of the order in late years have been concentrated upon preparing and securing the Vatican decree of papal infallibility and in maintaining the claim and seeking the restoration of the temporal power of the Popes. The promulgation of this decree and the assertion

of this claim determine the place of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. in history.

Pope Clement XIV., at cost of his life, abolished the Order of Jesuits. In 1886 Leo XIII. abrogated the work of Clement, his infallible predecessor, and restored the Jesuits to a position of power superior to any other order in the Roman Church.

Carlyle says: "For some two centuries the genius of mankind has been dominated by the gospel of Ignatius Loyola, the poison-fountain from which these rivers of bitterness that now submerge the world have flowed. Long now have the English people understood that Jesuits proper are servants to the Prince of Darkness."

Talk of the liberality exercised in this country by the papal power as we may, the fact remains that, whenever since 1870 it has expressed itself officially, its claims have been as bold, brazen, and blasphemous as those of Boniface VIII., when he said: "Moreover, we declare, say, define, and pronounce, that every human being should be subject to the Roman Pontiff, to be an article of necessary faith." Liberal, indeed! If history establishes beyond controversy any single fact, it is that Rome never changes in her purpose of universal, spiritual, and temporal dominion. Lack of opportunity may change her methods, but nothing can change her purpose.

Jesuitism in history has been the leader and political aggressor—and still is—but politico-ecclesiastical Romanism has often found it convenient to use it as a scapegoat for its sins in order to divert the attention of men and nations from its own purposes and machinations, while at the same time it has had a perfect understanding with Jesuitism, and when storms of indignation pass by, the copartnership is again openly confessed.

Rome never changes. Let it be remembered that the infallibility dogma was promulgated in 1870—the very year when the temporal power of the Pope was overthrown—and what

a persistent appeal is made for the restoration of that power—while the Pope enacts the farce of pretending to be a prisoner in the Vatican!

In his sermon at the Centenary of the Establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the United States in 1889, Archbishop Ireland said that the work which Roman Catholics in the coming century were called to do in the United States was: "To make America Catholic, and to solve for the Church Universal the all-absorbing problem with which the age confronts her. Our work is to make America Catholic. . . Our cry shall be, 'God wills it,' and our hearts shall leap with Crusader enthusiasm. We know the Church is the sole owner of the truths and graces of salvation. . . The Catholic Church will confirm and preserve as no human power or human church can, the liberties of the republic. . . The Church triumphant in America, Catholic truth will travel on the wings of American influence, and with it enrich the universe. . . The burden of the strife falls to the lot of Catholics in America. The movements of the modern world have their highest tension in the United States."

Continuing, he says: "As a religious system Protestantism is in hopeless dissolution [in the United States], utterly valueless as a doctrinal or moral power, and no longer to be considered a foe with which we must count. . . The American people made Catholics, nowhere shall we find a higher order of Christian civilization. It can be shown to the American people that they need the Church for the preservation and complete development of their national character and their social order. The Catholic Church is the sole living and enduring Christian authority. She has the power to speak; she has an organization by which her laws may be enforced."

America is to be made Catholic in order to possess a "higher order of Christian civilization." Let the reader suppress laughter and remember that this sentiment was uttered in a sermon and not in an after-dinner speech. This "higher

order of Christian civilization" experiment tried by Romanists on scores of peoples all over the world has not been such a notable and triumphant success as to cause a nation, founded by refugees from governments controlled by papal intolerance, cruelty, and persecution, to impatiently clamor for its repetition in America.

Yes, Archbishop: "She [the Roman Catholic Church] has an organization by which her laws may be enforced"; and it is this "organization" which has strangled individuality and enslaved conscience and imperiled free institutions wherever it has been permitted to get foothold; and you, as a citizen supposed to be patriotic beyond your fellows, propose to pass this "last experiment" in "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," into the control of this "organization by which her laws may be enforced." Your "organization" needs to expend its energies in Mexico, South and Central America, and Cuba, more successfully by way of civilizing before it makes audacious overtures to our part of the Western Hemisphere.

The Archbishop further says: "The Church of America must be of course as Catholic as ever in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere she must be American." Of the chameleon the lexicographer says: "Its color changes more or less with the color of the objects about it, or with its temper when disturbed," but the nature of the chameleon does not change when it assumes "color from the local atmosphere."

Archbishop Ireland's rigid adherence to papal doctrine and authority on official occasions proves his accommodating and genial utterances on social and patriotic occasions to be of the chameleon order, assuming "color from the local atmosphere."

The prelate from St. Paul may extract some comfort from one of the following expressions of judgment:

The *Catholic World*, September 1, 1871, says: "Protestan-

tism, like the heathen barbarism which Catholicity subdued, lacks the elements of order, because it rejects authority, and is necessarily incompetent to maintain real liberty or civilized society. Hence it is we so often say that if the American republic is to be sustained and preserved at all, it must be by the rejection of the principle of the Reformation and the acceptance of the Catholic principle by the American people."

Mr. Froude says: "So much only can be foretold with certainty, that if the Catholic Church anywhere recovers her ascendancy, she will again exhibit the detestable features which have invariably attended her supremacy. Her rule will be once more found incompatible either with justice or with intellectual growth, and our children will be forced to recover by some fresh struggle the ground which our forefathers conquered for us, and which we by our pusillanimity surrendered."

In this claim to universal rule America is the special field for conquest.

Dr. Brownson, speaking for Romanism, says: "Undoubtedly it is the intention of the Pope to possess this country. In this intention he is aided by the Jesuits and all the Catholic prelates and priests."

As we shall have occasion hereafter to cite Dr. Brownson's authority on questions under discussion, we give a brief statement concerning him, from a Roman Catholic source:

"Orestes A. Brownson was born in 1803 in Vermont, a State noted for the vigor of her sons. His mind was too clear to rest long cramped by New England theology, and in the narrow circle of local dissent he sought a religious system that he could respect. But Universalism and Unitarianism, though he embraced them and advocated their doctrines as a minister, proved hollow and unsubstantial. They were not the Church, and during the year 1844 grace enlightened his mind so that he saw in Catholicity what his heart had

yearned for. He at once sought instruction with all the docility of a child, and was received into the Church. To the day of his death, April 17, 1876, he was constant in all his Christian duties, having found true peace in the unity of Catholicity."—*Businger and Shea's "Hist. of Cath. Church," pp. 478–79.*

The conquest of America is but a part of the comprehensive plan, proved by history and current events, to bring the nations into subjection to politico-ecclesiastical Romanism.

This power, which has surrendered none of its claims or pretensions, has during a majority of the centuries of the Christian era disposed of crowns and thrones, sanctioned disloyalty toward legitimate sovereigns by absolving citizens from allegiance, forced people to endure the bondage of tyrants, and granted indulgence for all forms of treason. It has disturbed the peace of nations, in the Old World and in the New World, and its trail has usually been marked with blood. It has undertaken the task of grappling for supremacy with the "Giant Republic of the West." Its imperialism dreams of nothing short of universality, and Jesuitism plans and executes its purposes.

If it has modified or changed its claims, so far as our Republic is concerned, it has never notified the world of the fact, and it must therefore stand upon and be judged by its record.

Popes may die, but the Papacy never dies. It is not what the individual Pope may do or say; it is the system that speaks, and the system that abides. Popes once made the system, but now the system established makes the Popes. No single Pope can break the machine or run it on a new track, and if he attempts it he will find himself either broken or side-tracked. Popes and minor ecclesiastics have seemed occasionally to be trying to recognize that they lived in times when the world insists upon civil and religious liberty, but they have soon been muzzled by mediævalism.

Enforced efforts at adaptation to existing institutions, in the face of compelling conditions, are not proofs of changed purposes or claims, but of expediency or cowardice. Compliance with law under compulsion is no proof of penitence or reformation in the offender.

While faithful to the justice and liberty which are the supporting pillars of our Constitution, let us not forget that in dealing with Romanism we must meet a disciplined and subtle enemy, who understands the forces at his command and knows how to use them; and while we are bound to extend to him justice, liberty, and equality, we are bound also to challenge and resist his insidious methods of attack.

An astute observer has truthfully said: "Grossly deceiving ourselves as to the influence which Roman Catholicism is capable of exerting on our national life, we have shut our eyes to the facts, and for a healthy liberality have substituted supineness and a false sense of superiority."

Dr. McGlynn said: "One of the most unpardonable, and, in some views, amusing aspects of the subject, is that the greatest sticklers for this temporal power, this kingship of the Pope, for what they call the spiritual and temporal sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ, are men converted from English or American Protestantism."

As between lazy liberality and truckling servility there is little room for choice among honest men.

Since the declaration of papal infallibility no Roman Catholic divines or scholars, liberal or conservative, have a right to claim to represent Rome in politics or religion. The question is, what does the head of the Church say, and not what does some Roman doctor think.

Such men as Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Keane, and Archbishop Ireland are permitted to give vent to liberal, patriotic, and tolerant utterances for consumption by the easily deceived among Americans; but they are not speaking by authority, but schooling the public mind for new encroachments, and

they are easily halted when they give too loose rein to their tongues or pens. But there is one beneficial result from these occasional outbursts of liberality and tolerance, that many honest Romanists of the rank and file are stirred by what they believe to be emancipation proclamations from bondage, and they never can be forced into imprisonment again, although their leaders, like McGlynn and Burtsell, are lashed into silence and exile.

The Pope lost his temporal power when the bayonets of Napoleon III. no longer supported his throne. He wants temporal power restored that he may have the right to representation at the political capitals of the nations for political purposes and power.

In this purpose of universal empire time is no element, centuries are not a factor. Temporal power, however small in its beginning of restoration, must be secured as the initial, as the open door to the conquest of nations.

If politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is not the persistent meddler in the affairs of nations, why is it that in all national and international complications it everlastingly projects its presence and its power; always in an attitude to recognize the victorious side, and then, if the victor is not subservient, beginning promptly to plot for his overthrow? The religious feature of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism always retires in the presence of the political.

Persecution and torture, the favorite instruments of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism for suppressing knowledge and strangling liberty, are now from stress of circumstances in this land exchanged for stratagem, indirection, assiduity, and subtlety; but while the instruments are changed, the same hand wields them with an unchanged and unchanging purpose.

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism seems to be either unwilling or unable to yield anything of its traditions, apparently fearing that it may be destroyed. Its flexibility is only seem-

ing, and even this is a temporary expedient to dispose of a present obstacle.

Its attitude says: "We are ready to adopt the most conciliatory courses if it be only a question of turning certain difficulties and weighing expressions in order to facilitate argument."

Leo XIII. is considered by many as an ideal Pope, worthy of the ambitious title he craves of statesman pontiff. He certainly has been the consistent defender of the sacredness of dogma, and the politician who has shown his astuteness by temporary concessions and conciliations. He has reconstructed and indorsed the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, thus linking the Middle Ages to the outgoing nineteenth century. He has been an opportunist in international and world-wide politics. He restores harmony between Germany and the Papacy, he appeases Switzerland, courts Great Britain, Russia, and China, and sets the seal of legitimacy upon the republican government of France, and tolerates with becoming grace the American republic.

Grant him honesty of purpose if you choose. It is an honesty based upon conceptions of duty born in an age of the long history of cruelty and from a cherished hope of restoration of temporal power.

Is it not true that apparent personal sincerity and honesty on the one hand, and pronounced adherence to a system which, wearing a triple crown of tyranny, enforces disgusting arrogance, blasphemous claims, refined perfidy, compelled ignorance, and assassinated individuality, are all the more dangerous because of the honest semblance?

We have seen what manner of man this Pope is who persistently injects his personality into American affairs, both in time of peace and in time of war. His interference as an attempted mediator in our war with Spain was in entire harmony with the papal assumption of temporal power and right to rule over the rulers of nations.

Every move of politico-ecclesiastical Roman power to get control of education, army, navy, politics, legislation is for the purpose of shaping our civilization after the Latin type. We owe a duty to the subjects of such a power coming to us from their foreign bondage to furnish them opportunities for liberation and assimilation, and to protect our civil institutions from corruption and bondage.

The dogma of infallibility is thus defined by the Vatican Council of 1870, p. 48 of "The Decrees":

"We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith and morals to be held by the universal church, by the definite assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his church should be endowed, for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals, and therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the church. But if anyone, which may God avert, presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema."

Froude says: "More than ever the assumptions of the Holy See are perceived to rest on error or on fraud. The doctrines of the Catholic Church have gained only increased improbability from the advance of knowledge. Her history in the light of critical science is a tissue of legend woven by the devout imagination. Yet the Romish Church has once more shot up into visible and practical consequence. Her hierarchy, in England and America, have already compelled the State to consult their opinions and respect their pleasure; while each step that is gained is used as a vantage-ground from which to present fresh demands. Hildebrand, in the plenitude of his power, was not more arrogant in his claim of universal sovereignty than the present wearer of the tiara."

To understand the menace of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the American republic, we must know the history of its relations to other governments, and what relation it bears to existing civil and religious conditions in the nations where it continues to be a dominant power, as in Italy, Spain, Austria, Mexico, and the South and Central American states, and in the Province of Quebec. Politically, it is the Church of the Vatican. Its most sacred traditions and ideals are those of the Middle Ages. It has never gotten farther from the tyrannies and depravities of the past than to apologize for them, and many of them, more or less fully abandoned, it would be willing to renew if the times permitted, or if they were necessary to the accomplishment of its purpose. It must never for a moment be forgotten that Rome, neither in its character nor purpose, changes its programme for universal temporal and spiritual dominion. It may desist from aggressiveness in certain directions when the temper of the people seems to be aroused, but it is only temporarily quiescent and not convinced or reformed. Its might, though in a minority in voting and legislative strength, is the marvel of history, due, however, to the unscrupulousness of its methods in controlling men without convincing them. No honest man as a citizen need wait long or make extended research to find some rational cause of offense against the universal assumptions of this power.

Gladstone says: "The Pope demands for himself the right to determine the province of his own rights, and has so defined it in formal documents as to warrant any and every invasion of the civil sphere. . . Against such definition of his own power there is no appeal to reason, that is rationalism; nor to Scripture, that is heresy; nor to history, that is private judgment."

CONCERNING THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTER OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

The liberty which our fathers planted, and for which they sturdily contended, and under which they grandly conquered, is a rational and temperate, but brave and unyielding freedom, – the august mother of institutions, the hardy nurse of enterprise, the sworn ally of justice and order; a liberty that lifts her awful and rebuking face equally upon the cowards who would sell, and the braggarts who would pervert, her precious gifts of rights and obligations." *Edwin P. Whipple.*

The character of the claims of Romanism for universal dominion compels the negation of all the essential principles of civil liberty upon which our republican form of government rests. "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," says the Declaration of Independence. The principle of individual sovereignty is here announced. But Romanism claims this sovereignty for the Pope. The Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church says: "The Pope has the right to annul state laws, treaties, constitutions, etc.; to absolve from obedience thereto, as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the church or those of the clergy." "The Pope can release from every obligation, oath, vow, either before or after being made." The Revised Statutes of the United States require that an alien making his declaration of intention, and when admitted to United States citizenship, shall take oath, "That he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty of which he was, before, a citizen or subject." The organic law of the United States says: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land."

In a sermon preached in the Pro-Cathedral at Kensington, October 9, 1864, Cardinal Manning, speaking as for the Pope, put into his mouth the following: "I acknowledge no civil

power; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field, and of the prince that sits upon the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislator that makes laws for kingdoms; I am the sole, last supreme judge of what is right and wrong."

In his encyclical issued in the second year of his pontificate, Leo XIII. says: "As prince and master, Thomas Aquinas far outshines every one of the scholastic doctors. There is no part of philosophy that he has not handled fully and thoroughly. . . His treatises on the modern system of liberty, which, in our time, is tending to license, on the divine origin of authority, on the laws and their binding force, on the fatherly, just government of sovereign princes, on obedience to the higher powers, etc., and other subjects of a like nature treated of by him, have a great and invincible influence in rooting out the new principles of right, which are recognized as dangerous to order, peace, and public safety."

Thomas Aquinas says: "Human government is derived from divine and should imitate it. . . For the temporal power is subject to the spiritual as the body to the soul, therefore it is not a usurpation of jurisdiction if a spiritual prelate intrudes himself into temporal affairs. . . And such laws (which are opposed to divine law) should in no way be observed."

The civil liberty of the individual sovereign in a republic made up of sovereigns and controlled by popular sovereignty is nullified when some alien and ecclesiastical power claims and secures his first allegiance. In the Syllabus of Errors, the infallible Pope Pius IX. said: "It is an error to hold that, in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the civil law ought to prevail."

The revolt among people seeking civil liberty in Italy and in France has made agnostics of them so far as religion is concerned, because they have seen the utter inconsistency

between the claims of Romanism and the rational enjoyment of civil liberty.

Leo XIII. in his encyclical of 1890 says: "It is wrong. . . under pretense of civil rights to transgress the laws of the Church. . . But if the laws of the State are openly at variance with the laws of God—if they inflict injury upon the Church . . . or set at naught the authority of Jesus Christ which is vested in the Supreme Pontiff, then indeed it becomes a duty to resist them, a sin to render obedience."

This clearly requires the Roman Catholic American citizen to obey first the papal power, although it may require him to disobey and resist the civil power which he has sworn to obey as the condition of admission to the rights and privileges of citizenship. Mr. Gladstone in his work on the Vatican Decrees mentions among the many subjects which might come under "the domain and competency of the state, but also undeniably affecting the government of the church," the following: "marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy, and obedience."

On some phase of most of these subjects the Church of Rome has been in conflict with the civil liberty of the citizen as defined by the civil law in this country. In many States it has used its political power to secure special legislation to intrench itself in its defiance of the sovereignty of the citizen. This has been notably true in the securing of charters for institutions which in their management violated both civil rights and religious liberty.

Vicar General Preston on January 1, 1888, preached a remarkable sermon, throwing an ecclesiastical light upon civil liberty and personal sovereignty. He said: "Every word that Leo speaks from his high chair is the voice of the Holy Ghost and must be obeyed. . . You must not think as you choose, you must think as Catholics." The *Pilot*, a devoted Roman Catholic paper, puts it that the Roman Catholic,

according to Leo XIII., must render as "perfect submission and obedience of will to the Church and the sovereign Pontiff, as to God Himself."

Edmund Burke cannot be referring to responsibility to the Pope in the following passage:

"All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author, and Founder of Society."

Is it any wonder that multitudes of candid and intelligent citizens believe that no orthodox Roman Catholic can be a loyal American citizen? If he is intelligently honest in his church belief, he owes his first loyalty and obedience in all things to the infallible head of his Church, the Sovereign Pontiff. If he is intelligently honest in his relation to the oath he has taken as a citizen, he owes his first loyalty in civil affairs to the government which protects him in both his religious and secular rights and privileges. But his loyalty to the head of his Church covers in its requirements his reason and his conscience. His volitions are subject to the will of another. He has no liberty of choice, but is to submit obediently without debate to the will of a foreign ruler, who claims to possess the power to nullify the laws of civil governments and to absolve citizens from obligations of loyalty and obedience to those laws. We submit that this is a mild putting of the case, in the face of the admitted claims of Romanism. We know that when the facts are presented, and the legitimate inferences are drawn from them, it is the habit of certain Roman Catholic priests and editors, and their zealous Protestant apologists, to rush into print with heated assertions of loyalty on the part of Romanists, giving notable illustrations, and crying bigotry and persecution. The ugly fact remains that an intelligent, conscientious, and loyal Romanist who means to be an intelligent, conscientious, and

loyal citizen of the republic has a problem in ethics to solve that will require plenary indulgence and expertness in moral gymnastics.

Ignorance, or indifference to the unreasonable claims of his church, frequently results in his increased loyalty to his country, but this is a lamentable alternative.

In 1884 there appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* an article by M. Paul Bert, ex-Minister of Public Instruction and Worship in France, on the rélations of Rome to religious and political affairs in France, from which we quote the following:

"She has opposed the progress, not only of liberty of thought—that is within her rôle—but also of popular education, of which she seems to fear the consequences above everything. She has become aristocratic and royalist, identifying her cause with that of the ancient régime.

"She has again and again threatened the existence of the Republic; and has taken part in the elections against all candidates who represent liberal and democratic ideas. The charges of her bishops and the sermons of her curés have too often been filled with protestations against the state of society that has sprung from the French Revolution, with attacks upon the Government which France has freely chosen, and with insults against the representatives of the country. And, moreover, in aid of its bellicose propensities, the church employs not only the powerful influence which it wields over the souls of its believers, but also that which the civil power has given, either by the Concordat or subsequent laws, or by its weakness and concessions in practice.

"Such a state of things cannot last. If, as many enlightened minds think, there is an absolute antagonism between the tendencies of the church—*which has not abandoned, at last in France, its dreams of universal domination*—and the Republic, which means to be master in its own house, and whose fundamental principle, liberty of conscience,

has been formally condemned by the two last Popes, how can we admit that civil society should continue to augment the power of its would-be ruler?"

The essential character of civil liberty demands, for its highest rational enjoyment in the individual and for its highest development in the state, freedom of conscience and freedom of will, unfettered intelligence and undaunted courage, individual sovereignty and personal responsibility. Romanism either fetters or destroys every one of these qualities.

Liberal prelates, as they are styled, because they at one time protested against the dogma of papal infallibility, have all submitted, and formally published it to their following and sworn obedience to the infallible Pope, despite the fact that they had denounced it as giving the lie to history and as stultifying reason. The Vatican Council defined this blasphemous and insolent dogma, Pius IX. and Leo XIII. interpreted its scope, and no honest Romanist, from Pope to peasant, dare disobey it in any particular, and is bound to submit his conceptions of civil liberty as absolutely to the known will and judgment of the Pope as the most devout Christian would to the known will of God. We have seen what the papal claims are on the subject of civil liberty. How can a man who honestly accepts these claims be a loyal subject of a government which is founded upon popular sovereignty, and claims to "derive its just powers from the consent of the governed"?

Rev. Michael Muller, evidently the same priest who wrote the disreputable volume on Public School Education which was indorsed by Archbishop Ireland, says, in his "Familiar Explanation of Catholic Doctrine": "To be separated from the divine authority of the Pope is to be separated from God, and to have no place in the kingdom of Christ. . . Mark well, Pius IX. uttered these solemn words against 'certain men' whom he calls the enemies of the Catholic faith—he

means liberal-minded Catholics, as is evident from his words, which, on July 28, 1873, he addressed to the members of the Catholic Society, Quimper, 'tell the members of the Catholic Society that, on the numerous occasions on which we have censured those who held liberal opinions, we did not mean those who hate the Church, whom it would have been useless to reprove, *but those Catholics who have adopted so-called liberal opinions, who preserve and foster the hidden poison of liberal principles.*'"

The idea that Archbishop Ireland, in his so-called liberal utterances, dangerous because oratorically plausible and attractive, and which seem to exert a soporific and hypnotic influence over Republican financiers and politicians, represents the purpose of Rome in America, is simply ludicrously absurd, in the light of his absolute submission to Rome's extreme demands contained in these very utterances and not concealed by rhetoric from observant eyes, and in the light of his inconsistent and double utterances on vital features of civil liberty, some of which are designed for American political consumption and others to assure Rome of unconditional loyalty.

The Plenary Council and the Apostolic Delegate and the uncompromising Archbishop Corrigan type of prelate speak for Rome in America, and when they speak debate must end, and none know this fact better than the small class of prelates who attempt temporary and plausible explanations of claims which, in their nakedness, would shock the American conceptions of civil liberty.

Thoughtful Roman Catholics themselves look upon the so-called liberal Cardinal Gibbons as an unsuspecting, good-natured, forceless, and harmless gentleman, who makes a good appearance on dress parade in a procession, and who has photographed himself in his tame and colorless book entitled, "Our Christian Heritage"; and who has repeatedly *uttered*, but never in action *illustrated*, liberal American sentiments.

For Protestants to praise and pet the liberality of Roman Catholics who assert their loyalty as citizens and who still submit to the claims of Canon Law, and Syllabus, and Encyclicals, is to put a premium on broken vows and disloyalty to convictions. The only honest and praiseworthy course which any Romanist in this Republic can pursue is open repudiation of the extreme ecclesiastical claims upon him as a member of the body politic, while at the same time he accepts the religious claims of his church in so far as those claims pertain to his personal character and his personal relations to Christ.

Leo XIII., in his encyclical of November 7, 1885, said:

"Every Catholic should rigidly adhere to the teachings of the Roman Pontiff, especially in the matter of modern liberty, which, already, under the semblance of honesty of purpose, leads to destruction. We exhort all Catholics to devote careful attention to public matters, and take part in all municipal affairs and elections, and all public services, meetings, and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in countries where they live. *All Catholics should exert their power to cause the Constitutions of States to be modeled on the principles of the true Church.*"

No genuine republican form of government has ever been established in any country on anything like a permanent foundation until politico-ecclesiastical Romanism has been either crushed or put under bonds.

The enthronement of Romanism always means the dethronement of liberty. The supremacy of ecclesiasticism always means the starvation of reason and the suppression of man's noblest faculties.

We do well to keep in mind the words of Gambetta, "Always remember that our enemy is clericalism," and let us also remember that with us, as with the French Republic, there exists a radical and necessary antagonism between the

imperious pretensions of political Romanism and the freedom and self-reliance essential to a republican form of government.

With Papal Rome as with Pagan Rome, its all-embracing claim of universal sovereignty forbids the recognition of anything like half measures. As Pagan Rome followed a dream of glory,

> "Scorning the base degrees
> By which it did ascend,"

so Papal Rome exhibits that spirit of pride and ambition which places the temporal above the spiritual, admits no equals, and looks on all forms of liberty as enemies to be resisted and crushed. "When Rome has spoken, that is the end of the matter," said Augustine; and so says every believer in and supporter of papal authority to-day.

In March, 1897, Mgr. Schroeder, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman Catholic University in Washington, published over his own signature the following estimate of liberal Catholicism:

"It is a duty to keep up this fight against this powerful enemy, this so-called liberal Catholicism or Catholic liberalism, luxuriating in the garden of the Church as tares sown by Satan."

In another place he compares liberalism in the Church to the Russian thistle. There is no such thing as a good or a bad thistle, all being bad alike; so he says there is only one liberal thistle, and that is good for nothing.

"It is the great heresy of the nineteenth century—the negation of the supremacy of Christ and his Church over State and society in general. A Catholic liberalism is just as impossible as a Catholic Arianism or Protestantism."

He asserts that for the last fifty years the Popes have branded liberalism as a heresy, as a dangerous enemy, as hidden poison and fallacious error. He sums up by declaring that:

"We are justified in drawing the conclusion that a liberal Catholic cannot be a good Catholic."

And yet there are men who tell us that the teachings of Romanism in this country are in the direction of adaptation to the liberal institutions of the republic, and to a broader conception of the essential character of civil liberty and to the rights of private judgment.

On the great conflict between Americanism and foreignism, Lyman Beecher says:

"Must Catholics have all the liberties—their own and ours too? I protest against that unlimited abuse with which it is thought quite proper to round off declamatory periods against the religion of those who fought the battles of the Reformation and the battles of the Revolution; and that sensitiveness and liberality which would shield from animadversion and spread the mantle of charity over a religion which never prospered but in alliance with despotic governments, has always been, and still is, the inflexible enemy of liberty, of conscience and free inquiry, and at this moment is the mainstay of the battle against republican institutions. A despotic government and despotic religion may not be able to endure free inquiry, but a republic and religious liberty cannot exist without it."

Dr. Philip Schaff's translation of the Syllabus Errorum (Pius IX., 1864) and other acts of the Popes, gives the following affirmative claims in the interests of civil liberty which have received Papal condemnation; declaring them to be erroneous:

"To maintain the liberty of the press."

"To claim liberty of speech."

"To contend that Papal judgment and decrees may without sin be disobeyed or differed from, unless they treat of faith and morals."

"To hold that the Roman Pontiff's ecumenical councils have transgressed the limits of their power and usurped the rights of princes."

"To hold that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

Mr. Gladstone says: "My propositions are these:

"1st. That Rome has substituted for the proud boast of 'Semper Eadem' a policy of violence and change in faith.

"2d. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

"3d. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.

"4th. That she, Rome, has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history."

This government has been to an enormous outlay of life and treasure to rid the Western Hemisphere of the curse and cruelty and barbarism of a Latin civilization enforced by Roman Catholic Spain upon Cuba. This power has been exerted by the use of religious sanctions in the union of church and state for its political and military tyranny. Now, in peace, the republic must not allow its institutions to be undermined by ecclesiastical domination over the loyalty of our citizens, by teaching allegiance to any foreign potentate in anything pertaining to civil duties. We have had enough of that type of civilization.

THE CLAIMS OF POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL ROMANISM CONCERNING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

"All history tells us that wherever the Romish priesthood has gained a predominance, there the utmost amount of intolerance is invariably the practice. In countries where they are in the minority they instantly demand, not only toleration, but equality, but in countries where they predominate they allow neither toleration nor equality."—*Lord Palmerston.*

The union of the church with the state is the theory and practice of the Roman Catholic Church wherever it is permitted to have its way, its assertion always being that in this

relation it has the right to exclude all other religions and that the ecclesiastical authority is superior to the civil. Its present status shows that it holds a privileged and official relation, to the exclusion of equal rights to all other churches, in but a limited number of governments.

In Spain the Constitution of 1876, which is still operative, has this article: "The Roman Catholic apostolical religion is that of the state. The nation obliges itself to maintain the worship and its ministers. No person shall be molested in the territory of Spain for his religious opinions, nor for the exercise of his particular worship, save in the respect due Christian morality. Nevertheless, no other ceremonies nor manifestations in public will be permitted than those of the religion of the state."

In Austria the Roman Catholic Church has the permanence of a public institution privileged by the state; the others are private institutions entitled to equal protection.

The Republic of Colombia, in South America, is essentially Roman Catholic, which is also true to an extent of most of the other nations on that continent.

The present kingdom of Italy, since the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope and the incorporation of the Papal States with the other previously independent states of Italy into one kingdom, still retains the first article of the Constitution given in Turin, March 4, 1848, as follows: "The Apostolical and Roman Catholic religion is the sole religion of the state. The other cults now existing are tolerated in conformity with the law."

In Mexico the church and state are absolutely separated. In Brazil all Christians are put upon the same footing.

Each state of the confederation comprising the German Empire has its own laws relating to religion. While the Lutheran faith is the state religion of Prussia, the state contributes to the support of the Roman Catholic Church.

In Bavaria the state religion is Roman Catholic, while

Protestantism is aided; in fact, throughout the German Empire the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches are both aided in their support by the state.

In France all churches are equal under the law, while the priests and ministers of the Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are paid by appropriations from the state.

Under the union of church and state in Great Britain, Roman Catholics and Dissenters share about the same privileges, and it continues to be an anomaly in history that a nation and race whose flag carries with it to so many lands guarantees of civil and religious liberty should not, in its own home domain, have put in practice religious liberty instead of mere toleration.

In the United States the theory is absolute separation of church and state, which is the principle of the government and not the policy; yet while the practice of the government has been with great uniformity wise and safe, the principle is not yet adequately intrenched in the organic law of the nation and of all the States. The Roman Catholic authorities in this government, as in all governments with which they have sustained relations, make their most persistent assaults upon the American theory of separation of church and state at the treasury point, in seeking to bring about a kind of union which will enable them for their security to prey upon the fears of politicians who seek preferment as the result of the electorate.

Maryland was the only one of the original thirteen States settled by Roman Catholics, and they constantly reiterate the fact, seeking to blind the eyes of the present generation to the facts of their constant assaults upon religious liberty, that the Maryland colony declared for religious toleration, while the truth is that they conceded religious toleration because in their relation to all the colonies they constituted but a small minority, and had they held a majority in twelve of the thirteen colonies instead of one, is there any historic reason for supposing that toleration would have been conceded?

The Roman Church has recently proved that there is no change in its spirit or purpose, despite the liberal utterances of irresponsible ecclesiastics, who speak by permission Jesuitically to deceive Americans, by serving notice upon the world that civil and religious liberty are not the rightful and God-given inheritances of man as man; but that the See of Rome has the infallible power to dictate in these things. When will America stop consenting to be trifled with by this power?

While the American principle of the separation of church and state is from necessity recognized by the Roman Catholic Church authorities, it is repudiated by the supreme teaching of the Church and deplored by the present Pope in his encyclical addressed, on January 6, 1895, to the Hierarchy in America. After commenting on the equity of the laws and the impartiality of the tribunals so that the church "is free to live and act without hindrance," he says:

"Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for state and church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. The fact that Catholicity with you is in good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed his church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself. But *she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.*"

The Syllabus of Pius IX., issued December 8, 1864, and subsequently by the Decree of Infallibility confirmed as truth eternal and equal in authority with the Decalogue, says:

"The state has not the right to leave every man free to profess and embrace whatever religion he shall deem true.

"It has not the right to enact that the ecclesiastical power shall require the permission of the civil power in order to the exercise of its authority."

Then in the same Syllabus the rights and powers of the Church are affirmed thus, viz.:

"She has the right to require the state not to leave every man free to profess his own religion.

"She has the right to exercise her power without the permission or consent of the state.

"She has the right of perpetuating the union of church and state.

"She has the right to require that the Catholic religion shall be the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all others.

"She has the right to prevent the state from granting the public exercise of their own worship to persons immigrating into it.

"She has the power of requiring the state not to permit free expression of opinion."

The present Pontiff, Leo XIII., in a letter to the Bishop of Perigueux, July 27, 1884, explicitly confirms the foregoing thus: "The teaching given by the Apostolic See, whether contained in the Syllabus and other acts of our illustrious predecessor, or in our own Encyclical Letters, has given clear guidance to the faithful as to what should be their thoughts and their conduct in the midst of the difficulties of times and events. There they will find a rule for the direction of their minds and their works."

The formal union of church and state always restricts religious liberty, placing all who are not members of the established church under a ban where the most they can expect is toleration and not liberty.

The question of taxation for the support and propagation of a form of religious faith and worship which the taxpayer does not voluntarily accept is a dangerous infringement on the

religious liberty of the individual, and a severe blow at the principle of the separation of church and state. This occurs where the money of the people is used under the guise of educational and charitable institutions for sectarian propagation, or when grants of real estate are made by municipal, State, or national governments for the erection of such institutions. Roman Catholicism is especially expert at these points.

The union of church and state began in the financial and political necessities of Romanism forcing it to an alliance with wealth and power; an alliance which has morally dwarfed the rich and socially cursed the poor, while the spirit of Christianity has been perpetually crucified, and the normal state of civil government has been deprived of its virility. The political papacy was thus enabled to grow, while religious Catholicism was dwarfed. The former sought universal domination over civil powers and held in subjection the fears of men by the assumption of power over the eternal destiny of their souls. The religion of fear was used as a political power by a mighty ecclesiastical system, unchanging in its purpose.

The origin and peril of the temporal power of the Pope and of the union of church and state have been most graphically set forth in words of warning to the American people by Dr. McGlynn:

"The bishops of the Church everywhere for a thousand years were elected by the clergy and the people, and they conquered the world—with the spirit of Christ, and not with the sword of Peter.

"After three centuries it unfortunately became good policy, as much as it was a matter of Christian conversion for the saving of his soul, or, as it was said, the result of a miraculous cross in the heavens, for Constantine the Emperor to become a Christian. And we, better than the Christians of the centuries that followed the time of Constantine, can see what a pitiable and unfortunate thing it was that the Church of

Christ was befriended, protected, enriched, not merely with wealth, but with temporal power, by Constantine and his successors. Thence dates the beginning of the degeneration of the Christian Church. The purple that symbolized, not the blood with which Christ empurpled his cross, but the power that Constantine gave to the Church, is the imperial purple. The privilege of wearing it comes from Constantine and his successors.

"Let us, taught by the bitter example of a thousand years of shameful history, do what we can, by voice and pen and labor, to prevent the repetition of the blunder, that will not be merely a blunder, but a crime, if it be repeated at all in this new virgin continent, of that union of church and state which means the injury and the corruption of both.

"It seemed good, it seemed wise, an admirable thing, that there should be such an excellent understanding between the spiritual and the temporal power. But the clear, cold light of history makes plain that it was a horrible blunder. And for us to repeat the blunder would be the most unpardonable of crimes."

Romanists constantly seek to confuse the minds of the people on the questions of religious liberty and equality by magnifying sectarianism.

They count everything sectarian that is either Protestant or not Catholic. We count as sectarian everything denominational.

The lexicographer defines sect to be: "A body of persons who have separated from others in virtue of some special doctrine; a school or denomination; especially a religious denomination; a denomination which dissents from an established church."

Sectarianism is defined to be: "The quality or character of a sectarian; adherence to a separate religious denomination."

We decline to accept, and we believe that the majority of citizens decline to accept, the definition of sectarian presented

by Romanists. We have no established state church, in the European sense, in this country, although many of the churches have engaged in the dangerous practice of seeking to establish a connection with the treasuries of the nation and state.

Protestant is not the name of a sect. The Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Hebrew, the Lutheran, the Unitarian churches are all sects and denominations in the American sense. Our opponents have no more right to count everything sectarian that is Protestant than they have to make Roman Catholic exclude the broader and universal Catholicism. An institution or government may be Protestant and therefore not Roman Catholic, but it is not necessarily sectarian because its managers are Protestants, and it need not be sectarian because the majority of its managers are Roman Catholic.

The logic of this sectarian controversy ought to force a searching scrutiny into its animus, history, and application.

The assumption by Rome of spiritual power is almost always accompanied with arrogation of temporal power. Mixing of the two disturbs and confuses the minds of the adherents such a policy and injects discord into the affairs of nations. It is inconsistent with the genius and spirit of republican institutions.

Republicanism is essentially Christian and Christianity is essentially republican, and a republic possesses no element of permanency unless it is founded on faith in Christian principles. Skepticism is the legitimate issue of the repressive system of Romanism. The skepticism of the last century, which made republican forms of government impossible where Romanism held sway, is due to this "imbecile, corrupt, and imperious church, obtruding itself between the world and God and darkening the faith of the nations."

Whenever a nation breaks away from politico-ecclesiastical Romanism, with its denial of the right to religious liberty and

its enforced union of church and state, with the subjection of the state to ecclesiastical power, it always becomes infidel; proving that the political power of Romanism drives out both religion and morality and breeds infidelity. When France, more than a century since, threw off the yoke of Romanism, she proclaimed herself infidel, and despite the presence and power of Romanism within the domain of France, she yet remains substantially infidel. Her literature, where it is not entirely antagonistic to religion, is divorced from it, while skepticism and materialism prevail. This condition of things is the legitimate reaction from Rome's debasing superstitions and cruel tyrannies. Where religious liberty is denied superstition prevails, and superstition breeds skepticism, while skepticism annihilates superstition.

Protestantism in the republic has often sustained a guilty relation to the union of church and state in the matter of sectarian appropriations for education and for charities. Its representatives have invariably acknowledged the peril of the practice of receiving money for sectarian propagation from the public treasury, while at the same time they have given the puerile excuse for their practice that Romanism would get the money anyway, and instead of allowing Romanism to secure all the public funds, Protestantism ought to take its part so long as the practice was allowed; thus absolutely ignoring the great principle involved and illustrating the fact that wherever this practice prevails it debauches the consciences of all who indulge in it.

An effort was made in the State of Maine a few years since to engraft upon the Constitution of that State an amendment, which had been formulated by The National League for the Protection of American Institutions, to protect the school funds and prohibit sectarian appropriations. One of the first citizens to subscribe to the principles embodied in this amendment was the president of a college in the State of Maine, a man of national reputation. Yet when the serious effort

was made to carry this amendment into practical effect in the State of Maine, this conspicuous citizen appeared before a committee of the legislature in opposition. The amendment would cut off the denominational college of which he was president from access to the State treasury. He believed in the principle involved in the prohibition of sectarian appropriations, but was opposed to its enforcement.

Religious liberty in a Christian nation requires an open Bible accessible to all the people. To this Romanism is absolutely antagonistic. At the dedication of a public-school building in the City of New York some years since, an open Bible, from which a chapter had been read at the opening of the school, lay upon the desk, when an eminent Jewish rabbi was called upon to speak. He said he had been asked if, being a Jew, he was in favor of having a chapter from a Bible containing both the Old and New Testament read at the opening of the school, and his response was "Yes; for wherever in any country there have been a free church and an open Bible the Jews have never been persecuted."

The brazen manner in which Romanists assault our institutions and assault Protestantism and inveigh against what they style the Protestant Bible is known to all, but when we return the assault we are counted as persecutors and enemies of religious liberty. Despite this let the truth be told, both for the benefit of their own people who are kept in enforced darkness and to inspire the self-respect of the people at large.

For the most part the masses of the population of Roman Catholic countries are so degraded that they are considered the most needy and legitimate subjects for Christian missionary effort, they being ignorant of fundamental Christian morality, while tenaciously adhering to the Church and resting their hope of salvation on its offices.

American Christian missionaries declare that the Christian Armenians and Christian missionaries were more in peril, in life and property, from a United States State Department

under Roman Catholic control than from the Sultan's barbarism. This political Roman Catholic business is all-pervasive and omnipresent in its activity. Republican institutions furnish as fruitful a field as monarchical, provided only that Presidents and lawmakers are unsuspiciously gullible.

The *Civilta Cattolica* of Rome, a paper conceded to represent the Vatican, said recently:

"The Pope greatly desires to be at peace with the government of Italy, but this peace cannot be established unless he is restored to his sovereign rights as temporal ruler. Temporal rule is not only necessary for the liberty, but also for the unhampered international government of the Christian Church. . . It is impossible for the Italian government and the Vatican to remain at Rome together. One of them must go."

In purely Roman Catholic countries Romanism claims and exercises the right to persecute Protestants, and in Protestant countries it demands religious liberty. It causes friction in every government in the world where it can claim any considerable number of adherents.

George Parsons Lathrop a few years since delivered, under the auspices of the Catholic Club of New York City, before a large assemblage including Archbishop Corrigan and other dignitaries, a lecture on "Religious Toleration." The lecturer being a convert from Puritan stock to Romanism, we, being among the invited guests, were somewhat curious to know the direction such a man's thought would take. The lecture is before us. Religious toleration and religious liberty are strangely confounded, and Romanism is made out to be the source of both of them, as well as of the civilization we enjoy, and the last four hundred years are not to be counted as a factor in the work. He devoted much time to discussing the persecutions to which the Roman Catholics are subject in this country, which was diverting if not true. He made light of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and styled

it "entirely political," and declared it to be the result of "massacres committed by the Huguenots themselves ten years before." Mr. Lathrop devoted very little effort to citing any creditable modern history of Roman Catholicism. The whole lecture shows, as a prominent Roman Catholic ecclesiastic put it apologetically at the close, "the crudity and zeal of a young convert." It shows more. It shows the narrowing effect of Roman Catholic conceptions of religious liberty on even the cultured mind which entertains them.

In no country where Roman Catholicism is the state religion is religious liberty enjoyed, but if any religious privileges are granted they are in the nature of grudging toleration.

Religious liberty in this country does not mean that any church or other organization is free to teach doctrines that unfit the citizen for the loyal performance of his duties to the republic, and which strike at the foundation principles of our institutions, whether such church or organization be Mormonism, Romanism, or Atheism.

Such are the claims of the papal power in every direction that, whenever it pronounces itself on any subject, it seems to include in its sweep the entire domain of man's responsibility, thus allowing no avenue of escape for its subjects by the exercise of private judgment on any social, moral, or political question. Therefore the same article from the Canon Law, or Syllabus, or Encyclical will establish the menacing attitude of Romanism toward many American institutions.

The very foundation principles of the Roman Church make the recognization of personal religious liberty logically, intellectually, and morally impossible. Personal liberty is a meaningless combination of words to the enslaved mind.

When we remember that the Pope, claiming to represent Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, has no right to use spiritual and ecclesiastical weapons to secure earthly sovereignty, what shall we say of his claims over the faith

and morals of men, with authority to inflict temporal punishments?

Romanism seeks to keep its followers away from assemblies where they will hear about religious liberty.

It is high time that the American republic and the American people stopped apologizing for their principles and their institutions and stopped trying to accommodate their institutions to the inventors of the Inquisition, and to the stranglers of that civil and religious liberty which has been wrested from Rome by centuries of contest and revolution, and which has been secured by races of men who were liberated by the Scriptures which were buried or chained in the Old World by Rome. Our institutions were founded by free consciences and sealed in blood. No explanation, no apology is needed on either side, only common honesty.

THE CLAIMS OF POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL ROMANISM CONCERNING THE VOTER AS A RESPONSIBLE SOVEREIGN.

The exercise of the elective franchise ought to be an act of responsible sovereignty based upon judgment and reflection concerning principles, measures, and men. If it means anything in the United States it ought to express individual opinion and patriotic loyalty concerning republican institutions. The citizen who surrenders his sovereignty at the dictation of another, or who ignorantly, or from compulsion, casts a vote that expresses hostility to the institutions under which he lives and which secure to him his liberties, is not only unfit to be counted a freeman, but is a dangerous member of society.

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is an organization which denies the right of the citizen to *individual sovereignty*, and further claims exclusive jurisdiction over his *morals*, thus conceding absolutely no rights to the individual or to the state. This organization is a religious sect claiming protection under the constitutions of the nation and States to the enjoyment

and propagation of its views upon these vital principles pertaining to citizenship. Citizens not accepting the theories of this sect claim that their rights are prejudiced and the power of their sovereignty neutralized, by being compelled to meet at the polls a solid phalanx acting under this false conception of citizenship, thus excluding from the electoral contest the possibility of an honest verdict on the civic principles involved, unless a sufficient number of thoughtful voters remain to constitute a majority after the solid and submissive phalanx has been offset by neutralizing the votes of an equal number of independent sovereigns.

A religious sect wherein the conscience of the individual is subjected to ecclesiastical authority is a dangerous factor in politics; the non-control of conscience leaves nothing in the individual to which argument can be addressed.

An ambitious person assuming the rôle of political leader will influence the custodian of these individual consciences by promises of money grants and political preferments. Until these surrendered consciences are restored to their owners, they endanger civic institutions, because elective and appointive officials fear and dread an irresponsible, vacillating, and conscienceless master.

Secret, oath-bound organizations, whether religious, benevolent, patriotic, or secular, injecting themselves into politics constitute a peril, because they represent the surrender of individual sovereignty, and place citizenship beyond the scope of appeals to reason and argument.

Roman Catholicism, whenever acting as a politico-ecclesiastical organization, purposes to vote as a unit. This is a standing menace to republican government. It is substantially a fixed factor in national, State, and municipal elections. In most contests for municipal reform, this vote must be reckoned upon, and counted out by being offset, before any estimate as to results can be made. Occasionally, ecclesiastical non-interference with this vote permits a division of it at the

polls; then men assert themselves as men. The single-tax campaign in New York illustrates this, but the eloquent priestly leader in that campaign was punished for his temerity. In the highest interests of individual citizenship and for the free perpetuity of our free institutions, let us help to speed the day when these would-be freemen shall become freemen indeed. In 1894, in New York City, liberty of action was allowed and the vote was divided, and reform won.

Modern constitutional government, liberty of conscience, religious liberty, free speech, free press, free popular education, equality of all before the law, the impartial liberties which give character to free governments and institutions are tolerated from necessity, and never conceded as rights, by Roman Catholic ecclesiastical power.

If the members of the hierarchy will take their hands off their people as citizens, they will become amenable to argument and become genuinely American.

Whoever dictates or destroys the vote of an individual sovereign assassinates sovereignty, and an assassination of sovereignty in a republic is the assassination of a sovereign and ought to be punished accordingly.

That any alien person or power has the right or authority to instruct an American citizen as to whether the Constitution of the United States is "in conformity with the laws of God," and consequently determine the loyalty or disloyalty of his relation to the form of government under which he lives and whose protection he shares, is treasonably to usurp the powers of government and imperil the existence of republican institutions.

By what human or divine right has the Pope any business to interfere in the sovereignty of American citizenship and issue his instructions on the various phases of our institutions for the control of our citizens?

Almost every peril to our institutions comes from the importations from countries under papal control and molding.

Assaults on the American Sabbath emanate chiefly from this source. Anarchists and Socialists have been created by revolts against politico-ecclesiastical tyranny in the Old World.

Why is it that Roman Catholic priests and prelates have power often to quell riots? Is it not because the rioters are mostly of their faith? It is said that the Pope and the hierarchy often command Romanists to take the side of order and government in political contests. But what business has the Church, as such, to interfere in civil and political matters? This is a peril, because it assumes and demands solidarity of action.

No man's religious creed or religious liberty should be assailed in the discussion of civic duties; whoever attempts that imperils his own and is un-American in spirit, but he ought always to recognize the broad distinction between the personal religious faith of men and the politico-ecclesiastical organization falsely styled the Church, which usually seeks to control the political action of its adherents.

The fact that multitudes of Roman Catholic laymen have no adequate conception of the extent of ecclesiastical claims upon their obedience in both temporal and spiritual affairs does not in the least alter the fact that, in the final issue, freedom of choice and judgment are neither permitted nor exercised.

The policy of control over the voter is here candidly stated by a friendly pen in the *American Journal of Politics:*

"The power that operates and makes effective this astute policy is the Pope and the College of Cardinals. The Church of Rome under their direction has always proved itself to be a dangerous foe when its resentment has been aroused, or a powerful friend and ally to any cause which it may have espoused. . . Within the Catholic communion in the United States there are between two and three million voters. All that is needed to make the Catholic hierarchy a most potent factor in American politics is to cause these millions of Catho-

lic voters to interest themselves in political matters, and to cast their ballots so as to promote the welfare and further the interests of their church. This they are now being trained, urged, and commanded to do. This is being done largely through the agency of the Catholic press."

At the dedication on November 20, 1898, of a new church for colored people in New York City, Rev. Alexander P. Doyle of the Paulist Fathers spoke as follows:

"The strong organization of the Catholic Church, *its power to compel obedience*, its ability to bring the life of Christ in close touch with the lives of the people, is just the agency a robust race demands to keep it within bounds; while, at the same time, its splendid ceremonial as well as its warm devotional life are calculated to completely satisfy the religious instincts of the colored people."

Romanism took no special interest in the colored man when he was a slave, but when as a freedman he had a vote, it began to yearn and exert itself for his well-being with touching and intense solicitude.

It would be unjust to say that the entire Roman Catholic vote can be carried by an order, but the Pope tells us that sixty per cent. of the voters in Italy stay away from the polls by his order. He has the same authority over Romanists in America that he has over Romanists in Italy. He is not a temporal sovereign in Italy any more than in America. Who doubts that as large a fraction of Roman Catholic voters can be controlled by papal order in America as in Italy?

When Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and made it the capital of United Italy, a vote was taken by the Roman people on the question whether they desired to be citizens of the Italian kingdom or remain subjects of the Pope's temporal power. The result was substantial unanimity in favor of the Italian Government and against the Pope.

No wonder His Holiness is not willing his subjects should express their untrammeled opinion through the ballot.

In his lecture upon "American Citizenship," Archbishop Ireland declares that, "The ballot is the pride of the true American! Its proper use is his sacred duty. The American neglecting to vote on election days merits disfranchisement, if not exile. The American boasting of his political indifference or his political indolence proclaims his shame. The most deadly danger to democracy, thoughtful writers tell us, is that of respectable, well-meaning, and educated citizens who show but little active interest in the political welfare of the country. Others, the selfish and reckless who have private ends to serve, who care not what comes of the country if they satisfy their own ambition and greed, will never be absent from the caucus or the voting booth, and in their hands the country dies. This peril has come to America; let us be quick to avert it, while there is yet time. If there are through the land corrupt, incapable municipal administrations, ignorant and venal legislatures, is not the fact largely, if not entirely due to this, that the capable and honest find no time, have no inclination for the political convention or the public service?"

These utterances have a patriotic ring, but in view of their source and of the facts in the case, the ring is that of the "sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal." The reason why "the capable and honest find no time, have no inclination, for the political convention or the public service," is that the ignorant and superstitious voters who are the subjects of the politico-ecclesiastical organization represented by the Archbishop are so massed in the centers of population that they have, if not a majority at least the balance of power at the polls, under the leadership of a politico-ecclesiastical boss who delivers their vote in the mass.

This state of things discourages "capable and honest" citizens, because it degrades the character of citizenship and subjects to humiliation the man who consents to enter "public service" under the demeaning conditions required.

Justice Dykman of the Supreme Court of the State of New York on April 29, 1898, rendered a decision against the constitutionality of the Myers voting machine. The press reports declared that the decision was based upon the facts that "the machine did not provide for or enable the voters to give free expression to their choice of officers, and moreover, it is liable to get out of mechanical adjustment and to register votes for candidates which were not cast or intended for them, and is liable and exposed to fraudulent devices of lawless voters." On the ground here stated is it not clear that the patent politico-ecclesiastical Roman voting machine is unconstitutional? It certainly does "not provide for or enable the voters to give free expression to their choice."

Our neighbor Canada furnishes us with some interesting illustrations of the claims of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism over the voter as a responsible sovereign.

When the Hon. Mr. Langevin was elected a member of the Canadian Parliament by the County Charlevoix, Province of Quebec, the electors of the county protested against his election on seventeen different counts, eight of which were classified under clerical intimidation. The case was tried before the Superior Court of Quebec before Justice Routheir. Here are some of the specimens of clerical interference in behalf of Langevin the Conservative candidate, and against Tremblay, his opponent, the Liberal candidate. These remarks were sworn to before the Court and admitted as evidence. Rev. Father Servis said: "Liberalism was an error condemned by the church, and had sneaked in among us like the serpent into the terrestrial paradise. That it was necessary to combat this liberalism which is leading our land into ruin; that it was necessary to listen to the priests and bishops and not to the 'false Christs' and false prophets, who came to the parish to divide the congregation and the pastor, to preach that the priest has nothing to do with politics; that if the parishioners would listen to these ravening wolves, and

separate themselves from their clergy, terrible chastisements were in reserve for their country; that 'liberalism' had caused the French Revolution and had been the cause of the sacrilegious murder of priests; that it had also caused destructive ravages in Germany, and would cause the same things to happen here; that the liberal party was dangerous, opposed to the interests of religion, and was condemned by the bishops; that it was not permitted in conscience to be a liberal Catholic as the bishops had condemned this liberalism; that to vote was a duty of the greatest importance, and that at their death they would reproach themselves if they had contributed to the election of men who wanted to separate the church from the state, and who were endeavoring to destroy the confidence of the people in their priests; lastly that they were obliged to vote following their conscience enlightened by the pastorals of their bishops."

Rev. Father Langlois said: "That there were some hotheads in the parish who were raising discord; that the faithful should obey their ecclesiastical superiors who had the right to enlighten their conscience; that liberalism had been condemned by the Pontiff; that the liberals were cheats, and that nobody must vote for a liberal."

Rev. Father Mars said: "That in reading from the altar the pastoral letters of the bishops he had added some commentaries to define Catholic liberalism, to show that it was condemned by the bishops."

Another parish priest said: "That among other things he had said from the altar that Catholic liberalism was an error, condemned by the Church, and were he to vote for a liberal Catholic he would commit a sin."

In the recent contest in Canada in the interests of prohibition of the liquor traffic the priests in the Province of Quebec not only counseled, but openly and threateningly commanded their people to vote against prohibition; and the Canadian bishops gave instructions that the sacraments should be re-

fused to all Catholics who either voted for or accepted the settlement of the school question adopted by the Canadian Government, and, in addition, made threats of excommunication against those of their following who should not heed and obey the ecclesiastical restrictions upon their rights as voters and citizens.

In July, 1897, a four-page circular was issued anonymously in New York City, under the title of "Civic Interrogations." The circular contained a series of questions in which all loyal citizens ought to be interested, pertaining to the relations of politico-ecclesiasticism to civil institutions, and closed with this statement:

"Politico-ecclesiasticism, with its sweeping claims over the morals of men, reaching every rational or intentional act, including the act of voting, and which in foreign countries constitutes the basis for a distinct *political party, must not be allowed to undermine* the Great Republic, whose perpetuity depends upon individual sovereignty."

These interrogations were the outcome of a conference of citizens, whose experience in official, business, and political life had painfully convinced them of the scandals and perils of the ramifications of Roman ecclesiasticism in all departments of official and political affairs, and in many departments of business.

One of these circulars reached Archbishop Corrigan, the result of which is recorded in the following historic statements and documents contained in the second issue of "Civic Interrogations." The perusal will prove both instructive and diverting:

(*From the "Catholic Review," October* 17, 1897.)

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN RESPONDS TO LINK NO. ONE OF "CIVIC INTERROGATIONS," AFTER CONFERENCE WITH THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.—BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK CONVENE.

The annual meeting of the Catholic bishops of the Province of New York was held Wednesday in the archiepiscopal residence in Madison

Avenue and Fiftieth Street. All of the bishops of the province were present, as follows: Bishop McDonnell of Brooklyn, Bishop Burke of Albany, Bishop Wigger of Newark, Bishop Quigley of Buffalo, Bishop Gabriels of Ogdensburg, Bishop Ludden of Syracuse, Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, Bishop McFaul of Trenton, and Bishop Farley of this city.

Archbishop Corrigan called the meeting to order at eleven o'clock. Reports on the condition of the various dioceses were read by the bishops, and the business of the Church was discussed in a general way. Archbishop Flood of Trinidad, West Indies, was at the meeting, and was the guest of honor at a luncheon which was served in the refectory late in the afternoon.

There was another meeting at the archiepiscopal residence Thursday.

(*From the "Sunday Democrat," October* 17, 1897.)

MEETING OF THE BISHOPS.

The meeting was a business one, purely and simply, and *there were no religious ceremonies connected with it.* It was *strictly private,* too, and nothing concerning the deliberations was given out.

(*From the "Sun," October* 17, 1897.)

THE POPE AND AMERICA.—ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN REPLIES TO CERTAIN CIRCULARS.

A LETTER FROM HIM TO PASTORS, WHICH WILL BE READ FROM ALL THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PULPITS OF THE ARCHDIOCESE TO-DAY.—DENIES ANY INCLINATION OF THE PONTIFF OR THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TO DICTATE OR INTERFERE IN MATTERS POLITICAL.—POPE'S FUNCTIONS DEFINED.

Archbishop Corrigan has sent the appended letter to every Catholic pastor in the city, and this morning it will be read from the pulpits of all the Catholic churches in the archdiocese. The letter is regarded as the most significant document that has emanated from the archiepiscopal residence in some time. It is written in connection with the regular annual notification of the "Peter's Pence" collection, which is taken up on the last Sunday of the present month. The Archbishop's utterances, as he explains in the letter, were inspired by *circulars* which have been distributed during the present campaign, and which intimate that the Catholic Church has interfered in politics to an extent that has made it a danger to the republic. It was impossible to learn yesterday what party or individual caused the circulars referred to to be printed and distrib-

ated. Father Connolly, the Archbishop's secretary, would not discuss the matter. Following is the Archbishop's letter:

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
"NEW YORK, October 15, 1897.

"REV. DEAR SIR: According to the Second and Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore, a collection is to be taken up annually in all the dioceses of the United States for the support of the Holy Father, and the statutes of this diocese in particular specify that this collection is to be made during the month of October. In compliance with this rule, I hereby designate the last Sunday of October as the date for collecting the Peter-pence this year in all the churches.

"The reasons for this appeal have been so often explained that it is unnecessary to state them anew, but I avail myself of this occasion to allude to some misapprehensions or misrepresentations regarding the office of the Sovereign Pontiff, which are continually repeated to our discredit in periods of passing excitement or on the eve of popular elections. In this way circulars have been insidiously distributed containing wild statements, such as the following: '*Politico-ecclesiasticism, with its sweeping claims over the morals of men, reaching every rational or intentional act, including the act of voting* * * * *must not be allowed to undermine the great republic; whose perpetuity depends upon individual sovereignty.*'

"This modest sentence contains the three following propositions:

"First.—The Catholic Church, as focused in its infallible head, extends its sweeping claims over every human act, including the act of voting.

"Second.—The Catholic Church is a danger to the republic.

"Third.—The perpetuity of our free institutions depends on individual sovereignty.

"In view of the first proposition it will not be without interest to recall what the Church really teaches regarding papal infallibility. Nothing can be clearer than the definition of the Vatican Council. The Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is to say, when in the exercise of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, he, in virtue of his supreme authority, defines that a doctrine on faith and morals is to be held by the whole Church, by the assistance of God, promised to him in the person of blessed Peter, has that infallibility with which it was the will of our divine Redeemer that His Church should be furnished in defining a doctrine on faith and morals, and that, therefore, these definitions of the Roman Pontiff of themselves, and not through the consent of the Church, are irreformable.

"According to this decree the Pope is infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when he exercises his office of universal teacher defining some point of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church. The privilege of infallibility is restricted, therefore, to an act of teaching; it does not extend to an act of government, nor even to an act of teaching if performed by the Pontiff as a private teacher. Should he order Catholics to vote a particular ballot, his action, by its very nature, as a mere act of authority, would not be shielded by the mantle of infallibility. Again, should he, by any possibility, direct Catholics to support, for instance, one or the other of the several candidates now in the field for the Mayoralty of the Greater New York, his action evidently would not be an act of teaching regarding 'faith and morals,' much less an act tending to bind the universal Church. Faith and morals are the object of the Church's teaching office, not science, nor history, nor politics. The Church, it is true, and the Roman Pontiff, as successor to St. Peter, have received from our Lord power to decide questions of faith and to offer sure and unerring guidance in the field of morals. For in giving Peter the command to feed His entire flock, Christ necessarily imposed on the flock the burden of *obedience*. Both duties are correlative and mutually imply each other. If the flock be bound to hear and obey the Shepherd's voice, he in turn must necessarily be safeguarded from error; must be able consequently to distinguish good from unwholesome pastures; otherwise the Lord Himself, the supreme Shepherd, would be responsible for the loss of his sheep by making them subject to a hireling who might expose them to the fury of the wolves or lure them on to destruction. If the Church cannot fail, because the Lord has made it 'the pillar and the ground-work of truth,' neither can Peter fail, for he is the corner-stone on which the immovable super-structure rests. 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.' If other teachers might perhaps falter in the faith, yet Peter may not, for the Eternal Truth and Omnipotence itself has said, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren.' But while the Church and the Pope are supreme judges of faith and morals, the light of *conscience is our guide in individual acts*. The gift of infallibility is vouchsafed for the good of the Church at large.

"The Catholic hierarchy has now been established in this country over a hundred years. In all that period can a single syllable be adduced emanating from the Roman Pontiff for the purpose of directing our ballots? In these hundred years has a single Pontifical utterance *ex cathedra* been made bearing in the remotest degree on the question of our politics? If such a fact has never existed during our entire history, is it not a little silly to 'fear where there is no fear'? Is there anything

more supremely ridiculous than the bugaboo that the Pope or the Church is reaching out to control 'every rational or intentional act, including the casting of a ballot'?

"The second fallacy in the *remarkable document* before us is the statement that the Catholic Church is a danger to the republic.

"There is nothing surely in the form of our government which the Church reprobates. Her infallible head, in his encyclical on civil power, expressly teaches that no form of rule is open to the Church's disapproval *provided* it be just and for the common good. The oldest republics in the world were established under Catholic auspices. The blood of Catholics reddened every battlefield in the struggle for American independence, as it flowed freely in every subsequent national conflict. Should another war break out (which may God avert!) Catholics will be found to march to their country's defense at the first blast of the bugle. It is at least a century too late to question our patriotism or our civil allegiance.

"Danger to the republic can never come from the Catholics while they remain faithful to their religion, which, in the language of St. Paul, teaches obedience to constituent authorities, and in the words of St. Augustine, inculcates 'Charity toward all and malice to none' ('De Moribus Ecclesiæ,' lib. i. c. 30). The signs of the times show danger signals in the fast rising flood of socialism and anarchy, and thinking men the world over find the greatest bulwark against these dangers in the conservative principles and doctrines of the Catholic Church. All her past history shows what she has done for the people—mitigating their sorrows, alleviating their hard fate in cases of plague, famine, or oppression, pleading their cause at the bar of justice and humanity; while she has aided civil governments, in turn, by protecting their just rights, and enforcing due obedience to their authority; endeavoring always, in one word, to make both rulers and people realize that all are children of one Father who is in heaven, all destined to enjoy together the same blessed immortality. The Church is allied to no form of government; she flourishes under every form in which justice and right prevail; her supreme guide of conduct and her chief solicitude consisting in the great maxim, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all things else shall be added unto you.'

"Lastly, it is said the perpetuity of our free institutions depends on individual sovereignty.

"If this proposition be intended to imply that a good Catholic cannot be a good citizen, stubborn facts are against it. If merely a truism, it need not occupy our attention.

"With the indignation born of logic and history, we repel the odious

charge that the Church of Christ cannot live in harmony with the American republic. Only by distorting and perverting the plain language of the Vatican decree can it be made to seem that the Vicar of Christ interferes with the exercise of individual liberty. Fortunately, in the case of the reigning Pontiff the charge is made against one whom the civilized world has learned to admire and revere as the friend of the laboring classes; as the champion of the down-trodden slave in darkest Africa; as the patron and lover of history, of arts and letters; as the pacificator of nations; as 'a light from heaven.' Let us strengthen his hands by offering him material means to carry on the beneficent work of the Church; let us aid him by our prayers, and let us console his paternal heart by putting in practice the beautiful lessons he has so often and so eloquently taught of meekness, of charity, of earnestness and perseverence in prayer, of fervor in the pursuit of every Christian virtue.

"Have the kindness, reverend dear sir, to read this letter to your flock, that they may be on the alert to defend our holy mother, the Church, against the spread of calumnies, which, like weeds, need constant care and healthy, energetic treatment.

"I am, reverend dear sir, very faithfully yours,

"MICHAEL AUGUSTINE,

"Archbishop of New York."

Come, Michael Augustine, be honest! When you quote from an opponent, quote literally, and do not deceive your followers by directing to be read, from the altars where you control the teachings, distorted passages, intentionally omitting an important statement of historical fact. This is the entire passage, from which you quote:

"Politico-ecclesiasticism with its sweeping claims over the morals of men, reaching every rational or intentional act, including the act of voting, and which in foreign countries constitutes the basis for a distinct *political party, must not be allowed to undermine* the Great Republic, whose perpetuity depends upon *individual* sovereignty."

Why keep from the ears of your people this statement of fact: "and which in foreign countries constitutes the basis for a distinct political party"? Why put *three little innocent stars* in the place of this statement of *great historic import?*

The Archbishop's "bull" virtually admits that an assault on *politico-ecclesiasticism* is an assault upon the *Roman Catholic Church*. This eliminates from the discussion the necessity of submitting the abundant proof at hand. Therefore, let it be understood that the Romanism of the Greater New York, under the leadership of Archbishop Corrigan speaking *ex cathedra*, is a politico-ecclesiastical organization.

The Archbishop, after making a garbled quotation from "Civic Interrogations," as before stated, then says:

"This modest sentence contains the three following propositions:

"First.—The Catholic Church, as focused in its infallible Head, extends its sweeping claims over every human act, including the act of voting.

"Second.—The Catholic Church is a danger to the republic.

"Third.—The perpetuity of our free institutions depends on individual sovereignty."

On the first proposition the epistle of Michael Augustine gives the stock incoherent statements and perversions of Scripture which no intelligent Roman Catholic believes, and for which the general public has a wholesome disgust.

On the question of morals he substantially decrees a divorce between a man's morals and his civic character.

On the second proposition he does not seem to recognize the fact that, politically as well as religiously, "no man can serve two masters"; and that the first loyalty of a Romanist is due to a foreign potentate who claims temporal as well as spiritual power.

On the third proposition the writer hedges most humiliatingly. "Civic Interrogations" did not assert "that the church of Christ cannot live in harmony with the American republic." The church of Christ *can* and *does* "live in harmony with the American republic." If that portion of the "church of Christ" with a Roman prefix has aroused suspi-

cions in the public mind concerning its relations to individual sovereignty, it becomes its authorities to dissipate these suspicions by changing their political tactics and not by pronouncing panegyrics on Leo XIII.

The Archbishop says: "Can a single syllable be adduced emanating from the Roman Pontiff for the purpose of directing our ballots?" He well knows that this is playing with words. Archbishop Corrigan is at the head of the hierarchy in this center of population. What did he mean when, in August, 1896, he stated to a gentleman of culture and veracity in this city, after declaring that the Church took an active part in the Mayoralty contest of 1886, that "the Church would take as great a part in the coming campaign [of 1896, when Tammany cast 135,000 votes] as it did in the Henry George campaign"? Does His Grace deny that priests in his diocese, both in the political contest of 1886 and 1896, definitely instructed their parishioners how to vote, from the altars of the churches? Does the representative of the Roman Pontiff in these parts mean to be understood that he and his priests acted in these instances without the authority of their master?

Space has been given to the important "Peter-pence" document from Archbishop Corrigan in which he essays to correct what he asserts to be "some misapprehensions or misrepresentations regarding the office of the Sovereign Pontiff, which are continually reported to our discredit in periods of passing excitement or on the eve of popular elections"; and the facts concerning the inspiration of the document and the brief responses to the same, because of their important bearing upon the Archbishop's relations as one of the most conspicuous representatives of the Pope, in this "colony" of his world-wide dominions, to politics and the individual sovereignty of the citizen. In other parts of our discussion of the menace of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism we shall be anxious to know, when we summon the Archbishop as a witness, if he desires to be considered as speaking *ex-cathedra*.

We now summon Henry George in the interests of Archbishop Corrigan:

"In the second issue of the *Standard* I stated that in the election Archbishop Corrigan not only wanted to defeat a certain candidate, but also wanted to defeat the call for a constitutional convention; that he communicated with priests to influence them to vote against the convention, and that at a gathering where one of these priests endeavored to carry out the wishes of the archbishop a proposition was made to get hold of the bags containing ballots in favor of the convention and destroy them.

"Archbishop Corrigan saw fit through a *Herald* reporter to say that this statement was false, and through a *Tribune* reporter that it was ridiculous; whereupon I stated in the last number of the *Standard* that if he would come out over his own signature and make an unequivocal denial, I would either give my authority or retract the statement. In the meantime, as showing that such interference in politics was nothing new on the part of Archbishop Corrigan, I referred to the fact that as Bishop of Newark some years ago he sought in a similar way to influence the priests of his diocese to defeat certain proposed amendments to the constitution of New Jersey.

"Archbishop Corrigan has not seen fit to make the denial I called for, nor do I think he is likely to. If he does, however, I stand ready either to substantiate the statement or to make public retraction.

"In the interval the New York *Herald* has hunted up the facts in the New Jersey episode to which I referred. In 1875 amendments to the constitution of New Jersey were submitted to the vote of the people of that State. These amendments prohibited the legislature from granting special privileges to corporations, associations, or individuals, and from making special laws in reference to the management and support of public schools; prohibited the donation of money,

land, property, or credit by the State or any municipal corporation to any individual, association, or corporation; forbade counties, cities, and towns from becoming security for, or directly or indirectly the owner of, any stocks or bonds of any association or corporation, and required the legislature to provide for the support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools.

"A few days before the election Archbishop Corrigan, then bishop of Newark, issued the following letter to the priests of his diocese, a copy of which was obtained by the Newark *Daily Advertiser* and published by it on the evening preceding election. Its authenticity has never been denied:

"'NEWARK, September 3, 1875.

"'REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

"'Having taken legal advice, I am informed that by the new constitutional amendment clerical property is liable to taxation. This would involve so heavy an additional burden to the diocese that I feel it my duty to recommend you to instruct your people to strike out the objectionable clause, or, better still, to make assurance doubly sure, let them strike out the whole ballot.

"'It is not enough to abstain from voting; let them vote and vote against the amendment.

"'Very truly yours,

"'MICHAEL, Bishop of Newark.

"'P. S. Remember that our people *must* cancel by pen or pencil the whole ballot, and then vote it thus canceled, in order to protest against injustice.

"'Remember also that the special election in regard to these constitutional amendments will take place next Tuesday, September 7.'

"Observe the phraseology. The archbishop, with the absolute power of removal and promotion in his hands, *recommends* to his priests to *instruct* their people how to vote on a most important constitutional amendment. This is the

power which Archbishop Corrigan uses, as he claims, at the behest of Italian cardinals.

"The true story of how this letter of Archbishop Corrigan's got into print has never been publicly told, although it has been laughed over many a time in the private gatherings of Catholic clergy, when they felt secure from archiepiscopal eavesdropping. Many of the priests of the Newark diocese felt humiliated and outraged by Bishop Corrigan's interference in politics then, just as many of the priests of this diocese feel humiliated and outraged by Archbishop Corrigan's interference in politics now; but being absolutely under his thumb, none of them dared to say a word. There was, however, in the diocese, a German priest, whose knowledge of English was so extremely limited that he interpreted the word 'confidential,' written across the bishop's letter, to mean 'confide all'—that is to say, 'tell everybody,' 'publish this broadcast,' and finding privately that this was his notion of 'confidential,' some American priests took means to quietly intimate to a Newark *Advertiser* reporter that he had better go to see the German priest and ask for a copy of the bishop's letter, as a matter of course. The reporter went; the German priest instantly complied, glad to get the opportunity to obey what he thought was the injunction of his bishop, the Newark *Advertiser* published the letter, and the waggish priests had a laugh which comes back yet whenever the incident is recalled."—*The Standard, January 29, 1887.*

Sometimes the Roman priests resort to very cruel methods for influencing the voter. They play upon the sorrows of the heart and upon the religious desire for burial in consecrated ground for the purpose of political intimidation. We have from the lips of witnesses of veracity their personal experience in this direction, during the single-tax controversy and at the time Henry George and Dr. McGlynn were in political alliance.

The following is one of the numerous illustrations which

we could furnish: A devout Roman Catholic living on Long Island, within the New York City limits, went to his priest for confession. The priest asked him if he was connected with the United Labor Party. When the man responded in the affirmative, the priest told him that unless he promised that he would not vote for the United Labor Party he could not give him absolution; thus in the confessional intimidation was used. After the man came from the confessional he told another priest the facts of the case, and this priest told him to cross the river and go to a New York priest, whom he named, and make his confession, and then he would be ready for communion the following Sunday. We have in our possession the statement of the experience of several honest Roman Catholics identical with the above.

If we can contribute in the least to the awakening of honest Roman Catholic voters to the fact that their first loyalty as citizens is due to the government under which they live, and that this loyalty need not affect their loyalty to their religious faith as Catholics, but rather make it more rational, uplifting, and self-respecting, we shall have rendered a genuine service to these our fellow-citizens, and to their and our country.

Is it not time that the American people intelligently recognized the situation as it is, and while granting equal rights with all others to Roman Catholicism as a religion, insist on its non-interference as a political organization with the sovereignty of the citizen? We must have no *imperium in imperio* in this republic.

Will not politico-ecclesiastical Romanism consent to retire without compulsion from this field, and let religious Romanism have a chance to prove its right to the title of Holy Catholic by its good works and by its molding of the characters of men into the image of Christ, without asserting a power over their civic action which Christ never claimed?

The American people will soon reach a condition of political conviction that will demand, first, supreme and absolute

loyalty to the republic as a condition for office-holding and citizenship. They will not permit our institutions to be either compromised, surrendered, or apologized for. The republic was founded as a refuge for the oppressed of all climes who should come to enjoy our dearly purchased liberties, but it was not founded to be the convenient money-making and dwelling place of men who enjoy our republican benefactions, while they hold and give allegiance to a foreign potentate who controls their conduct and shares in all matters pertaining to citizenship. This they must stop! Multitudes are breaking away from this foreign power. All must, if they are to preserve a good conscience in their loyalty to American institutions. Let Romanism do its religious work at its own expense and receive proper credit for it. Let it keep out of politics and thus prove that it is Christian and not pagan.

Just at the present time, when the United States has driven from the New World the last recognized imperial representative of papal power, and broken the last agonized and dying clutch of a cruel Latin civilization on the Western Hemisphere, it is an opportune moment to serve notice upon the adherents of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism that perfect religious liberty is guaranteed them here, but that they must keep out of politics and stop attempting to control the political sovereignty of any section of our citizenship.

THE RELATIONS OF POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL ROMANISM TO PARTY POLITICS AND TO POLITICIANS.

The close relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to party politics and politicians is most pronounced in many countries and no attempt is made to deny it, but on the contrary it is asserted and used as a power to promote or prevent legislation and to bring rulers and political leaders into subjection by threats and intimidation. This is equally and universally true in the United States, although it is frequently

denied. On this matter we have no hesitancy in asserting that denial of the fact is simply excuseless and intentional misrepresentation. Romanism, in its relation to civic affairs in this nation, is a political machine controlled by under bosses who are the abject slaves of a foreign boss. And it is to the credit of the fidelity of these bosses that under most conditions they are openly proud of their loyalty, and under all conditions they are faithful to their chief, although their fidelity often requires them to be traitors to civic vows and honorable partisan obligations which they consider secondary, and hypocrites to social obligations which they consider incidental. This politico-ecclesiastical power in the republic demoralizes citizenship and corrupts civilization. It is the duty of the individual citizens and of the aggregation of citizens called the nation, either to face this power with intelligent courage and compel it to relax its grasp upon both the conscience of the citizen and the character of the nation, or reconstruct their theories of civil government by repealing both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and by substituting for them the dogma of Papal Infallibility of 1870 and the Canon Law of Romanism.

Romanism maintains such absolute control over its individual adherents that it can either make a political party of its own, or throw its solid vote with any political party with which it can make the best contract, and from which it can secure the greatest amount of spoils either in offices, legislation, or appropriations. It does this kind of business with unerring regularity. It cares not for majorities so long as it holds the balance of power. When casting an actual majority of the votes in any given locality, it is openly grasping and imperious, as in New York City, and then a nauseating revulsion occasionally overthrows it, so that it usually prefers to hold the balance of power in one of the political parties, and then it gets a majority of the offices and a preponderating amount of the appropriations without being held responsible

for political party dereliction. It is the most unscrupulously astute power in all political history. And it is supposed to be primarily a religious organization, and uses its religious work to promote its political ends. When will the American people insist upon common honesty in the relations of Romanism to the Republic? When will they take an attitude which shall say to the honest American Roman Catholic that he shall be protected in all his civil and religious rights in this republic, with the understanding that his religious loyalty is due to religious Catholicism, and that his civic loyalty is due to the nation which secures to him his civil and religious privileges?

In every State, and in every municipality of any considerable population, Romanism has some recognized political party alliance. In these alliances it is usually most open and pronounced. It aims at dictation and spoils always. The questions of patriotism and self-respecting citizenship are never considered. These questions do not come within the scope of the purposes of Romanism.

As surely as Rome in the Old World has taken part, whenever opportunity has presented, for ten centuries in the selection or election of kings and presidents, so surely has she taken part in the election of rulers in the United States. She is never out of politics.

The New York *Herald*, owned and edited by a Roman Catholic, told some startling truths about political Romanism a few years since. It said:

"The people have an opportunity to see just what sort of institution the Catholic Church is in politics, and to understand what a farce it would be to pretend that free government can continue where it is permitted to touch its hand to politics. . .

"This is a Protestant country, and the American people are a Protestant people. They tolerate all religions, even Mohammedanism, but there are some points in these tolerated reli-

gions to which they object, and will not permit, and the vice of the Catholic Church, by which it has rotted out the political institutions of all countries where it exists, which has made it like a flight of locusts everywhere, will be properly rebuked here when it fairly shows its purpose." The article added an assurance that the *Herald* was "in the fullest possible sympathy with American opinion on this important topic," and a few days later the editor, recurring to this subject, wrote: "In all it then said, the *Herald* has the sympathy of many loyal and devoted Catholics."

The Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. of November 1, 1885, says:

"The Church is in perfect harmony with all modern progress, and leaves intact the legitimate liberty of the people. Every Catholic should rigidly adhere to the teachings of the Roman pontiffs, especially in the matter of modern liberty, which already, under the semblance of honesty of purpose, leads to error and destruction.

"We exhort all Catholics who would devote careful attention to public matters to take an active part in all municipal affairs and elections, and to further the principles of the Church in all public services, meetings, and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in the countries where they live. They must penetrate, wherever possible, in the administration of civil affairs; must constantly exert the utmost vigilance and energy to prevent the usages of liberty from going beyond the limits fixed by God's law. All Catholics should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of states and legislation to be modeled on the principles of the true Church. All Catholic writers and journalists should never lose for an instant from view the above prescriptions. All Catholics should redouble their submission to authority, and unite their whole heart, soul, body, and mind in the defense of the Church and Christian wisdom."

If the papacy is not in politics, why is it that the European nations all understand that they are interested in the election of the successor of Leo XIII.? During the summer of 1898, when alarming dispatches were sent out concerning the condition of the health of the Pope, the various envoys accredited to the Vatican were ordered to interrupt their vacations and return at once to their posts. The successorship to the tiara was, according to "Ex-Attaché," "quite as engrossing a subject of delicate negotiation and intrigue in the capitals of the Old World as the future disposition of the Philippine Islands and the partition of China." It was announced that Germany, Austria, and France proposed to raise their claims to the right of veto formerly possessed by some of the Old World Powers, and that Italy proposed to assert its temporal power over the Vatican at the Pope's death and supervise the election of a successor. When Pius IX. died, Bismarck said, in a speech as Chancellor in the Reichstag: "We shall abstain from weighing on the papal election. But when the latter has been terminated, and the result is announced to us, we shall have to examine whether or not we will accept the result." Germany is interested in the election of a Pope because the Catholic party in the Reichstag is subject to orders from the Vatican and often can dictate parliamentary action; it often holds the balance of power and makes bargains for and against the government.

King William of Germany ostentatiously takes the Roman Catholic interests in the Holy Land under his protection, and secures from the Sultan for the Pope territorial concessions in Jerusalem, as the price of the support of the Catholic party of the Center in the Reichstag in securing appropriations for the large increase of his standing army and for the further development of his navy.

Bismarck said: "The papacy has been a political power which, with the greatest audacity, and with the most momentous consequences, has interposed with the affairs of this world.

This Pope, this foreigner, this Italian, is more powerful in this country than any other one person, not excepting the king."

Austria is interested in the election of a Pope because, in Austria-Hungary, the papal power often dictates to the government, and might be unfriendly to the Triple Alliance.

France is interested in the election of a Pope because its government is so readily subject to change that the papal power, by its heavy hand, can often cause the scales to turn in favor of republic or monarchy.

America is interested in the election of a Pope because we are anxious to know whether a new pontiff will command our respect by non-interference with the rights and duties of American citizens; as whenever the United States, under whatever party administration, has been obliged to meet international complications, it has been confronted with politico-ecclesiastical Romanism.

Dr. William Butler, the founder of Methodist Episcopal missions in India and Mexico, says of the Jesuits in his "Mexico in Transition from the Power of Political Romanism to Civil and Religious Liberty":

"This hateful society, whose machinations give the religious world no rest, prepared the plan which God reversed in Mexico. Standing back in the shadow, they work unseen day and night for their purposes. By the use of the confessional they can lay their hands on every secret of social and personal life in every family where they have a representative of their religion. And as to politics and public men, no power in this world is so debasing as that of Jesuitism.

"Mexico, instead of being—as she was twenty-five years ago—the most priest-ridden country on earth, has worked her way up, by the help of God and the valor of her sons, to the position of the most free of all Roman Catholic lands, while her existing laws now sanction no monastery or nunnery, sisters of charity, or Jesuits, within her bounds."

Romanism and party politics are synonymous in Ireland, where large numbers of Irish-American political bosses have received their education, which enables them so easily to become our masters. In "Democracy and Liberty" Mr. Lecky says:

"The enormous accession of political power which recent legislation has given to the Catholic priesthood in Ireland is very evident. Its whole tendency has been to diminish and destroy the influence of the propertied classes. The ballot, which was supposed to secure freedom of vote, has had no restraining influence upon a priesthood which claims an empire over the thoughts and secret actions of men; and it is stated on good authority that in cases where the secret sentiments of the voters were suspected they have been continually induced to pass themselves off as illiterate, in order that they may vote openly in the presence of the priest.

"We have seen a bishop, in his pastorals, dictating the political conduct of the voters with exactly the same kind and weight of an authority as if he was prescribing a fast or promulgating a theological doctrine. We have seen the whole body of the priesthood turned into electioneering agents, and employing for political purposes all the engines and powers of their profession. The chapel under this system becomes an electioneering meeting."

It has been quite the fashion to commend Leo XIII. for his commands to the French Roman Catholics to rally to the support of the republic. But what is to be said of the power of an Italian bishop who is powerless in Rome, which can make imperialists and royalists disloyal to their political convictions? And what power in France is now causing these same abject subjects of Rome to vote and plot against the republic?

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to carry its ends enters into any sort of an alliance. In May, 1898, in Italy, the clerical party joined with the Socialists and Anarchists to

overthrow the empire and set up a republic. In France it joined with the royalists and imperialists in sympathy with Spain to overthrow the republic which it had indorsed.

The historian Froude, writing on "what a Catholic majority could do in America," says: "It is only as long as they are a small minority that they can be loyal subjects under such a Constitution as the American. As their numbers grow they will assert their principles more and more. Give them the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of conscience. It will control education; it will put the press under surveillance; it will punish opposition with excommunication, and excommunication will be attended with civil disabilities."

Mr. Froude speaks like a seer. When the Romanists in this country were "a small minority" they were loyal to our institutions, at least in the sense of not attempting to undermine them. "As their numbers grew" their political ambitions awakened and they have since persistently assaulted our school system and tried to force a union of the state and the church in matters pertaining to taxation. Under the guise of demanding "freedom of worship" they have forbidden religious liberty and enslaved conscience. They have sought to "control education" at the public expense. They have already, to an alarming extent, "put the press under surveillance." They have already punished the expression of political convictions "with excommunication" of the offender. They have already punished loyalty to the Constitution on the part of some of their number with "civil disabilities" inflicted by their solid vote at the polls.

Referring to a petition prepared by himself and other prominent Catholics for presentation to the New York Legislature asking for the division of the public-school funds, Dr. Michael Walsh, editor of the New York *Sunday Democrat*, said:

"We propose to get the members of the legislature on record on this question. The politicians are all afraid of it, and it will have a lot of opposition to meet, of course, but we expect that and are prepared for it. The politicians know that any position they may take will hurt them with one party or the other; but we do not care for either party; the Catholics hold the balance of power, and they will not permit the politicians to forget that fact. The politicians now have hold of a poker that is hot at both ends, but it is hotter for them in the middle and they will have to take hold at one end or the other."

Political Romanism is very astute in its relations to political parties and principles. When it is relatively weak, it unwearyingly adds to its financial resources, courts political preferment, and with apparent modesty pleads for what it calls political and civil rights. But let restlessness and discontent appear among the people, let political and social conditions become agitated, let political party contests become angry, then this sleepless foe of human liberty and republican institutions may be depended upon to use its obediently dangerous solidarity on the side of discontent, discord, and disorganization.

It will make contracts with both dominant political parties, vibrating between the two until it becomes the ruler of both. It is prompt and facile in making bargains with politicians, and when convinced of its conceded strength, breaks them without hesitancy or scruple, or attempted justification.

It enters Masonry for political purposes despite the papal condemnation of the institution, relaxing its grip on its adherents when the occasion seems to require it, as the Propaganda Fide recently did in a decree permitting priests to officiate at the funerals of Roman Catholic members of the Masonic body, "in case the dead Mason was not openly hostile to the Church."

Republican party political managers, leaders, and bosses

persistently and continuously make bargains for the delivery of the Roman Catholic vote, which they never get unless the returns in offices are provided and paid with usurious percentage. In fact, about the only Roman Catholic vote which can be detached from its usual anchorage is the vote of the increasingly large numbers of Roman Catholics who are becoming thoroughly and intelligently Americanized, and who will not submit their sovereignty to either political or ecclesiastical dictation.

In response to a question concerning Harrison's defeat in 1892, the *Western Catholic News* under date of August 21, 1897, says: "Yes, we know why Benjamin Harrison was defeated. Chiefly because he treacherously used his high position to cut the political throat of Hon. James G. Blaine, a member of his own Cabinet, and the greatest of American Statesmen for the last half century; *because he was and is a sectarian bigot.*"

This paper has the "ecclesiastical approbation" of P. A. Feehan, Archbishop of Chicago; J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria; James Ryan, Bishop of Alton; John Janssen, Bishop of Belleville, who are willing to be responsible for its statements.

The acknowledgment is certainly *frank* and *prompt*, but we suspect it did not comprehend what the American people might say after hearing the *boast*.

Now after this answer one can understand why secret political societies sprang into being all over the land, proscribing this Roman sect in politics, and *why* commercial depression unparalleled, followed by panic and financial distress, came upon seventy million of people, and *why* Cardinal Satolli made his appearance here, and *why* Senators Caffery, Smith, and Murphy (Roman Catholics) dared oppose *their party* on the Wilson bill in 1893.

The following document gives us a single specimen of Rome's political methods:

REPORT.

THE BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1892.

Right Reverend Dear Sir:

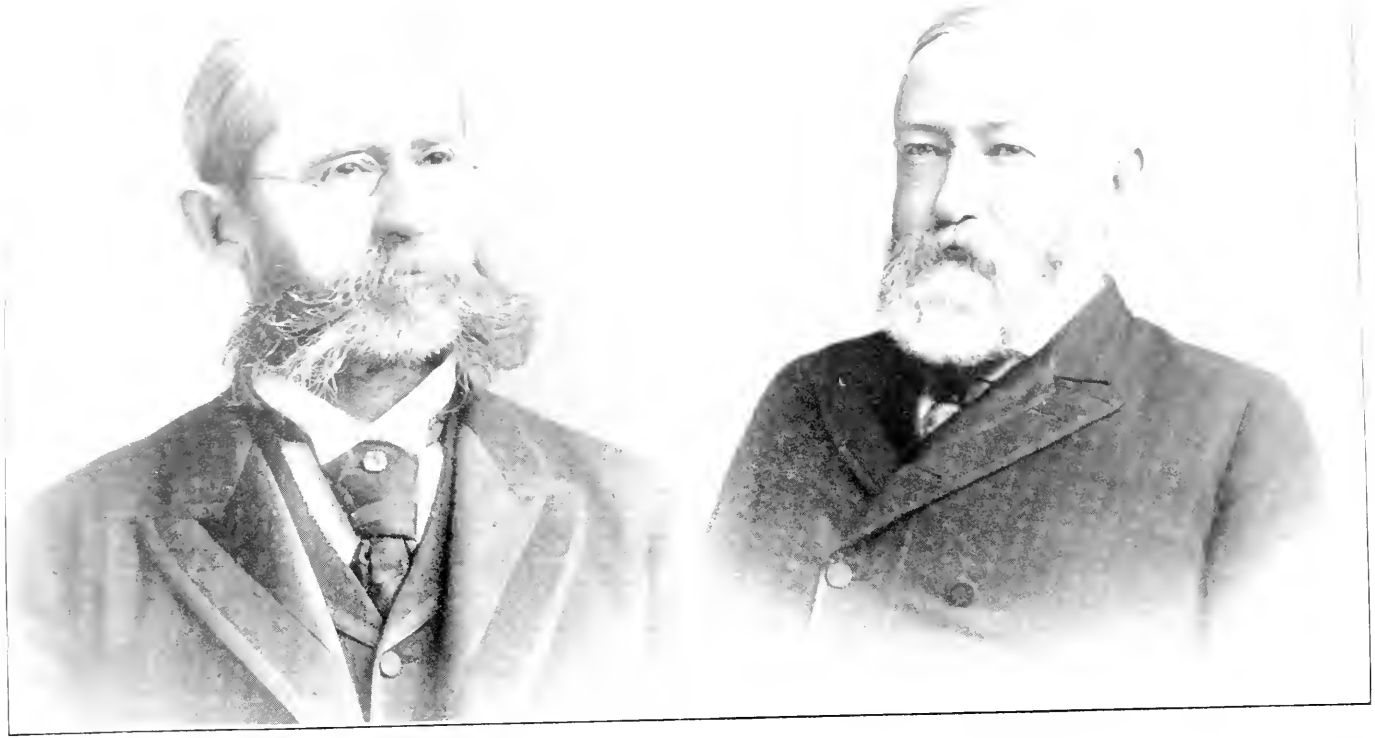
I have the honor to submit herewith my annual report, and in view of the important events that have transpired during the past year, I feel obliged to review at some length the relations of this Bureau with the head of the Indian Office and other Government officials, more particularly since July 1, 1889, the day Mr. Morgan became Commissioner of Indian Affairs. And in connection with this matter I am constrained to request that you will keep this report from the eye of the public; not for the reason that the public should not know of the facts herein stated, for these facts should be known of all men, and being known, I am sure they would cause every good citizen of whatever party or religion to marvel at the bigotry and intolerance which have crippled the hand of the church in its work of educating and redeeming from paganism the children of our Indian wards. But this is the year of a Presidential election, and if this arraignment of the Indian Office were given to the public at this time party prejudice, perverting the judgment of even the best of men, would denounce it as an attempt to furnish partisan ammunition to one of the parties in the contest. This result I anticipate, that it may be obviated. I am, and for many years have been, a member of the party to which the bigoted Commissioner, and not much less bigoted President, belong. . .

Prior to July 1st, 1889, the most friendly relations existed between this Bureau and all the officials with whom it transacted its business, and the same harmonious relations would have continued to this day if Mr. Morgan had not begun a crusade against our work, the particulars of which will be detailed further on. . .

I clearly saw that if this man were permitted to go unchallenged he would, within his four years' term of office, close all our schools, and the children upon whom so much labor had been spent would be forced into his unfriendly, proselyting schools. . . .

To get this unfair and unfriendly man out of the Indian Office, and if possible have some fair-minded gentleman take his place, I put forth every effort, beginning first with my address to His Eminence the Cardinal and to some thirty Archbishops and Bishops at the meeting in Baltimore at the time of the Centennial or Catholic Congress. . .

We called upon President Harrison by appointment, and had a conference with him in the presence of Secretaries Blaine and Windom. At this interview the President stated that he wanted the Indian chil-



Thomas J. Morgan.

Benjamin Harrison.

THE FAITHFUL PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO PATRIOTICALLY ADMINISTERED THE AFFAIRS OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, DESPITE THE ASSAULTS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC LOBBY IN WASHINGTON.

dren educated in Government schools, thus indorsing Morgan's policy in this respect, and he denied our request to withdraw the nominations of Messrs. Morgan and Dorchester, thus showing his preference for these two men to the Hierarchy and Catholics of the country. . .

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) J. A. STEPHAN, Director.

Rt. Rev. M. MARTY,

President Board of Catholic Indian Missions.

It will be observed that Stephan's secret purpose was treasured up three years and was not released to do its work until after President Harrison's renomination in 1892.

The hierarchy cared not what financial questions were involved, or whether distress would result to the millions. President Harrison had "crossed" them; he must pay the penalty, so that his successors would better serve their demands.

The *Catholic Review*, February 15, 1896, said: "Mr. Benjamin Harrison has written a letter to decline to be a candidate for the Republican nomination for President. . .

"Mr. Harrison could not get the nomination without a contest and is not sure that he could get it even after the hardest kind of a struggle. He must know that the probabilities are against him. He shrinks from the mortification of defeat and gracefully hauls down his lightning-rod. He made a respectable President, having against him only his anti-Catholic Indian policy, and his co-operation with the Protestant missionary faction in Hawaii to rob that country of self-government and annex it to the United States."

And now we have one secret of the defeat of Benjamin Harrison from the lips of politico-ecclesiastical conspirators who claim never to enter politics.

The New York *Press*, the day after the Presidential election, 1892, said:

"The reason why Connecticut went so strongly for Cleveland is explained by a lying circular, almost as gross a forgery as the Morey letter. It represented President Harrison as having said to Indian Commissioner Morgan that a Catholic school in

Colorado must be Presbyterianized. This circular was sent to all the French Catholics in Connecticut, secretly. It was a lie out of whole cloth, but it served its purpose."

Romanism is persistently interfering in the making of political party platforms, and constantly on the watch to exclude from them any expression of purpose to nurture and protect principles and institutions distinctively American. In 1892 overtures were made to both of the dominant political parties to take at least as creditable a stand on the common-school question, and on the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting sectarian appropriation by the several States, as they did in 1876. But ecclesiastical terrors were so influential that the following deliverances were the measures of the then political party patriotism and courage.

The Republican platform says:

"The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instruments which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state."

The Democratic platform says:

"Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free public schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic Party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to state interference with parental rights and rights of con-

science in the education of children, as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government."

Let it be remembered that prominent leaders of the platform committees of both conventions, in 1892, gave the most earnest assurances in advance that a strong deliverance on the schools and sectarian appropriations should be made in their respective platforms. Let it also be remembered that both National Committees had a Roman Catholic chairman in Carter of Montana and Harrity of Pennsylvania, whose first allegiance was due to the power which consents to "tolerate" under compulsion the American free common-school system of education.

The compulsory platform upon which these two Roman Catholic chairmen stood contained the following plank, of which Leo XIII. is the author:

"Furthermore, in politics, which are inseparably bound up with the laws of morality and religious duties, men ought *always*, and in the *first place to serve*, as *far as possible*, the *interests of Catholicism*. As soon as they are seen to be in danger, all differences should cease between Catholics."

A ROMAN PRELATE'S AUDACIOUS ACT WHICH ROBBED PATRIOTIC CITIZENS OF THEIR RIGHTS.

If the American people had been consulted, it is undoubtedly true that in 1896 an overwhelming majority of them would have been glad by vote to have emphasized their conviction that the public schools should be protected by constitutional safeguards, and that public moneys should not be used for sectarian propaganda. In connection with an effort to meet this desire of the people, we have to record one of the most shameful chapters in American political party

history, the facts never having heretofore been authentically and chronologically stated.

In May, 1896, the writer was requested, by very high authority in the Republican party, to consult with able and patriotic men with whom he had been associated in securing constitutional changes in State Constitutions to protect the schools and prohibit sectarian appropriations, and "to formulate an appropriate statement for the Republican party platform concerning the school question." The consultation was held. (And here let it be noted that not a man consulted was a member of the American Protective Association. This fact has an important bearing upon a document soon to appear in this narration.)

The citizens consulted determined to recommend the reaffirmation of the declaration of the platform of 1876 as follows:

"We reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1876:

"The public-school system of the United States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control."

This was accompanied by a letter containing the following:

"The reasons for proposing this form of action are as follows:

"1. It is simply a reaffirmation of the attitude of the party taken in the centennial year 1876.

"2. It commits the party to nothing new and therefore furnishes no basis for antagonism.

"3. It is a dignified, self-respecting, and concise putting of the principles involved.

"4. While, on the one hand, it will give satisfaction to the rapidly growing patriotic sentiment of the country, it will furnish no new basis of attack from any class of citizens.

"5. Since the declaration in question was put in the platform of 1876 nineteen States have either adopted new constitutions or amended old constitutions in accord with the principles here enunciated, until it has come to pass that forty-two of the forty-five States have rigid constitutional provisions protecting the common-school funds, and twenty-seven of the States prohibit sectarian appropriations; and both Houses of the present Congress have made declaration that hereafter the policy of the National Government must accord with these principles.

"6. The best sentiment of the citizenship of the country is undoubtedly arrayed in an unsectarian and non-partisan way on the side of the free common-school system and in favor of the absolute separation of church and state on all matters pertaining to taxation.

"7. The Democratic Party will also be appealed to, to put in its platform a declaration on this same line of principles."

The letter and the prepared plank were sent as directed on June 2, 1896, to the prominent men suggested. The convention assembled at St. Louis on June 16, 1896. The newspapers throughout the country giving a digest of the platform before its adoption contained a plank embodying the principles suggested in the above plank, and members of the platform committee declared that the committee had taken favorable action upon it. On June 24 the daily press contained the following from St. Louis:

"The following telegram was received by Chairman Carter of the Republican National Committee from Archbishop Ireland:

"'ST. PAUL, MINN., June 17.

"*To Thomas H. Carter, National Committeeman, St. Louis, Mo.*

"'The clause in the proposed platform opposing the use of public money for sectarian purposes and union of church and state is unnecessary and uncalled for. It is urged by the A. P. A. Its adoption will be taken as a concession to them,

will awaken religious animosities in the country, and will do much harm. The Republican party should not lower itself to recognize directly or indirectly the A. P. A. I hope the clause, or anything like it, will not be adopted.

"'JOHN IRELAND.'

"A gentleman was told by a prominent member of the committee that the paragraph declaring against appropriations from the United States Treasury for sectarian purposes would be incorporated, and that the committee had taken favorable action upon it. Later in the day [Wednesday] he was surprised to learn from a member of the committee that its action had been reconsidered and that there would be nothing in the platform in that regard. This change is now attributed to the telegram from the Archbishop. The dispatch was referred by Chairman Carter [R. C.] to Edward Lauterbach [Jew] of New York, and he, with National Committeeman R. C. Kerens [R. C.] of this city [St. Louis], went before the committee and succeeded in knocking out all reference to the Church."

At the dictation of a Roman Catholic prelate who takes his orders from Rome, and who has proven himself to be the worst, because the most specious and deceptive foe of the public schools and of the public treasuries, two Roman Catholic Republicans and one Jew "knocked out all reference to the Church" and suppressed "the clause in the proposed platform opposing the use of public money for sectarian purposes and union of church and state."

The action confesses that a movement for the protection of our institutions is a blow at the "Church," which here interferes for the protection of its practice of looting public treasuries.

The *Catholic Review* of July 4, 1896, commenting on the St. Louis political scandal, charging every movement to the A. P. A., as it is accustomed to do, which has for its purpose the protection of our public schools and other institutions against the assaults of political Romanism, had this to say:

"The A. P. A. was beaten at St. Louis. Senator Lodge, it is true, got the party to adopt a plank demanding an educational test from immigrants, but the other principles of the conspirators were rejected. On June 17, Archbishop Ireland sent this telegram to Senator Carter: 'The clause in the proposed platform opposing the use of public money for sectarian purposes and union of church and state is unnecessary and uncalled for. It is urged by the A. P. A. Its adoption will be taken as a concession to them, will awaken religious animosity in the country and do much harm. The Republican Party should not lower itself to recognize directly or indirectly the A. P. A. I hope the clause or anything like it, will not be adopted.' Senator Gear worked hard to secure the two declarations desired by the A. P. A., but Senator Carter, Mr. Lauterbach, Mr. Kerens, and Mr. Brady persuaded the Committee on Resolutions that the great Republican party should not be controlled by a band of political bushwhackers. Mr. Mark Hanna agreed with them."

When Ireland, Carter, Kerens, Lauterbach & Co. changed the school plank in the St. Louis platform, why did they not change the Cuban plank in the interests of Roman Catholic Spain? Both the inspiration of purpose and the end to be sought would have been entirely harmonious with the suppression of the school plank, and the ecclesiastical member of the unholy and unpatriotic cabal would have been saved from the weariness and expensiveness of many after-journeys to Washington, first to seek to prevent war with Spain, and then, after Spain was conquered, to secure the appointment of a Romanist on the Peace Commission to protect the Pope's investments in Spanish bonds, which he had purchased to aid Spain in crushing Cuba.

This performance under the leadership of Archbishop Ireland at St. Louis emphasizes two facts: first, the shameless audacity of a Roman ecclesiastic, representing a corporal's guard of men who vote with the Republican party, in daring

to prohibit, through dictation over members of a platform committee, a majority of patriotic American people from expressing their opinion in favor of constitutional protection for their schools and their public treasuries. Second, the cowardly and fawning surrender of principle, at the demand of the only enemy of our public schools, on the part of men delegated to formulate a platform which should embody the consensus of the best American sentiment.

If the facts of this disgraceful incident at the St. Louis Convention had been extensively known, despite the importance of the financial issue in the campaign, it is very doubtful whether the nominees of the convention could have been elected, as multitudes of candid citizens would have reasoned that the dishonesty at St. Louis, audaciously and deliberately practiced upon the people, was fully as dangerous in its permanently baleful results as the adoption of any experimental financial fad upon which candid men could honestly differ.

One thing is certain, that the American people are about ready to serve notice upon politicians posing as statesmen and leaders that their trifling with the people and courting Rome in the face of her demands, which are always antagonistic to our institutions, *must stop*, and that no more dangerous and disgraceful chapters of political party history can be written like the one just recorded, without incurring the wrath of the people and without insuring party defeat.

We made an appeal to the Democratic Convention, meeting in Chicago on July 7, 1896, but after the transaction at St. Louis on the part of the Republicans it found no difficulty in duplicating the cowardice, but without the same treachery.

In striking contrast with the cowardly and treacherous political history enacted at St. Louis in 1896, and as an illustration of the courageous recognition of perilous conditions and the purpose to meet them, the Republican party in 1876 not only adopted in its National Convention the plank in

question, but issued as campaign document No. 2 "Vaticanism in Germany and in the United States."

The following quotations from this document will furnish interesting and instructive reading:

"What is Vaticanism? Vaticanism is papal authority in its organized form, or, the will of the Vatican as expressed through canonical and ecclesiastical laws; a system arrogating to itself the divine right of governing, both in politics and religion, the whole domain of Roman Catholic Christendom. The Vatican decrees are held to be the supreme command of God, through the Pope, to his faithful subjects, to be obeyed by them on all questions of faith and morals, of civil and religious duty. Therefore, whatever the Vatican decrees becomes a law, imperative, absolute, to be obeyed and not to be gainsaid by any within the province of the Romish Church.

"The majority of the adherents of the Romish Church believe in the universal and supreme authority of Vaticanism, are loyal to its decrees, and subordinate their allegiance to their country to their higher allegiance to the Pope, recognizing in him the only sovereign who derives his authority from God, who through such derivation has the right to command their allegiance.

"The history of the world, if it teaches anything, teaches this one fact, that papal supremacy over the civil law is inconsistent with the enjoyment and existence of civil and religious liberty."

Campaign document No. 2, issued by the Republican party in 1876, contained also the following healthful statements:

"Hitherto, the success of parties was simply the triumph of a civil policy, without any religious significance whatever. Political parties were combinations of citizens of all churches and every faith, banded together to control the Government, not in the interest of church and creed, but for the good of the whole people. Nominations were not based upon the re-

ligious opinions of the candidate, but upon the general fitness of the man to fill the office. The test of fitness was not his devotion to the Catholic, or the Presbyterian, or the Methodist church, but his fidelity as a man, and his loyalty as a citizen. To this liberal spirit, growing out of the complete separation of church and state, we are indebted for that peace and prosperity which have been enjoyed by each religious denomination, and every citizen in the land.

"There is a movement on foot, not yet crystallized into a policy to be condemned or advocated by its opponents or friends, but sufficiently defined in its object to excite in the minds of our citizens apprehension, if not alarm. We refer to that alliance of church and party, which in certain localities is so marked as to leave no doubt of its purpose. This alliance is the surest evidence that Ultramontanism, which has cursed Europe for centuries, is seeking a foothold upon our soil. Our Catholic clergy have a perfect right to labor and vote for the Democratic party, but they have no right to use the discipline of their Church to force those who believe in their faith, but not in their politics, to unite with them at the ballot box.

"Yet the coercive policy is the one now adopted. The discipline of the Church is to be brought to bear upon its followers, and the Romish Church, inspired by Jesuitical teachings, is to make common cause with Democracy, in its endeavor to overthrow the Republican party, and with it the free-school system which it sustains.

"The legislation of Ohio and New York, especially their city legislation, affords strong proof of the design of the Papal Hierarchy to use the Democratic party as the political lever to overthrow the free-school system of the land. This accomplished, the door is open for the control of other institutions in the future, and through a national triumph of the party to which the Church is allied, to a radical change of our form of government.

"These possibilities should arouse intelligent citizens of all creeds, whether of native or foreign birth, to the danger that threatens our country if the Ultramontane element of the Church, through the success of Democracy, should obtain control of our national affairs."

Since the above sentiments were published for the enlightenment of the people, the attitude of Ultramontanism toward political parties has materially changed. While the mass of its voters still profitably adhere to the Democratic party, it has sent enough of its leaders into the Republican party to intimidate or bribe its managers by threats or promises of votes to be delivered in the mass. Thus the triumph of either party it claims as its triumph, and demands its reward in offices and appropriations, while the rank and file of the American citizens, constituting the following of the two parties, are helpless for either protest against the dangerous alliance of Romanism with politicians, or for expression of conviction by ballot concerning the protection of our distinctively American institutions from foreign papal aggressions.

The South since the war has been Democratic in politics, in order to defeat the possibility of negro domination, although by history and conviction opposed to the political power of Romanism.

Hugh McLaughlin, styled the veteran leader of the Democracy of the Borough of Brooklyn, New York City, because he is the Roman Catholic boss of the Roman Catholic voters, is commendably frank in his comments on the attitude of Romanists in the mayoralty contest in 1897. In an interview in the Brooklyn *Eagle* of November 3, 1897, this political prince of the Church says:

"It is the most wonderful thing in the history of politics—Low's vote is. It cannot be analyzed by any living being except those who are interested in bringing about that result. Look back to 1854, 1855, and 1856, and then make comparison between the vote then and the vote for Low this year.

Do you get the idea? The same spirit which prevailed in those past times prevailed in the Low party yesterday. Sure! It was the Know-Nothing system of those years. It was the American Protective Association yesterday, supplemented by the support of so-called high-toned Roman Catholics, such men here as the Keileys, and the McMahons and the Kellys. There is a passage of Scripture which says: 'Lord, forgive them; they know not what they do.' You get the idea, don't you? The same spirit prevailed yesterday as that which was manifested in 1854, 1855, and 1856. There isn't the slightest doubt of it. There was no sound reason why the Republican party should go against Tracy or any man like him.

"I venture to say that no man is more surprised by the vote than Low himself. I can understand it, and as I said, I attribute it to the so-called 'better element' of the Catholic Church. Word was passed around to support Seth Low. They are men who *represent Catholicism in their minds, but they don't go to confession very often, I guess.* I could say a lot of things more. I feel like saying them."

These utterances of McLaughlin stirred up some resentment among two classes. A Roman Catholic who claims to be a Republican, but who is afraid to sign his name to his communication, writes the *Eagle* thus:

"His evident attempt to question the freedom of Catholics in political affairs is certainly astounding, and if he *is trying to show a direct alliance between Catholicism and Democracy he reveals a condition heretofore unknown.* It has presumably been the supposition of every intelligent American that sectarian considerations should not influence the political action of the citizen, and this theory is supposed to hold good at this day. What will Protestants think of Mr. McLaughlin's action? They can but regard it as an indication that he believes the Democratic party to be an annex of the Catholic Church. Under such circumstances they would naturally feel out of place. The occasion demands that an effective denial be given

to his utterances, and that any wrong impression be removed. The Catholic Church holds aloof from all political matters and not only allows, but guarantees to all its members the widest latitude in civil affairs. No political party has any claim on her, and Mr. McLaughlin's attempt to make it appear otherwise should be considered as an irresponsible declaration."

Mr. J. Seton, claiming to be a Protestant and a Democrat, writes in the *Eagle* thus:

"Mr. McLaughlin's bigotry finds parallel only in the sixteenth century. His interview reads like a page from the history of the Covenanters. It may be observed that he was most careful in making his statement after election. Does McLaughlin think it is impossible to be a Republican and at the same time a good Catholic like himself and Dick Croker? At a time when he ought to be generous to his defeated opponents it seems a lamentable mistake to heap abuse upon the better element, as he terms them, of Catholics who supported the movement for honest city government. This will be a useful interview for future reference, Mr. McLaughlin, for as a Protestant and a Democrat I cannot bind myself to a party which you assert is composed mainly of the lower class of Catholics. And there are others."

The *Sunday Democrat* (R. C.) of November 7, 1897, contains the following:

"Since the election Mr. Hugh McLaughlin, leader of the Brooklyn Democracy, has given his opinion, and he traces the opposition to Tracy to the revival of Know-Nothingism. We print on our first page Mr. McLaughlin's analysis of the Mayoral contest, and it fully justifies the warning spoken by Mr. Farrell.

"It is safe to say that no more than a dozen Catholics voted for Mr. Seth Low, and Mr. McLaughlin tells us the kind of Catholics they are. Catholics individually take an active interest and often play an important part in American politics, but they never drag religion into politics unless when they are

forced to act on the defensive and protect the rights of their Church against Know-Nothingism, as in the case of Mr. Seth Low.

"So far from combining as Catholics to accomplish a political purpose, they object most strenuously to any attempt being made to stir up any feeling in the community on account of religion, and feel that the sound sense of the people will not approve the conduct of those who have undertaken to do it, even though they affect to do it in the interest of the toiling masses.

"In every case the religious question was introduced, not by Catholics, and it is shameful that the Lowites were the first to introduce it. Mr. McLaughlin has taken their measure, and we thank him for it."

On January 1, 1898, the victorious Roman Catholic forces enthroned their Dictator Richard in the New York City Hall; but for convenience' sake, as Richard was liable to be out of the country during the English racing period, put the crown on the head and the scepter in the hand of one Robert, a Hollander in the line of William of Orange. On January 26, 1898, there appeared in the *Eagle* a letter from one of Richard's worshipers and namesakes, bearing date January 15, and signed James M. Richards. After some moralizing on religion and the Irish, Mr. Richards says:

"There are enough good, trusty, honest Catholic Irishmen in New York to fill every municipal office therein. I see no cause to blame Mr. Croker for the *appointment of Irish Catholics to office.* They form the most numerous body of voters in the Democratic camp. *They never bolt the regular ticket. He can rely on them in all emergencies. Their discipline and obedience are certain.* Can he say as much of any other nationality? The American Democrat asks what there is for him. What's he crying about? How many of him are there? What does his little company amount to? Perhaps he thinks his brains are of use to the party! His brains!!!

Why, any disinterested observer will tell him, as I would, he is the inferior of the Irishman in every respect—mentally, morally, and physically. Get him to call the roll of his native American Democrats in New York city. Native American bosh! *Go to, thou Native American Protestant Democrat!* Take a back seat or stand up. Can't you learn sense from the German Democrat? Do you hear him sniveling? No, sir; he's earning an honest living, and a glass or two of beer beside. Or if you can't be patient, take your skeleton company into the Republican camp and swell (oh, what a swell!) their vote on next election day. Shall we notice the increased count? Seriously, the action of Mr. Croker is as wise as it is natural. *The new city government is to be manned by Irish Roman Catholics because the battle was won by them. To the victors belong the spoils.* All that anyone has a right to ask is that they take Father Malone's words to heart and conform their official and private lives to the teaching of our Master as interpreted by that branch of His Church to which they belong."

The three Roman Catholic political leaders—Richard Croker, Edward Murphy, and Hugh McLaughlin—are the absolute masters of the Democratic party in the city and State of New York, dictating its nominations for and appointments to office, and they are ambitiously planning to control the party and government in the nation. Is there any question that the sole power of these men in politics consists in the fact of their being personally Romanists, and in their political alliance with ecclesiasticism which enables them to mass the Roman Catholic vote at the polls? These men on the basis of character, culture, attainments, or patriotic service, would not be designated as leaders and guardians of the public weal by any considerable number of loyal and honest citizens. In fact, if leadership was conditioned upon the possession of these qualities, this triumvirate would be compelled to earn an honest living by honest toil. But with the

political power of Rome back of them and others of their ilk, they dictate terms to decent men, and dispense political patronage as though it were their personal property, as it is their personal possession; usually selling the nominations and offices, like indulgences, at a fixed price called an assessment, while the most of these and their fellow dictators and conspirators, like their historical ecclesiastical predecessors, grow rich in mysterious ways, while they impudently flaunt their wealth before the eyes of honest people, who are helpless in the grip of an ignorant and superstitious voting power, upon which their alien masters are enthroned. If a citizen ventures to speak the truth about the source of the power of these rulers of a large domain who even aspire to control the nation, he is told by the sycophants whom this power has created that he is injecting religion into politics and threatening religious liberty. It is blasphemy to associate the holy name of religion with Roman political power and intrigues in this republic of ours.

Venality of politicians and political leaders is the weakness and wickedness to which Romanism makes its appeals when it desires to bolster up its pretensions and demands and strike a blow at the foundations of our republican institutions. Yielding to this tempter has clouded the fame and terminated the usefulness of many conspicuous names in American history.

The rivalry of Roman Catholic prelates in party political manipulations presents some amazing incidents. Archbishop Ireland writes letters, and furnishes interviews in condemnation of the A. P. A., which are believed to have placated his Roman Catholic following in the interests of the Republican party, and poses as an illustration to prove that the Roman vote can be divided and partly won away from the Democratic party, and as a reward by the grateful Republicans, some of their number assemble at the offices of a Trust Company in New York, and gladden the heart of the political prelate

by relieving his financial straits. The redoubtable Bishop McQuaid of Rochester rebukes Ireland, and this arouses Dr. Walsh, editor of the *Sunday Democrat*, to vent himself thus:

"When Bishop McQuaid inveighs against Archbishop Ireland for interfering in the affairs of New York, he forgets that he himself lives in a very big glass house. He seems to forget that he himself cannot be absolved of guilt in this matter. It is notorious that most of the unfortunate steps taken by New York church authorities have been either initiated or suggested or approved by 'My Lord of Rochester.'"

Dr. Walsh's article concludes with the remark that "Archbishop Ireland holds a sort of brevet commission from the Holy See to do just such work as that for which Bishop McQuaid so severely reproves him."

May 8, 1897, there appeared in the New York *World* the following:

"Washington, May 7. Mgr. Martinelli, the Apostolic Delegate, has rendered a decision in the case of the Rev. Peter Rosen against Archbishop Ireland that bids fair to cause more excitement in ecclesiastical circles than anything since the famous Corrigan-McGlynn episode.

"Father Rosen is charged with the authorship of an anonymous pamphlet attacking Archbishop Ireland, which appeared in Washington simultaneously with Father Rosen's arrival about ten days ago. It was sent to several Senators and Representatives, known to be friends of the St. Paul prelate, and to many of his clerical admirers. The pamphlet accuses the prelate of political corruption and gives what is called the inside history of his connection with Senator Davis, former Governor Merriam, and other Minnesota politicians. The history of the Archbishop's speculation in land is also given with elaborate detail. It charges that, while himself engaged in political intrigue, he was very hard on those of his priests who merely exercised the rights of an American citizen and voted according to their political creed.

"A letter addressed to a priest during the campaign telling him not to meddle in national questions is quoted in full without name, to substantiate the author's statements. The pamphlet is entitled 'Archbishop Ireland as He Is.' A copy was sent to Mgr. Martinelli, and it is known that the Delegate strongly condemned the publication, and took immediate steps to stop its circulation.

"The news that Mgr. Martinelli has promised to espouse the cause of the refractory priest is considered astonishing, and the Delegate will soon be asked to explain publicly his attitude in the controversy.

"Bishop Marty was much discouraged at Father Rosen's financial troubles, and advised him to try to get a chaplaincy in the army. The Bishop used his influence, and it is claimed by Father Rosen's friends that he would have been successful had not Archbishop Ireland interfered in favor of another man.

"Father Rosen has the unanimous support of the German Hierarchy in his fight against the Metropolitan of St. Paul."

Although we are presenting to the vision of the American people "Archbishop Ireland as He Is" in many important and interesting relations, we have tried in vain to get a copy of Father Rosen's pamphlet on the subject. Like many other interesting revelations of the inwardness of political Romanism which tell too much truth, this dangerous document has been suppressed but not answered.

Archbishop Ireland injects his political personality into the affairs of the Republican party, to which he claims to belong; but when appropriations for Roman Catholic charities are at stake, he, with great facility, throws the weight of his political influence first with one party and then with the other.

On November 25, 1894, Bishop McQuaid of Rochester read a sermon from "manuscript because he did not wish to leave any doubt in anyone's mind of his position." The place of this deliverance was St. Patrick's Cathedral. The reader

needs to bear several things in mind as he peruses the parts of the prelate's sermon which we here quote.

Archbishop Ireland was supposed at that time to represent what was called the "liberal" party in the Roman Catholic Church in this country, and Corrigan and McQuaid represented the Bourbon party. They are all Bourbons now in subserviency.

Archbishop Ireland had offensively and persistently remained in his Fifth Avenue Hotel headquarters in New York during the progress of the New York political contest of 1894, issuing political encyclicals and bulls of excommunication against members of the American Protective Association, and all other citizens who were opposed to the politico-ecclesiastical aggressions of Romanism.

If Bishop McQuaid had waited a little, he would have found his Tammany indignation mollified against the Archbishop of St. Paul, by ascertaining that he had in him an ardent ally in the New York Constitutional Convention in blocking the desire of the people for the protection of their public schools and for the prohibition of sectarian appropriations.

Bishop McQuaid, by his own avowal a violent enemy of the public-school system, with characteristic modesty was a candidate for Regent of the University of the State of New York, a body having the educational interests of the State in charge. Archbishop Ireland, accustomed to think and act as though the entire country were in his politico-ecclesiastical diocese, whenever offices are to be dispensed to Roman Catholics, had favored a Republican priest by the name of Malone for the office of Regent.

Tammany's iniquities had been exposed, the wrath of the people had been aroused, and it was important that there should be no wavering in the ranks of the Roman legions in case they were then defeated and ever expected to rally for a future victory.

GEMS FROM BISHOP MCQUAID'S SERMON.

"Now that the election, with its excitement, turmoil, and passions, has passed away, I judge it my duty to refer in this public manner to some incidents and scandals connected therewith.

"Every Catholic having respect for his bishops and priests, and the honor and good name of his Church, must have been pained and mortified when he learned, during the late political campaign, that one of our bishops, the Archbishop of St. Paul, cast to one side the traditions of the past and entered the political arena like any layman.

"I contend that this coming to New York of the Archbishop of St. Paul to take part in a political contest was undignified, disgraceful to his episcopal office, and a scandal in the eyes of all right-minded Catholics of both parties. It was furthermore a piece of meddlesome interference on his part to come from his State to another to break down all discipline among our priests and justify the charge of those inimical to us that priests are partisans and use their office and opportunities for political work.

"New York is abundantly able to take care of itself without extraneous help, as the last election showed. And if the newspapers report correctly, the Legislature of Minnesota is itself sadly in need of purification, and His Grace might have found full scope there for his political scheming.

"But it is well known to many that it was from no love for good government that Archbishop Ireland spent so many weeks in New York City, and so far from his diocese, where the law of residence obliged him to be. It was to pay a debt to the Republican party that his services were rendered.

"During the last session of the New York Legislature, Archbishop Ireland of far-off Minnesota busied himself writing letters to leading Republican members in favor of the candidacy of Rev. Mr. Malone for the position of Regent of the

University. It was none of the Archbishop's business to meddle with what did not legitimately concern him. But then he knew the Archbishop of New York and his suffragans desired the election of a candidate able and willing to protect the best interests of Catholic schools and academies coming under the control of the Regents."

For this somewhat free expression of opinion Bishop McQuaid was rebuked by Rome and required to apologize.

This power over party politics and politicians has corrupted the Jews by making combinations which appeal to greed for appropriations. This has often occurred in constitutional conventions, in legislatures, and in boards of management of institutions. We know of two illustrations in the organization of a board of education, where in one case the man who was elected president agreed as the condition of his election to constitute all committees with a majority of Romanists and Jews, and he carried out his contract. In the other case the candidate agreed to appoint Romanists as chairmen of all committees with which any patronage was connected with a chance to make money, and he carried out his contract.

It is but just to say that most Israelites are patriotic Americans, but some of their conspicuous representatives have yielded to the voice of the siren. What an anomaly is presented when these two facts of current history are placed in juxtaposition: Romanists in France persecuting Dreyfus and all Jews; Romanists and Jews in America combining for political power and plunder. Peter and Pilate kissing each other!

Mr. George W. Aldridge, late Commissioner of Public Works in the State of New York, eagerly sought in 1896 and supposed that he had secured a sufficient number of delegates to make sure for himself the Republican nomination for Governor in that State. It was claimed for him that he could secure by his canal patronage enough Roman Catholic votes through the influence of Corrigan and McQuaid and others to

more than make up for the loss of the respectable Republican vote which would certainly bolt the ticket in case he was nominated. He was defeated for nomination by the pronounced American sentiment in the State expressing itself through different patriotic organizations. In the light of the exposure of canal affairs of the State, what do his Roman Catholic and subservient Republican constituents think now? It doesn't answer to pay court to Romanism as a political machine.

Contracts and political appointments to office are made and money paid by political party managers for the delivery of Roman Catholic votes, and then the same course is pursued with some of the men who claim to represent anti-Romanist secret societies, for the purpose we must conclude of overcoming their deep-seated and patriotic anti-Romanist convictions and securing their votes on the same side with the purchased Romanists. These facts are capable of demonstration in so far as they are applicable to more than one National election and to many State elections. It seems to be inevitable that wherever political Romanism touches men or institutions, it paralyzes the moral sense.

Men ambitious for preferment in political and professional lines, especially lawyers, who legitimately desire judicial positions in New York and in every great center of population, are obliged to abase themselves before representatives of politico-ecclesiasticism.

Political appointments and places are notoriously sought and secured for sectarian reasons. Commissioners and heads of departments are appointed avowedly to represent the Roman Catholic Church, and the head of the hierarchy in New York and in other large cities is virtually dictator in making many subordinate appointments—and this under a representative form of government.

Since 1870, when Victor Emmanuel became the ruler of United Italy and the temporal power of Pius IX. was de-

stroyed, he and his successor, Leo XIII., have declared themselves prisoners in the Vatican city, for the purpose of making a persistent and an abiding advertisement to the nations of the earth that temporal political power must be restored, and for the purpose of furnishing ground for appeal by the members of the hierarchy in different parts of the world for Peter's-pence collections, to relieve the Pope from his impecunious condition while in imprisonment. The presentation of this appeal is taken advantage of by the Pope's representatives in different lands to assault the Italian government. Archbishop Corrigan in his last appeal, October, 1898, addressed to his clergy, made a most violent assault upon the Italian government, because of its relations to the Pope; thus abusing his rights as an American citizen by inveighing against a foreign power with which the American republic sustains friendly relations.

Why do United States and State Senators vie with each other in unseemly eagerness to give an affirmative vote for the confirmation of Roman Catholic nominations for office? Why should statesmen find it necessary to avow their adherence to the American principle of absolute religious liberty when a representative of Romanism is thrust upon their horizon? What is there in this question which, whenever it comes to the front, causes lawmakers to apologize or hysterically launch into a patriotic disquisition concerning their own liberality and impartiality? They can answer, and we can answer, these questions.

This ever present and mysterious power causes flunkyism in so-called statesmanship and citizenship. We have heard United States Senators say, when called upon to vote for measures which they conceded to be right and just, and which were designed to resist the aggressions of ecclesiasticism, "I will vote for the measure if you don't insist upon a roll-call."

Father McGlynn forgot for a time that he was a slave, and walked and talked like a free man; but his clanking chains

soon reminded him that he must return to his cell, where he has since been secluded from the public gaze, and Rome, in the person of Archbishop Corrigan, has kept the key of his cell bound to his girdle.

While he was out of prison and breathing free and pure air, he talked like a healthy man:

"'The beneficence of the Pope's influence in politics?' It has been the curse of nearly every nation. It has been the curse of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, Ireland. God forbid, God forbid that the hated thing should have an ill-omened revival!

"It is one of the signs of the degeneracy of the Church and churchmen that, while criminally neglecting their own business of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments to the poor, they seek to control education and politics, of which you have examples lying loose all around you in this very city and all over this country.

"And it is clearly true that you can be good Catholics, and I pray that you shall all be better Catholics, for refusing, in the name of religion, to take your politics from Rome; for the more of your politics you take from Rome the less religion you will have, and the more you refuse to take your politics from Rome the more likely you are to preserve your religion in its purity and to win for your religion the respect and the friendship, and even perhaps the fellowship, of your fellow-countrymen. The Catholic religion is best to-day where it has been remotest for generations from the intrigue and the politics of the court of Rome. The Catholic religion has been purest, it has the most perfect allegiance of all those who call themselves Catholics in all those countries where the Church is shorn of temporal power, where it has no voice in politics.

"Let the Pope mind his own business. Insist upon it, clamor for it, petition, demand, threaten to rebel, refuse supplies, tighten your purse strings, compel that ecclesiastical

machine to give the clergy and the people the control of your temporalities.

"And now I prophesy that the Know-Nothings of the future will not be so much your native Americans as they will be Irish Catholics; that the men to put to shame you Americans of Protestant and Puritan faith, the men to put you to the blush in their magnificent protest against the interference of any ecclesiastical machine, will be men of Catholic faith and men of Irish extraction."

Many incredulous Americans think that the Pope's attention is so thoroughly taken by matters pertaining to the spiritual interests of the Church of which he is the head, and by broad matters of international statesmanship, that he takes no interest in American politics and politicians, and in affairs that pertain to the personal interest of individual American politicians. Let us consider a few individual incidents of the Pope's paternal interest in certain Americans whose names, if here mentioned, would startle the circle of home friends where they move in social and political relationships. One Republican politician of local fame in New York City and State, visiting in Rome, was surprised to find himself invited to an audience with the Pope; His Holiness evincing the greatest interest in his family affairs, concerning which he had a thorough understanding, and which he intelligently discussed. The Pope made this gentleman the bearer of communications to an obscure local politician, whose fame was limited to a single State assembly district. On other occasions, in similar interviews with comparatively obscure Protestant Americans, the Pope has evinced a detailed knowledge of their personal affairs which must have been reported to him by his representatives in this country, who inform themselves concerning the purpose of Americans to visit Rome. In late years two conspicuous American politicians and public men have visited the Pope and have made the most elaborate reports on their return, in the American newspapers, concerning their inter-

views with His Holiness. In the one case the conspicuous public man was a Protestant, a Republican, a great orator, and the chief of immense moneyed interests. He had a great opportunity to state to His Holiness the condition of public sentiment in the United States concerning the school question and the separation of church and state,—the two vital questions at that time absorbing American attention,—but he lost his opportunity and seemed to devote his energies almost exclusively to giving to the Pope a certificate of good character for Archbishop Corrigan at just the time when this prelate's reputation at Rome needed bolstering up. The other conspicuous public man was a great lawyer, a Democrat and a Romanist, and therefore it was not at all strange that his elaborate report in the American papers concerning his interview with Leo XIII. should be colored with the experiences of a religious ecstasy incident to an interview with the man whom he believed to be the vicegerent of God on earth. Still this conspicuous, able American ought to have so mastered his reverential feelings as to have been able to tell His Holiness that the American people, who are willing to grant absolute religious liberty and equality to all sects, will not endure any political aggressions from any foreign politico-ecclesiastical Roman power. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when some great representative American Republican Romanist or Protestant, gaining admission to the Vatican, shall have the courage to tell the Pope some facts which he ought to know, and which he would undoubtedly appreciate from honest men who are not obsequious flatterers.

Romanism and Protestantism, as self-sacrificing religious forces, are to be commended; but, as organized political forces, they are to be resisted if the American republic is not to share the fate of the nations controlled by Latin civilization. America asleep is strengthless, but America awakened on the subject of the character of her civilization is omnipotent.

The hour has struck for retiring the time-serving profes-

sional politicians and spineless citizens, whose political principles are corraled in the columns of figures in their account books, and who tremble when boycott in business is threatened by men claiming the rights of American citizenship while they give their first loyalty to a foreign potentate.

TO LEGISLATION.

If other nations, including Protestant Germany, to protect themselves against the encroachments of political Romanism, have been obliged to legislate, so have we. In fact the most of the legislation in the States and nation designed to protect the public-school system from sectarian aggressions, and for the perpetuation of the principle of the separation of church and state, has been forced by ecclesiastical encroachments.

Lecky, in his new work, "Democracy and Liberty," says:

"The Catholic Church is essentially a state within a state, with its frontiers, its policy, and its leaders entirely distinct from those of the nation, and it can command an enthusiasm and a devotion at least as powerful and as widespread as the enthusiasm of patriotism. It claims to be a higher authority than the state; to exercise a divine, and therefore a supreme authority over belief, morals, and education, and to possess the right of defining the limits of its own authority. It also demands obedience even where it does not claim infallibility. Such an organization cannot be treated by legislators as if it were simply a form of secular opinion, and many good judges look with extreme alarm upon the dangerous power it may acquire in the democracies of the future. One of the facts which have been most painfully borne upon the minds of the more careful thinkers and students of the present generation is how much stronger than our fathers imagined were the results which led former legislators to impose restrictive legislation on Catholicism. Measures of the Reformation period which, as late as the days of Hallam, were regarded by the most enlightened historians as simple persecution, are now

seen to have been in a large degree measures of necessary self-defense, or inevitable incidents in a civil war."

Political Romanists are always injecting their personality into legislative matters. At times they are gracious, but specious, in their pleas for slight consideration. Often they make exorbitant demands upon the fears of politicians and then condescendingly offer compromise, and step by step get all their original demands in final legislation.

They never seek legislative action placing them as sectarians upon an equality with other denominations, but always move for special privileges and exclusive rights.

Legislators must either advocate their claims or give dumb and compromising assent to their demands.

They never forget that they are Romanists when acting as legislators.

Watch their votes and analyze them in the United States Senate on the Arbitration Treaty, and on the Sugar question and Hawaian and Spanish questions.

The enlightened effort in 1897 to secure ratification of the arbitration treaty with Great Britain was concededly defeated by Roman Catholic political power.

The Immigration Bill, passed by the United States Senate in 1898, was strangled in the House of Representatives by Roman Catholic power, which worked upon the fears of politicians concerning the election of the members of the new Congress in the fall of 1898.

In constructing the constitutions of Territories for admission as States into the Union, and in constitutional conventions in older States, politico-ecclesiastical Romanism has always attempted to make them un-American, as far as the schools, charities, and conditions of citizenship are concerned.

In the legislation for the admission of New Mexico into the Union the English language for the schools was voted down in Congress at its dictation. Mormonism in Utah proved itself more loyally American than Roman Catholicism

by adopting in its constitution one of the safest provisions in existence for the protection of public-school funds and to extend and perfect the system.

The social functions in Washington are made to contribute to the legislative, political power of Romanism. The crossing of these social lines entangles Members of Congress, and tells on their votes when appropriation bills are to the front containing provision for Roman Catholic educational or charitable work.

In the work of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions in Washington, Congressmen have been known to give as a reason for their indefensible vote on bills involving sectarian appropriations, that their social and family relations with certain Roman Catholic families were such that they feared to offend them. The same thing occurred in the formation of a local league composed of prominent citizens in the city of Washington.

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism constitutes substantially the only opposition in legislation to the State control of charities and to the protection of the schools.

The members of the hierarchy in different parts of the land, are, to put it mildly, not ardently loved by many of the priesthood and by the so-called liberals, but when it comes to a legislative assault upon treasuries, they all present a solid front for appropriations. The posing patriot and the persistent Bourbon join hands and strive together.

While the Hebrews have every reason, religiously and politically, to hate Rome-ruled Spain, in this country they often strangely unite politically, especially in legislative affairs, with Roman Catholics, and thus buttress the power which has been the master of Spain and the protector of her iniquities at home and abroad, and which will here persecute the Jews so soon as she becomes strong enough to be independent of their political power.

Hon. Henry W. Blair, on the floor of the United States

Senate, February 15, 1888, in speaking on the Education Bill, said:

"Upon this very floor soon after we had passed this bill, full two years ago, and while it was in the hands of a packed committee in the House of Representatives, where it was finally strangled—on this very floor a Senator showed me a letter which I read with my own eyes, the original letter of a Jesuit priest, in which he begged a Member of Congress to oppose this bill, and to kill it, saying that *they had organized all over the country* for its destruction; that they succeeded in the Committee of the House, and they would destroy the bill inevitably; and if they had only known it early enough, they could have prevented its passage through the Senate. They had begun in season this time."

In seeking legislation, State or National, where the votes of Roman Catholic members are important as constituting a balance of power, they uniformly demand some concessions and special favors to Romanism as a price for their votes even for concededly good measures.

One of the most talented and trusted Congressmen from a strong Republican State spoke to us, in 1898, in the most enthusiastic manner of the liberality of the Roman Catholics in his State, and claimed that they voted with his party, and that he was interested in securing offices and legislation for them as a reward. This effort by Congressmen and other legislators of all parties, to secure Roman Catholic favor by the gift of offices and dangerous legislation, and taking it for granted that the intelligent American citizen can be depended upon to vote with his party anyway, is an insult to all patriotic men, and is destined to be rebuked when American sentiment, slow to be awakened, is finally aroused. In another direction equally disgraceful, in imitation of the Roman method, in the last Presidential campiagn, large sums of money were paid to the claimants of so-called patriotic orders for votes which were never delivered, but the funds were

pocketed by sharpers who trade upon their claimed patriotic influence, just as politico-ecclesiastical Romanists trade upon their asserted power to deliver Roman Catholic votes. Patriotic votes, whether Roman Catholic or anti-Roman Catholic, can neither be purchased nor delivered by party boss or leader, but the purpose formed, and the effort put forth, are both corrupting.

A notable case of Roman Catholic opposition to safe national legislation at a pivotal point in American history, in 1876, will be found in the record of the congressional contest over the Blaine Amendment to the United States Constitution, which had been prepared by President Grant and was designed to protect the public-school funds.

This amendment passed the House of Representatives by one hundred and eighty affirmative votes to seven negative votes. In the Senate, after a debate extending at intervals through some days, and after many changes had been proposed, which did not, however, change the primary purpose of the Amendment, it was defeated under the leadership of Francis Kernan, a Roman Catholic United States Senator from New York State, the vote standing at twenty-eight in the affirmative and sixteen in the negative. A two-thirds vote being required for the passage of the Amendment, Roman Catholic power succeeded in compassing its defeat by controlling the two votes necessary. If this Amendment in 1876 had become a part of the organic law of the land, the treasuries of the nation, the States, and the subdivisions of States would have been saved millions of dollars, and the sectarian issue concerning the public schools, which has been, and continues to be, a disturber of the peace, would have been banished from political issues.

The only church or ecclesiastical institution, except Mormonism, in the United States which has ever in the past maintained, or which now maintains, a regularly organized and legally incorporated lobby in Washington is the Roman

Catholic Church. The facts concerning the origin and constitution of this lobby are taken from Roman Catholic sources of information. The methods of work of this lobby, through Director Stephan, have been audacious and insulting toward public officials,—including a President of the United States,—intimidating toward lawmakers, and mandatory toward politicians. We are in possession of documents, letters, and circulars of Director Stephan, addressed to the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, in one of which he says, "I am constrained to request that you will keep this report from the eye of the public"; the report in question containing an account of his efforts to defeat the confirmation by the United States Senate of General Morgan for Commissioner of Indian Affairs and of Dr. Dorchester for Superintendent of Indian Schools. This report, and other documents issuing from the same source, have contained such vile assaults upon the President and other executive officers of the National Government that the author and all of his backers ought in national self-respect to have been banished from every department in Washington.

While the primary official purpose of this Roman lobby is announced to be "the procurement from the Government of funds for their support," referring to Indian schools, they watch every movement of legislation by Congress and report any lack of subserviency to their sectarian demands on the part of any individual congressman to the Roman Catholic authorities within the bounds of his constituency.

Archbishop Ireland and other prelates have often served as solicitors and advocates of this lobby. We have a number of their speeches while serving in this capacity, taken stenographically.

"The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was established in 1874 by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, upon the recommendation, and for and in behalf of, the Catholic prelates having Indian missions within the limits of their dio-

M. Marty. *James Cardinal Gibbons.* *Patrick J. Ryan.*

R. L. Chapelle.

Patrick W. Riordan. *J. A. Healy.* *J. B. Brondel.*

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC LOBBY IN WASHINGTON, STYLED "THE BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS," ESTABLISHED IN 1874; RECOGNIZED "BY DECREE OF THE THIRD PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE" AND "APPROVED BY ROME."

ceses, for the purpose of representing before the Government the interests and wants of the said prelates in all matters pertaining to Indian affairs. It was, by decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which was approved by Rome, recognized as an institution of the Church, and was by that council placed under the charge of a committee of seven prelates, consisting of His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia; Most Rev. P. J. Riordan, Archbishop of San Francisco; Most Rev. P. L. Chapelle, Archbishop of Santa Fé; Rt. Rev. James A. Healy, Bishop of Portland; Rt. Rev. John B. Brondel, Bishop of Helena, and Rt. Rev. M. Marty, Bishop of St. Cloud. In 1894 this committee was dissolved, and the bureau as then constituted was superseded by a new corporation chartered by an Act of the Assembly of the State of Maryland—the incorporators being His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia, and Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, and its corporate name being the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. The new organization succeeded to all the rights and powers of, and all the property held by, the old corporation; has adopted laws for the government and guidance of the bureau, and has selected as its officers the following: His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, President; Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. A. Stephan, Director; Rev. E. R. Dyer, SS., D. D., Treasurer; Charles S. Lusk, Secretary.

"The principal work of the bureau is the establishment of boarding and day schools among the Indian tribes, and the procurement from the government of funds for their support and maintenance."—*Hoffmann's "Catholic Directory," 1898, p. 530.*

The Indian schools under the direction of this bureau, for the support of which appropriations are annually made by Congress, are thirty-three in number, having 1792 pupils.

The Indian schools under the same direction, which are supported entirely by private charity, are ten in number, and have 595 pupils.

This legalized lobby has, in the Indian School department alone of its work, administered at its discretion, since the year 1882, $4,000,000 of the funds of the American people.

General Thomas J. Morgan was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs by President Harrison, July 1, 1889, and was confirmed by the Senate in February, 1890. J. A. Stephan, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, as we have seen, opposed his confirmation with malignant spirit and unscrupulous methods.

The Commissioner found that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions had before it the work of securing from the United States Government the largest possible amount of money and of also securing, to the utmost extent, any power which might come from the appointment to public place in the Indian service of those devoted to the interests of Romanism.

He also ascertained that the organization was compact, vigilant, aggressive, and absolutely unscrupulous. It had its agents and spies everywhere in the Indian service who kept it informed of any changes, actual or prospective, in the service, and who also kept it advised of anything that might be necessary to the prosecution of its work. It sustained close and intimate relations with Members of Congress, with members of the administration, and with newspapers, and had other means of influencing legislation, administration, and public sentiment.

The chief of the Educational Division in the Indian Office, his first assistant clerk, and another of the clerks were Roman Catholics, and the chief was wholly obedient to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, recognizing, apparently, his allegiance to that body first and to the Indian Office next. It came to the Commissioner's knowledge afterward that Mr. Stephan, the Director of the Catholic Bureau, was in the habit of com-

ing to the Indian Office, entering without special authority into the Educational Division, seating himself at the desk of the chief, and conferring with him day by day *ad libitum* regarding Indian educational matters, and through him securing practically everything that was available as much as though Stephan had been actually Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

There had also grown up during years preceding a system of contract schools, by which increasing annual amounts of money were devoted to various religious denominations, the bulk of it going to the Roman Catholics.

It also came to his knowledge subsequently that in making appointments to educational positions in the Indian service there had been apparently two controlling principles. One was to satisfy the politicians by appointing anybody that they desired to have appointed, and second, to put the largest possible number of Roman Catholics into the service without regard to fitness.

Commissioner Morgan was obliged to ask the Secretary of the Interior to dismiss from the service Mr. Gorman, the chief of the Educational Division, a Roman Catholic, for intemperance, incapacity, meddling with other departments than his own, and persistent discourtesy and impertinence.

After Mr. Gorman's dismissal he pursued the Commissioner with vindictive and slanderous assaults in Roman Catholic and other papers.

Despite these and other assaults upon him, Commissioner Morgan treated the Roman Catholics in the employ of his department both in Washington and in the field with the utmost fairness, and never discharged an employee because he was a Roman Catholic. But the Commissioner during his entire term was obliged not only to contend with Roman Catholic bigotry and trickery, but with the ignorance and treachery of Congressmen, Senators, and Representatives upon whom Rome had a mortgage.

Let it here be recorded that President Harrison in all this

controversy sustained the attitude of the Commissioner. By this we mean that the President pursued an impartial, a manly, and an American course. This was counted a crime in the eyes of the mercenary Roman Catholic lobbyists.

The effort of politicians, Senators, Representatives, and others to control appointments in the Indian schools service was well-nigh constant and sometimes very disagreeable. On the Commissioner's recommendation, the President placed the school superintendents, matrons, teachers, and physicians under the operation of the civil service rules.

While Commissioner Morgan's name was before the Senate for confirmation he was offered the aid of the Roman Catholics to secure his confirmation, but the price to be paid was the signing of a contract for the benefit of a Roman Catholic whereby an Indian tribe was to be mercilessly cheated. Of course the Commissioner spurned the overtures, and he was confirmed by the Senate by a large majority composed of both Democrats and Republicans. Some Republican Senators who voted against confirmation were defeated in the near future by their independent, patriotic constituencies, and one prominent Senator who stoutly stood in favor of the confirmation was defeated for both Senatorship and Governorship in his State, and he was told by a Roman Catholic priest that the Catholics were opposing him on this ground.

The Roman Catholic Washington lobby thus makes its connections with the constituencies of our public men who have convictions of duty and act upon them.

This lobby, in 1891, became so imperious that it forced a crisis in its relations to the National Government. Fortunately for American honor and civilization the right man was found on guard in the right place. That man was General Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was sustained by the commander-in-chief who had assigned him to duty.

The crisis to which we refer was the dissolution of partner-

ship between the United States Government and the Roman Catholic lobby styled the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, a dangerous partnership which never ought to have been consummated.

The action of General Morgan in severing official relations between the Indian Office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was one of great significance, was worthy of careful study, and ought to have received the cordial indorsement of every American citizen. While it was true that the immediate occasion of the action was the unstinted abuse which had been heaped upon him by the bureau and its attachés, we are quite sure that the commissioner would never have resorted to so serious a measure simply for the sake of administering a well-deserved punishment.

We desire to call attention to what we regard as the real significance of this action. In the first place, it was a very proper assertion of the official dignity of the head of a great government bureau. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is charged with the responsibility of administering one of the most difficult offices of the Government. His duties are various, complex, delicate, and continuous. Unfortunately the bureau over which he presided had been for many years regarded as corrupt, and it was very difficult, under the most favorable circumstances, for any commissioner, however honest or able, to administer it satisfactorily. During his administration Commissioner Morgan proved himself honest, able, and fearless, and won for himself the strong support of those best acquainted with his services.

When, notwithstanding this, he was persistently vilified and slandered by a bureau that was in almost daily official relations with his office, he had a right to say to that bureau, as he did, that instead of dealing with it he would deal directly with the schools that it represented. In his official position he represented the people of America, and was under the highest obligation to uphold by all proper means

the essential dignity which, for the time, in his sphere, he represented.

In the second place, the action was significant as an assertion of the right of the Government, which represents the whole people, to transact public business with a view to public ends, and not at the dictation of an organized lobby representing only a small minority. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions had been prosecuting its work by its own peculiar methods for more than twenty years, and had succeeded not only in diverting to its own treasury millions of dollars of public funds, but had grown insolent and dictatorial, and had attempted to control the Government in both its administrative and legislative functions. It was notorious that for many years the Indian Office had been in its educational work largely controlled by the Catholic Bureau, and Commissioner Morgan, refusing to submit any longer to its dictation, was simply performing a most obvious duty devolving upon him as a public servant.

That feature of the situation which was, perhaps, most obnoxious to the American people was that the Catholic Bureau was a strictly sectarian institution, an ecclesiastical organization, an organized political lobby, representing a church,—one of the many churches which enjoy the freedom of America,—which, contrary to the whole spirit of our American institutions, insisted arrogantly and offensively in asserting its right as an ecclesiastical body to control Government action. Its presence at the capital was and is a menace to Protestantism, and awakens widespread unrest and threatens serious religious controversies.

The action in this crisis called the attention of the American people very strongly to a most glaring misappropriation of public funds. The appropriation of public money for the maintenance of parochial schools among the Indians is violently antagonistic to the spirit of our Constitution, at variance with the genius of our institutions, and clearly opposed to

public policy. While the action of the Commissioner in severing relations with the bureau did not strike directly at sectarian appropriations, it indirectly forced that question to the front. It has since been fully considered by the American people and they have utterly condemned such misuse of public money, whenever politicians and ecclesiastics have afforded them opportunity to express their convictions.

Commissioner Morgan was obliged to continue provision for church schools after the rupture with the bureau, while at the same time he extended largely the public-school system among the Indians.

While it is officially declared that "the principal work of the bureau is the establishment of boarding and day schools among the Indian tribes, and the procurement from the Government of funds for their support and maintenance," it is true that the money secured by intimidating legislative lobbying for these Roman Catholic schools is an unpardonable use of the people's money, even conceding the worthiness of the purpose.

The work of the schools under the control of the Catholic Bureau is very defective. The industrial training, particularly of boys, is almost wholly neglected, inferior teachers are employed, and the one essential work of training Indian pupils in the use of the English language is largely overlooked. Too much stress is laid upon the inculcation of sectarian dogmas, and too little upon the preparation of the Indian pupils for useful citizenship. The superiority of the Government schools, in almost every respect for the ends for which such schools are organized, is clearly apparent to everyone acquainted with the facts.

But the action of the Commissioner had an important bearing upon the welfare of the public-school system of America. Since 1876 the Government has been engaged in the work of developing a system of Government industrial schools for the Indians, and while the work is still in its infancy, some of

these schools have been brought to a high degree of efficiency. During Commissioner Morgan's administration this work received a great impulse, and more was accomplished for it than ever before in the same length of time.

The one great purpose of these Government institutions is, by a system of moral, intellectual, and industrial training, carried on by persons specially chosen because of their fitness for the work, and in accordance with the most approved modern methods, entirely free from partisan or sectarian control, to fit the rising generation of American Indians for the responsibilities and privileges of freedom. The parochial schools, represented by the Catholic Bureau, administered solely in the interests of the Church, making the Catholic catechism the substance of its instruction, have of necessity for their chief purpose the propagation of Catholicism. Not only are these two theories radically repugnant to each other, but they have been the source of much friction in the practical work of Indian education. Those representing the parochial schools and favoring their extension are jealous of the Government institutions, do all they dare to do to prevent or limit their success, and by threats and ecclesiastical penalties keep away from them Indian children over whom they have any control. If there is one matter which is dear to the American heart it is the success of the public-school system, and the course of Commissioner Morgan in asserting the right of the Government to establish and maintain for the Indians an efficient system of public schools, unsectarian and without partisan bias, was worthy of all praise.

The thoughtful and patriotic sentiment of our citizenship sustained the President and the Secretary of the Interior, and they sustained their manly and trusted representative—the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

General Morgan rendered distinguished service for his country on the battlefield of civil warfare, but his victory over the shameless assaults of the foreign foe, as represented by the

M. A. Corrigan. *John Ireland.* *J. A. Stephan* *James Cardinal Gibbons.* *Patrick J. Ryan.*

THE NEW ROMAN CATHOLIC LOBBY IN WASHINGTON, "CHARTERED BY AN ACT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND" IN 1894, AND ITS DIRECTOR AND ONE OF ITS SOLICITORS.

Roman Catholic lobby styled the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, at the nation's capital, is recognized by all right-thinking Americans as a more distinguished service than could be rendered by any martial triumphs.

For some reason, unexplained to the credulous public, in 1894 the old lobby was dissolved, and the record says: "The Bureau as then constituted was superseded by a new corporation chartered by an Act of the Assembly of the State of Maryland, the incorporators being His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia; and Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York." This new corporation has evidently not destroyed the identity of the lobby, as the audacious Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. A. Stephan still stands out in bold relief as *Director*.

Such has been the consciousness of power of the Roman Catholic Washington lobby that, whenever Director Stephan found himself in his illegal aggressions confronted by a faithful executive officer, he coolly said: "We had to return to Congress once more to perfect the work begun. . . Mr. Morgan should have been promptly answered that we did not care what his policy was, nor what his specific orders from the President were; a higher power than either, namely the Congress of the United States," existed, to which he believed he could with confidence appeal.

On December 9, 1898, the press informed the public that:

"Cardinal Gibbons, in behalf of himself and the archbishops of the Catholic Church in America, has submitted a petition to Congress asking that the question of the contract-school system be reopened and that Congress again go over the whole subject of Indian education.

"The petition sets forth at length the history of the Indian school question and the legislation applying to it, up to the recent provisions in appropriation bills looking to the gradual discontinuance of government aid to sectarian schools. The

petition asks that a congressional inquiry be made in place of the departmental inquiries, in order that the merits and defects of contract schools and government schools may be shown and 'not kept as a secret of state concealed in the files of any department or office.'"

The petition was presented in the House of Representatives by Representative McIntire of Baltimore, and in the Senate by Senator Gorman of Maryland, both gentlemen hailing from the State which chartered the reconstructed Roman Catholic lobby in Washington.

The meaning of this last effort to open the Indian sectarian school question is transparent, after all denominations except the Roman Catholic have withdrawn from a dangerous financial copartnership with the Government, and after the United States Congress had declared in its last three appropriation bills that the future policy of the Government was to be a total prohibition against the sectarian appropriations for education, in language as follows: "And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school."

The doors of the United States Treasury once open again to the greed of sectarianism, and funds being again appropriated for sectarian education among the Indians as the wards of the nation, consistency would demand that the church or churches willing to do sectarian educational work among the millions of our new wards in our new insular possessions should be furnished with the funds they might demand. What a golden opportunity this would prove for politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in the Philippines and the other new possessions where its form of civilization has cursed the populations and made them the most needy subjects for missionary work in the simplest elements of morality! And then, incidentally, the United States Government would, by liberal appropriations for the work of Roman propagandists, afford

financial relief to the Pope, whose Spanish bonds are not now at a premium, and to the poor monks and friars in the Philippines, whose revenues will be largely decreased under a government where civil and religious liberty is guaranteed. Those members of Congress even whose principles are imprisoned in the ballot-boxes within the districts they represent ought to be able to understand the peril embraced in this new proposition of the Roman Catholic lobby in Washington.

Under cover of the absorbed attention of the people in war-time these political plotters put through Congress the West Point Roman Catholic Chapel Bill of devious history. Meanwhile loyal people must keep still at such times, while enemies, posing as patriots, undermine our institutions.

The devices resorted to in securing a *Sectarian Chapel on the West Point Military Reservation*, may be seen from the following narration:

In the month of October, 1896, the officers of The National League for the Protection of American Institutions received intimation that a movement was on foot, under the leadership of Father O'Keefe, the parish priest at Highland Falls, N. Y., to secure government permission for the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel within the limits of the West Point Military Reservation. A permit for this purpose was granted by Secretary of War Lamont, provided that the parish priest would raise not less than twenty thousand dollars to cover the cost of the building.

To show that this exclusive privilege was entirely unnecessary, we quote from an authoritative statement of the then existing conditions:

"There are already two government chapels at West Point. They are designated the 'Soldiers' and 'Cadet' Chapels. In the 'Soldiers' Chapel, worship the Catholic officers, enlisted men, and civilians, together with their families, also the Catholic Cadets, few in number, about ten per cent. of the entire corps, and usually numbering about thirty men, for whom

Father O'Keefe or his assistant conducts two masses each Sabbath morning. This service is followed by a Sunday School for the Catholic children.

"For one hour each Sunday afternoon, Chaplain Herbert Shipman, an Episcopalian, holds services in this chapel for the non-Catholics with the exception of officers and cadets.

"What is known as the 'Cadet' Chapel is for the use of those officers and cadets who are not Catholics. The services are conducted by Chaplain Shipman at 10.30 A. M. each Sabbath. About ninety per cent. of the corps of cadets attend these services.

"It will be noticed that the religious welfare of the officers, cadets, and enlisted men in the United States Military Academy has been duly considered, and the Government has provided two chapels for their use, and while the Catholics outnumber the Protestants among the enlisted men, they also have the use of the 'Soldiers' Chapel the entire time, excepting one hour each week.

"Why these people who worship in the 'Soldiers' Chapel should be solicited to contribute from their small income toward the building of another chapel, to be exclusively a Catholic chapel, is not understood by other than Father O'Keefe, and those back of the undertaking.

"There is no doubt but that Father O'Keefe is supported by powerful social and political influence."

The National League was appealed to for advice and direction in this matter by influential citizens of various religious denominations. To demonstrate the embarrassing possibilities of this proposed sectarian grant, The League advised the preparation and mailing to the Secretary of War of separate denominational petitions demanding similar grants of land for their respective denominations, within the West Point Reservation.

The result of this action was that Secretary Lamont revoked the permit to the Roman Catholics.

We have good authority for stating that a bill had at this

time been prepared, with a view to securing Congressional action authorizing the grant, but it was deemed expedient by high ecclesiastical authority to suppress it.

The pressure upon Secretary Lamont to renew the permit was greater than he could resist, and he announced on February 8, 1897, that, "unless Congress shall order to the contrary"—which was of course clearly impossible when that Congress had only four weeks more of official life—he should renew the permit; and before leaving office on March 4, he did renew it.

Shortly after the inauguration of President McKinley, General Alger, the new Secretary of War, announced his intention to confirm the grant and to treat all other denominations with what he styled like liberality. So widespread and numerous, however, were the protests against this procedure that the Secretary of War evidently hesitated to assume the responsibility, and the matter was referred to President McKinley, and by him was turned over to Attorney General McKenna for an opinion as to the power of the Secretary of War in the premises.

The opinion of the Attorney General was rendered to the Secretary of War on May 20, 1897, and, coming as it did from one of their own religious faith, gave the friends of sectarian chapel-building at West Point a decided shock.

The opinion is lengthy, and we quote only a part of it.

After referring to the act of July 22, 1892, relative to leasing unused Government property, he says in part:

"It is very clear that the Secretary of War has no power to accept a donation of property for the Government—certainly not to accept it with the limitation proposed—its use in perpetuity to Roman Catholics.

"The action of Mr. Secretary Lamont did not respond to the offer—maybe excludes it. Nevertheless, there are serious objections to it. It gives, not a lease having a specified duration, but a license without limitation of time.

"That these licenses transcend the statute is plain. The statute provides for a definite term with a power of even revoking that. The license provides for no term and really commits the Government to a practical perpetuity. It would be idle to deny this—idle to deny that you do not expect to exercise the power of revocation except in emergency. Indeed, a contention not without some authority could be raised that you could not. At any rate the Government would find itself embarrassed either to endure a perpetuity of right in the license or exercise an individual power.

"The license should, therefore, be revoked and the petitioner remitted to Congress."

There can be no question as to the disappointment of Attorney General McKenna's coreligionists over this opinion, for we find Hon. Frederic R. Coudert giving voice to his vexation, in the New York *Journal* of May 22, in language which is not very far removed from a threat of political boycott similar to that which contributed to the defeat of President Harrison for re-election. He says:

"If this decision is considered just by the President, if the interpretation of Mr. McKenna is sustained, it will drive from the Republican party many of its representative men.

"It is unjust to deny to Catholics a privilege of this kind; and I am certain that any political party which sustains such a proceeding will surely meets its just fate at the hands of an intelligent public."

Undaunted by their defeat along this line of attack, these persistent and usually successful plotters for securing governmental assistance in their sectarian propaganda re-formed their ranks, and turned their attention upon Congress, first making an effort to induce the National Board of Visitors at West Point to indorse their scheme, which the board very properly declined to do.

Apparently taking their cue from the complaisant Secretary of War, a bill was prepared, the broad liberality of which, it

was thought, would overcome all scruples as to its fundamental soundness or its ulterior purpose. It was worded as follows:

"That the Secretary of War, in his discretion, may authorize the erection of a building for religious worship by any denomination, sect, or religion, on any military reservation of the United States. *Provided*, That the erection of such building will not interfere with the uses of said military reservation for military purposes. Said building shall be erected without any expense whatever to the Government of the United States, and shall be removed whenever, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, military necessity shall require it."

With that "non-partisan" astuteness which contributes so greatly to the success of their schemes, they selected from the great political party in whose ranks they figure least numerously a Senator and a Representative, both from the State of New York, to present this bill in either House, which was done on January 5, 1898.

This bill, in the shape in which it was drawn, did not progress farther than the House Committee on Military Affairs, where it was killed by a vote of 10 to 3.

This evidently disconcerted them for the time being, for one of their champions in the House, also a New York Republican and a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, at once introduced a bill "to remove *all* religious edifices from military reservations," which also met its fate in the House Committee on Military Affairs.

They still had another expedient in reserve among their almost exhaustless resources. The Spanish-American War was engrossing the entire attention of Congress and of the American people.

The wording of the West Point Bill was again adroitly manipulated, limiting its scope, it will be noticed, to West Point alone.

"*Be it enacted*, etc., That the Secretary of War, in his discretion, may authorize the erection of a building for religious worship by any denomination, sect, or religion on the West Point Military Reservation: *Provided*, That the erection of such building will not interfere with the uses of said reservation for military purposes. Said building shall be erected without any expense whatever to the government of the United States, and shall be removed from the reservation, or its location changed by the denomination, sect, or religious body erecting the same whenever, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, public or military necessity shall require it, and without compensation for such building or any other expense whatever to the Government."

In this shape, during the closing days of this exciting and historic session of Congress, the bill passed both Houses with little opposition, many legislators who were opposed to it on principle, laying, if they gave any thought to it at all, "the flattering unction to their souls" that they were, as the advocates of the bill asserted, "treating all alike."

TO JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The dubious relations of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the judicial departments of civil government have caused serious alarm on the part of many thoughtful citizens and candid students of the principles of civil liberty. The bargains between party politicians and Roman Catholic bosses for the delivery of votes to be paid for by legislative nominations, positions, and appropriations, possess elements of peril, but when these bargains extend to nominations for the judiciary they sap the very foundations of justice. This very thing is done in multitudes of instances in all parts of the land, in judicial nominations from the modest civil justice of the peace to the judges of the highest courts of appeal. Often, in case these judges, thus nominated and elected, try to

be honest when holding the balances of justice, their creators and masters refuse them the honor of a renomination.

The annals of American courts of justice record case after case where the appellate courts have divided and rendered decisions, not only on political party lines, but on sectarian lines, and where it has been assumed in advance, as a matter of course, that the decisions would be on these lines. And all this is the legitimate result of the political and sectarian contracts in question. As in a recent appeal case where sectarian appropriations were involved in the District of Columbia, everywhere it was taken for granted that, coming before Roman Catholic judges, they would decide in the financial interests of their church, and the prejudgment was not then and seldom is disappointed.

The District of Columbia being a part of the national domain as distinguished from the domain of any State, all of the people of the United States are interested in its judiciary. In 1894 the Court of Appeals, consisting of three judges, was constituted by the appointment of two Roman Catholic judges, and the third was of Roman Catholic heredity and education. It was this sectarian court which overruled the decision of District Judge Hagner in the matter of a grant by Congress for a building for contagious diseases, which grant was passed over by the District Commissioners to a Roman Catholic Hospital. This Court of Appeals did what it was expected to do by the powers which dictated its personnel and determined its sectarian character.

A prominent and cultured American Roman Catholic priest recently made to us some startling revelations concerning the interference of ecclesiastics in prohibiting the promulgation of the verdict and indictment of a Grand Jury, which ought to have brought about the criminal indictment of both the ecclesiastics and of the members of the Grand Jury.

Shortly after the present Pontiff's recovery from his illness in 1886, after re-establishing all the privileges and immuni-

ties of the Jesuits, he issued a papal decree in which occurs the sentence:

"The judicial functionaries must refuse obedience to the State and to the laws of the country which are in contradiction with Roman Catholic precepts."

The New York *Tablet* of April 8, 1871, said:

"The State has not supreme legislative authority, and civil courts which contravene the law of God do not bind the conscience; and whether they do or do not contravene the law, the Church, not the State or its courts, is the supreme judge."

Roman Catholic political power in New York City and elsewhere has used its subservient courts not only to fill by commitments its institutions in order to make higher demands for the people's money for their support, but it has used these courts for the purpose of bringing its own refractory politicians into subserviency.

In New Orleans, in March, 1898, Romanism wrote an interesting chapter of history concerning its relations to the judiciary.

For many years in this city large amounts of money have been appropriated by the City Council for various private and sectarian institutions, although such appropriations are a direct violation of the laws of the State, and are especially forbidden by the Constitution. Certain citizens protested against these violations and proceeded legally against the Comptroller and the City Treasurer. In the attempt to prove that the institutions in question were private and sectarian it became necessary to bring into court as witnesses the officers and authorities of those institutions. Among the number of such officers was the Mother Prioress of an order of cloistered nuns who were barefooted Carmelites. This Mother Prioress had signed the receipts for money given by the City Treasurer to the nunnery. The witness refused to appear, and her legal defense stated that "this nun was cloistered and could no more appear in court than a citizen of the moon could; that her vows were

such that she could not leave the nunnery under any circumstances"; and counsel read a section from the statutes showing that the Ursuline nuns were exempt from such process of law, and said the same exemption should cover the Carmelite nuns. The attorney for the plaintiffs argued that if this nun was not too cloistered to appear at the City Hall and sign the pay rolls on the receipt of money, she was not too cloistered to appear in court when her evidence was required; and asked the judge (N. H. Righter) to issue an attachment compelling the witness to appear. The judge said he would not issue the attachment. "Why not, your Honor? It is the law," said the attorney for the plaintiffs. "Because I won't," said the judge. "If it were twenty times the law I would refuse to bring a cloistered nun out of the nunnery into my court. I refuse the attachment."

Thus it would appear from the Roman Catholic standpoint of judgment as to the relation of the judiciary to the rights of the people, that the members of religious orders can thrust their hands into the treasury of the people's money, take out what may be necessary to propagate their sectarian work and teachings, and then, when the people desire to find out whether the laws and the constitution of a commonwealth are being violated, these greedy sectarians and criminals before the law can shelter themselves from justice by seclusion in the cloisters of a Roman nunnery or monastery.

TO EXECUTIVE ADMINISTRATION.

The political claims of Romanists, based upon the fact that they are Romanists, are not exhausted when legislative and judicial limits have been passed. They seek to hold or control the executive departments of government, from the highest to the lowest positions.

About ten millions is the outside rational limit claim for the numbers of Roman Catholics in our population of over seventy millions, yet under the general government, and under

local governments where they control the balance of power at the polls, they hold a number of offices more nearly representative of the ratio due to sixty millions than to ten millions. They have not more than one-seventh of the population, nor more than one-tenth of the voters, while they have the largest proportion of illiteracy, and these facts would in justice give them a very limited number of civil office positions. Still they preponderate in an offensive way in Washington and at the centers of population.

Dr. Hershey, over his own signature, in 1894 made the following statement concerning executive departments in Washington:

"In this article I want to confine myself to a statement of facts which have fallen quite within my knowledge in this city. There is a great deal being said just now about the unpatriotic work of Romanism in the departments of the general government. . . What I say herein must carry with it whatever weight attaches to my testimony bearing upon facts coming under my personal knowledge.

"The custom of nuns going at regular intervals through the departments, and coercing money, is an infamous political iniquity. In the Pension Bureau this semi-monthly visitation is an arrant outrage. The Commissioner, First Assistant, and the Chairman of the House Committee on Pensions are Roman Catholics, and the whole management of the bureau is under the direction of these three. The Roman Church worked to accomplish this. Such combinations are not accidental. A friend of mine, a little while ago, stood quietly by and witnessed the semi-monthly pay of the clerks. The procession of clerks, after receiving their pay, had to pass between two nuns, each holding a box, and nearly all paid the price necessary to keep them in office. It took two hours and a half for the more than two thousand clerks to pass these agents of the priesthood and pay over their money. And this in a great government building! Are we free, or are we the slaves of

a lustful, mediæval ecclesiastical institution? Upon demands which were made, one of the Cabinet has stopped this collection of a tax levied on the government clerks by the Romish Church. It made him quite mad, and he said all sorts of ugly things, but he knew the evil he had countenanced was an outrage, and he issued the order. This demand should be made upon every department.

"In a certain room in the printing office are eleven clerks at one table, and eight of them are Catholics. In this bureau tickets for Catholic fairs are sold from once to twice a week during government hours. The Roman Catholics are compelled to buy, and say they would lose their place if they did not. In a room in one of the departments, six clerks were reduced in one day. Strange to relate, they were all members of the same Protestant church. Six others were promoted to take their places, and five of them were Roman Catholics. One day last fall twenty-four promotions were made in the Bureau of Engravings, and nineteen were Roman Catholics. Such things do not occur by any rule of mere accident. I could continue such citations over many pages."

Dr. Hershey refers simply to two Washington departments, but Romanists in immense numbers are intrenched in every department, and not only make it uncomfortable for their Protestant associates, but in many instances make their positions absolutely untenable. The supremacy of Romanists in the official force of the Pension Department is especially aggravating to loyal Americans, when they recall how few Romanists, relatively speaking, saw actual service in the Union Army, how many deserted, and how many now are pensioners. In the Agricultural Department, when one division was some time since abolished, seventy-eight per cent. of the clerks were found to be Roman Catholics, who were largely provided for elsewhere, but not so with the twenty-two per cent. of Protestants.

The Land Office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing,

and the Treasury Department reveal a kindred state of facts. The Indian Bureau has been considered, with a single interruption, as the special reservation of the official lobby of Romanism in Washington styled the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. It has been crowded with Romanist employees controlled by this lobby, and this fact has done more to scandalize this department both in Washington and in its active operations in the field than all other causes together. A few years since the following incident was recorded:

"In the Indian reservation in the State of Minnesota, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Archbishop Ireland, was a priest who was creating much disturbance, and was consequently objectionable to the government. The Indian Commissioner urged that the priest be removed, and Ireland promised it should be done. Not long afterward the Archbishop wanted a favor of the Commissioner, and General Morgan telegraphed to the Indian agent: 'Is Father So-and-So on the reservation?' desiring to know whether Archbishop Ireland had kept his word. Naturally you would have supposed that the agent would have telegraphed an answer to his official superior, but the Commissioner heard not a word until Thomas H. Carter, chairman of the National Republican Committee, telegraphed General Morgan to this effect: that it was better not to make any fuss about that priest while the election was pending.

"This meant that the Indian agent had reported, directly or indirectly, to Archbishop Ireland, and that Ireland, who poses as a Republican, had laid his hand upon the Roman Catholic who was running the Republican campaign, and he, in turn, put his hand upon the Indian Commissioner, and advised him to leave the unworthy priest in his place."

A prominent citizen remonstrating with a superintendent of schools of national reputation in a large city, against his subserviency to Roman Catholic priests who dictated appoint-

ments of teachers in the public schools regardless of their qualifications and in violation of law, but on sectarian grounds, humiliatingly responded: "I know it is all wrong, but the living of myself and family is at stake." This same superintendent was afterward re-elected to his position, on the express stipulation of subserviency to the ecclesiastical power which seeks to control and fetter the public schools which it has been unable to destroy, despite its repeated declaration of purpose.

An experienced teacher who was an applicant for a position as a teacher in the New York City public schools was asked if he would take the questions in advance for examination in case he could secure them. The applicant asked if he could get them, and was told by his informant that they had been secured and could be again. "How will you get them?" he asked of his informant. After enjoining secrecy his informant said, "They will come to me directly from a physician, who will secure them from a Catholic priest." At the time of this incident the typewriters and stenographers in the office of the Superintendent of the New York schools were Roman Catholics, and in their hands the examination papers were placed in advance for copying. Upon inquiry it was ascertained that other Roman Catholics in official school positions had access to the examination papers. Where did this priest get these examination papers? When the teacher in question visited the headquarters of the Department of Education in New York City he discovered that Romanists were on watch at the doors of the office of the Superintendent of Schools.

We have official authority for the statement that recently in New York City, the examinations of Roman Catholic applicants for positions as teachers, who were attendants upon the lectures of priests, said lectures being given to those preparing for examinations, were of such a uniform character of accuracy that there could be but one conclusion

concerning them, and that was that the priestly instructors must have known the contents of the examination papers. This conclusion is emphasized by the fact that candidates having had large experience in teaching, and possessed of the highest attainments, were unable to cope in excellence of their examinations with the uniform excellence of those of less experience and narrower attainments among the Roman Catholic competitors. In this same board, by the exercise of the usual devices in which they are so expert, Roman Catholic members of the board managed to get control of the committee which has in charge the preparation of examination papers and the ranking of teachers. It is also true that almost all of the employees of this same board are Roman Catholics, and the rare exceptions find themselves most uncomfortably placed. Rome thus seeks to run the public schools as an annex to the parochial schools, so far as the executive machinery is concerned.

In January, 1894, President Cleveland nominated for Justice of the United States Supreme Court Wheeler H. Peckham of New York, an eminent jurist, a cultured gentleman, a public-spirited citizen, and a patriotic American. Senator David B. Hill, apparently having a constitutional aversion to these qualities in a judge, violently opposed the confirmation of Mr. Peckham and secured a disgraceful victory in defeating the confirmation. But this defeat was not rendered certain until the sectarian Roman reserves were ordered out.

Mr. Peckham was a member of the Law Committee of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, having as his associates Wm. Allen Butler, Dorman B. Eaton, Cephas Brainerd, and Henry E. Howland. The objects of the League are:

"To secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common-school system and other American institutions, and to promote public instruction in har-

mony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds."

No man having the right to live under the protection of American institutions ought to be offended by the propagation of these principles. A document of The National League, in which Mr. Peckham's name was printed as a member of the Law Committee, was sent to United States Senators, which was supposed to furnish a Roman Catholic reason why Mr. Peckham's nomination should not be confirmed. Again political Romanism projected itself into the executive affairs of government in an excuseless, offensive, and disloyal manner. When Mr. Peckham was interviewed he responded in a characteristically manly way. He said: "I fail to see any connection with an anti-Catholic movement in the objects of the association. I believe there are a good many members of the Catholic Church in the National League for the Protection of American Institutions. I am in favor of spending the public funds for the purposes for which they are voted, and I am opposed to all sectarian and denominational appropriations of these funds in the matter of education. I am not a Catholic, but I have no antipathy against that Church or its members." But it is a crime in the judgment of Romanism for a citizen to belong to any organization which proposes "the protection of the common-school system and other American institutions" and the prohibition of "all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds." Of course it would never do to have a man elevated to the bench of the United States Supreme Court who does not take his theory of civil government from the Sovereign Pontiff and his theory of political ethics from David B. Hill. And now let us behold the sequel. A great and incorruptible jurist was defeated by the unholy combination. Mr. White, a Roman Catholic Senator, was nominated, and he was promptly and unanimously confirmed by the joint forces of "Senatorial courtesy" and Roman urgency. Mr. White

was not a member of a law committee of a patriotic organization, but he was a member of an organization which in its official utterances and acts has been the persistent and wicked foe of "the common-school system and other American institutions," and which never loses an opportunity to seize the "public funds" for sectarian propagation. Thus another disgraceful chapter of American executive history has been written by Rome.

Investigation proves that important official secrets of executive departments in Washington, and information concerning vacancies to be filled or how to create vacancies, have again and again reached their ecclesiastical destination through Roman Catholic private secretaries, stenographers, and typewriters. One of the persistent, skillful, astute, and successful plans of political Romanism is to place its representatives in confidential secretarial relations with the heads of departments and the possessors of executive and official secrets. Through this medium examination papers in educational and civil service departments have found their way into the hands of candidates for examination, and in some instances have by their sale proved a source of revenue to ecclesiastical brokers.

Through these secret confidential agents, officials about to be removed from office because of their incompetency have been notified, and they have had ample time to bring priestly and political pressure to bear to retain them in places they could not fill, but where they continued anchored to the public treasury. These facts are simply instances in connection with multitudes of offices, but the chiefs in most instances dare not face the facts because they know that they would be crushed by the politicians who are the obsequious slaves of political ecclesiasticism claiming to control votes.

According to Dr. Döllinger, "The infallibility dogma imposes upon those who accept it the solemn obligation to violate civil law, to set themselves in opposition to the ordinances of

government whenever the Pope shall pronounce his infallible judgment against any one of those ordinances upon moral or religious grounds."

TO EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOLS.

The education of the people under any form of government ought to be the foundation of the civic structure. In a republic where every citizen is a sovereign, the education of the people is not only vital but indispensable to its peace and perpetuation. Ignorant masses are the dupes of a despot whether he be a monarch with an hereditary title, a political, an ecclesiastical, or a politico-ecclesiastical boss.

The only power which can destroy superstition in religion or politics is knowledge. Therefore, when any institution founded upon superstition resists the education of the people, it is simply heeding the first law of nature for self-preservation. This accounts for the opposition of Romanism in every land to the uniform common education of the people, as well as for the ignorance of the people in Roman Catholic countries and the decadence of Romanism in countries where the common people are educated.

The masses educated are the loyal subjects alone of a patriotic conscience. Every power seeking to bring a people or a government into subjection to a tyrannical will aims first to enthrall the human mind with ignorance. Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism only thrives where ignorance is prevalent, and whenever it grapples with a nation its first step is to seek to control the common education of the people, reducing it to a minimum of secular instruction with a maximum of ecclesiastical instruction. These facts are patent in every country where Rome has had absolute sway. In America we are especially interested in the history of the relation of Romanism to that country which furnishes us a large proportion of our office-holders in the centers of the population, and the would-be rulers of the republic.

In the century succeeding the beneficent work of St. Patrick in Ireland, the Irish were the best-educated people in the West of Europe. The larger portion of the island for ages has been given over by the Roman Catholic clergy to the most degrading ignorance, despite the facts that the British Parliament has furnished ample means for the common education of the people, and the people themselves have been hungry for education, and when opportunity is presented, have eagerly grasped it, and shown a readiness for learning characteristic of the naturally noble race to which they belong. The contrast in educational matters between the north and the south of Ireland needs only to be mentioned; the causes for the contrast are patent to the most superficial observer.

Rome, the seat of the world-wide papal power, presents in its common people of the Roman Catholic population a condition of ignorance so discrediting to the Roman Church as to be appalling to the citizens of this land, where the same church is seeking to control the education of the people.

No wonder Rome cherishes an uncompromising hostility to schools that are not completely under her care. She would make the second article of the Concordat ratified between Spain and the Holy See, in 1851, the educational rule for every land which she can control. It reads thus: "All instruction in universities, colleges, seminaries, and public and private schools, *shall be conformable to Catholic doctrine*, and no impediment shall be put in the way of the bishops, etc., whose duty it is to watch over the purity of doctrine and of manners, and *over the religious education of youth, even in the public schools.*"

In every English-speaking nation the people to-day are engaged in a controversy with Romanism over the question of public-school education.

Victor Hugo has this to say about Rome as an educator:

"Ah, we know you! We know the clerical party; it is

an old party. This it is which has found for the truth those two marvelous supporters, ignorance and error. This it is which forbids to science and genius the going beyond the missal, and which wishes to cloister thought in dogmas. Every step which the intelligence of Europe has taken has been in spite of it. Its history is written in the history of human progress, but it is written on the back of the leaf. It is opposed to all. This it is which caused Prinelli to be scourged for having said that the stars would not fall. This it is which put Campanella seven times to torture for saying that the number of worlds was infinite, and for having caught a glimpse at the secret of creation. This it is which persecuted Harvey for having proved the circulation of the blood. In the name of Jesus it shut up Galileo. In the name of St. Paul it imprisoned Christopher Columbus.

"There is a book—a book which is from one end to the other an emanation from above; a book which contains all human wisdom illuminated by all divine wisdom—a book which the veneration of the people call the Book—the Bible! Well, your censure has reached even that—unheard-of thing! Popes have proscribed the Bible. How astonishing to wise spirits; how overpowering to simple hearts to see the finger of Rome placed upon the Book of God! Now, you claim the liberty of teaching. Stop; let us see your pupils. Let us see those you have produced. What have you done for Italy? For Spain? The one in ashes, the other in ruins."

This morsel of history from the Roman Catholic standpoint will fit any part of the history of the school controversy:

"Throughout the Northern States there had been general progress, but the close of the war was a signal for the revival of the old bitterness against the Church. An attempt was made to make the school question not a State but a national matter. General Grant, elected President in 1869, showed a disposition to unite with the old Know-Nothing party, and on several occasions alluded to the school question, taking

ground, however, in favor of absolutely godless schools. The question of the right of bigoted Protestants to force their erroneous and mutilated translation into schools as being the Bible, came before the courts in Ohio; but the judiciary there, as in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, listened to prejudice, and, when Catholic cases came up, sought to warp the law so as to annoy the Church.

"These signs induced new and greater exertion to expand our system of parochial schools, so as to avoid any necessity for Catholics to send their children to the public schools, which it was evident must soon be either absolutely Protestant or utterly infidel. New schools were established in many parts, notably in New England, where the parochial system had made little progress. The teaching orders already in the country spread, and were aided by others from abroad, like the Presentation Nuns, the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, the Sisters of Christian Charity. The preparation of suitable school books received greater care, and not only readers, but series of geographies and school histories were prepared equal to any published for use in the public schools. Some of these were mere modifications of Protestant works, but others were intrinsically Catholic."—*Businger and Shea's "Hist. of the Cath. Church," pp. 408–409.*

Under the requirements and dictation of the Roman hierarchy, the Board of National Education of Ireland issued a revised edition of a reading book to be used in the schools. From this new reading book the articles on "The British Constitution," and on "Political Economy," by the late Archbishop Whately were expunged, and in their place were five articles by Cardinal Wiseman, Mgr. Molloy, and other Catholic writers. The articles by such authors as Humboldt, Shakespeare, Canning, Gray, and Shelley were replaced by poetry from Irish writers, and articles by Cardinal Wiseman, Rev. Dr. Healey, and other Romanists; and Scriptural articles were also excluded.

The articles in these reconstructed text-books on political

economy, money and exchange, value and labor, wages, security of property, capital, taxes, rent, etc., were all changed, and inferior articles of instruction upon these varied subjects were substituted for them.

Efforts at expurgating editions of history and other school books in the interests of a narrow and one-sided Roman Catholic instruction have been made in schools in many of the States in America.

Before the constitutions of certain States were changed to prohibit the division of the school fund on sectarian lines, many of the school books used in the parochial schools, which were paid for by the State, were perversions of American history and assaults upon Protestantism.

Reputable publishers of standard cyclopedias have permitted new editions of their works to be rewritten by Roman Catholic authors, wherever historic articles had any bearing on the Roman Church.

The Roman Catholic *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, in its protest against the attendance of Catholic students upon Protestant institutions, says: "Experience shows also that history has never been understood nor taught, and cannot be taught by Protestants, as a class. Some individuals have risen above the prejudices of Protestantism; but these individuals are few, indeed, and far between. Thus Catholic students in Protestant institutions, in the best case, are deprived of the best elements in education, whether religious or secular."

Dr. Philip Schaff's translation of the "Syllabus Errorum" (Pius IX., 1864) and other acts of the Popes, gives the following affirmative claims concerning education, which have received papal condemnation as errors:

"To hold that any method of instruction of youth, purely secular, may be approved.

"To hold that knowledge of things Philosophical and Civil may and should decline to be guided by Divine and Ecclesiastical authority."

Devare's translation of Propositions XLV. and XLVII. of the same Syllabus, condemning secular public schools, is as follows, denying that:

"The entire direction of the public schools in which the youth of any Christian country is taught, can and must be assigned to the civil authorities, and even so assigned that under no circumstances to any authority should the right be granted to mix itself in the discipline of the schools, in the direction of the studies, in the conferring of degrees, in the selection or approbation of teachers.

"The best interest of civil society demands that popular schools which are open to all children of any class of the people, also public institutions as a whole that are destined to furnish to the youth the higher branches of discipline and education, should be removed from all authority of the Church be it of moderative, virtual, or obtrusive, and that they should be subject to the undisputed judgment of civil and political authority for the approval and meeting the level of the prevailing and more common opinions of the age."

Father Hecker writes:

"Catholics say that it is no necessary part of the function of the State to teach and educate children. The education of children is rather a parental than a political duty. Besides, to ascribe all this function to the State is anti-American.

"It is clear that the chief aim of the advocates of the present public-school system in the United States is less the desire for general diffusion of knowledge than the advancement of a pet theory of education; and they insist upon its exclusive adoption because they imagine that its spirit and tendency are against the spread and progress of the Catholic faith. Thus they subordinate education to a sectarian prejudice."—"*The Catholic Church in the United States*," *p. 16.*

As American citizens, regardless of religious or political faiths, it becomes us to examine the attitude of any and all, real or seeming, foes of the American free public-school system of

education. In the discussions of late years the Roman Catholic Church has come into great prominence on this question. Let us dispassionately look into the history of this relation. Let us look at the attitude of this Church, speaking through its highest authorities. Cardinal Gibbons in 1890, in his book, "Our Christian Heritage," insists upon religious instruction in the day schools, and, recognizing the difficulties, proposes the following remedy: "The remedy for these defects would be supplied if the denominational system, such as now obtains in Canada, were applied in our public schools." This is a division of the school funds on denominational lines, or the destruction of the system.

In 1882 the Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins of the diocese of Louisville, Ky., issued a pamphlet of over one hundred pages, addressed to Catholic parents, entitled "The Judges of Faith and Godless Schools: A compilation of evidence against secular schools the world over, especially against common State schools in the United States of America, wherever entirely withdrawn from the influence of the authority of the Catholic Church." In the preface appears the following:

"It may be worthy of noting that these pages contain the conciliar or single rulings of no less than 250 judges of the faith versus Godless schools; among which, seventeen plenary and provincial councils; two or three diocesan synods; two or three Popes (if Pius VII. be counted); two sacred congregations of some twenty cardinals and pontifical officials; seven single cardinals; who, with thirty-three archbishops, make forty primates and metropolitans; about seventy single bishops and archbishops, deceased or living, in the United States."

The pages which follow authenticate this statement.

From the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1889 we have the official statement of the Roman Catholic Church in America on the subject of education:

"We direct and decree:

"First.—That near every church where no school now exists a parochial school shall be erected within two years after the promulgation of the decrees of this council, and perpetually sustained, unless the bishop, on account of special grave difficulty, shall decide that a delay may be allowed.

"Second.—Any priest, who by his own blameworthy neglect shall hinder the erection or support of such a school, or after repeated admonition by the bishop shall not carry out this law, deserves to be removed from his church.

"Third.—Any mission or parish which so fails to aid its priest in the erection and support of the school, that on account of its supine neglect a school cannot exist, must be reproved by the bishop, and by whatever more efficacious and prudent methods are needed, must be induced to provide the necessary aid.

"Fourth.—All Catholic parents are bound to send their children to parochial schools, unless they provide at home or in other Catholic schools sufficiently and evidently for the Christian education of their children; or for any sufficient cause which is approved by the bishop, and with suitable safeguards and protection, they may send them to other schools; but it is the province of the bishop to decide what is a Catholic school."

On November 16, 1892, Archbishop Satolli delivered an address to the archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church assembled in New York City, in which he discussed the school question as follows:

"The adoption of one of three plans is recommended; the choice to be made according to local circumstances in the different States and various personal relations.

"The first exists in an agreement between the bishop and the members of the school board, whereby they, in a spirit of fairness and good will, allow the Catholic children to be assembled during free time and taught the Catechism; it would also be of the greatest advantage if this plan were not con-

fined to primary schools, but were extended likewise to the high schools and colleges in the form of a free lecture. The second, to have the Catechism class outside the public-school building, and also classes of higher Christian doctrine, where, at fixed times, the Catholic children would assemble with diligence and pleasure; induced thereto by the authority of their parents, the persuasion of their pastors, and the hope of praise and rewards. The third plan does not seem at first sight so suitable, but is bound up more intimately with the duty of parents and pastors. Pastors should unceasingly urge the duty imposed, by both natural and divine law, of bringing up their children in sound morality and Catholic faith. Besides, the instruction of children appertains to the very essence of the pastoral charge. Let the pastor of souls say to them with the apostle, 'My little children, of whom I am in labor again until Christ be formed in you' (Gal. iv. 19). Let him have classes of children in the parish schools, as have been established in Rome and many other places, and even in churches in this country, with very happy results.

"Nor let him, with little prudence, show less love for the children that attend the public schools than for those who attend the parochials; on the contrary, stronger marks of loving solicitude are to be shown to them; the Sunday-school and the hour for catechism should be devoted to them in a special manner. And to cultivate this field, let the pastor call to his aid other priests and even suitable members of the laity, in order that what is supremely necessary be wanting to no child."

At this same meeting of the archbishops at which Satolli delivered his address as the representative of the Pope the following action was taken:

"First.—Resolved, To promote the erection of Catholic schools, so that there may be accommodation in them for more, and, if possible, for all our Catholic children, according to the decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore and the decisions of the Holy See.

"Second.—Resolved, That as to children who at present do not attend Catholic schools, we direct, in addition, that provision be made for them by Sunday-schools, and also by instruction on some other day or days of the week, and by urging parents to teach their children the Christian doctrine in their homes. These Sunday and week-day schools should be under the direct supervision of the clergy, aided by intelligent lay teachers, and, when possible, members of religious teaching orders."

The Pope, recognizing the fact that there was lack of consistency between the deliverances on the school question of the Plenary Council and Satolli's address to the archbishops, and halted by the action of the archbishops, on June 1, 1893, sent a letter to the American prelates, in which he said of Satolli:

"But his legation had this also for its purpose: That our presence should be made, as it were, perpetual among you by the *permanent establishment* of an apostolic delegation *at Washington*."

And of Satolli's school proposition he said:

"For the principal propositions offered by him were drawn from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and especially declare that Catholic schools are to be most sedulously promoted, and that it is to be left to the judgment and conscience of the ordinary to decide, according to the circumstances, when it is lawful and when unlawful to attend the public schools."

In February, 1893, at the instigation of several priests, under the leadership of the late Father Corrigan of Hoboken, a bill styled "A Parochial Free School Bill," was introduced into the legislature of the State of New Jersey. It was a bold and explicit demand for the division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines. The bill was not pressed for passage, because the Attorney General pronounced an advance judgment that, as worded, it was unconstitutional.

Father Corrigan asserted that he had the approval of Archbishop Satolli in this movement.

In October, 1891, Father Corcoran, priest of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church at Stillwater, Minn., accompanied by some of his principal laymen, appeared before the School Board and presented a written proposition to lease to said board the St. Joseph's parochial school building for the school year, for the nominal sum of one dollar. This constituted the substance of the written proposition; but accompanying it was an oral request that the Sisters be retained as teachers, provided they should pass the required examinations. The written proposition was accepted, and the oral request complied with. Some Sisters were brought from St. Paul who passed the examinations well. Thus the business was consummated, and the school, designated by the board the "Hill School," was ostensibly placed under its control, although the issue proved that this was a sectarian school supported by public money. The school district boundaries were totally disregarded. Roman Catholic scholars were taken from all parts of the city and put into the Hill School, which, as before, had Sisters for teachers, dressed in the garb of their order. Prayers, catechism, and other religious services and instructions were offered and given before and after the regular school hours.

The situation at Stillwater presented some features not encountered at Faribault. In Faribault there were more divisions, and the children of Roman Catholic parents were permitted to go to the same school from all parts of the city without violating any of the regulations of the board. In Stillwater there were ward boundaries and graded schools, and teachers and children were subject to transfer from one school to another. That involved transferring teachers dressed in the uniform of a Roman Catholic order to the public schools, and the transfer of children of Protestant parents to the school where the teachers were a constant object-lesson for the benefit

of their Church. As we have seen, this system cannot be made to work satisfactorily, and this attempt to get the State to support a sectarian parochial school has signally and legitimately failed.

The Faribault plan was the device of Archbishop Ireland, who submitted it to the Pope, and by so doing raised a violent controversy among the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The plan was not entirely satisfactory to either zealous Catholics or to good Americans; but the Vatican decided that it might be "tolerated" under exceptional circumstances. Americans are tolerating, but not approving it. It was compromising for peace's sake on a matter of principle in exceptional cases then, and therefore can never become satisfactory to either Americans or Catholics.

The so-called "Faribault plan," in the city of that name in Minnesota, was brought as an issue to the polls in the election of a school board. The candidates favoring the American free common-school system and opposed to the compromise plan of partial surrender to sectarian demands were elected by 200 majority in a total vote of 1000.

In making his plea to the Pope for "toleration" for his compromise school plan at Faribault and Stillwater, in Minnesota, Archbishop Ireland says:

"I say that the transaction of Faribault does not form a part of any system whatever, but that it constitutes simply an honest attempt on my part to obtain, with the aid of the State, a Catholic education for our children in the two above mentioned places, in which, without such aid, that education was impossible. Furthermore, I make the observation that the objection is in full contradiction to the organization of the church as well as of the Republic, because no one diocese, no one State, has the power to make laws and systems for other dioceses or other States.

"Finding it impossible to maintain a suitable parochial school in this parish with the contributions of the poor faith-

ful, I have made a compromise by which, through an agreement entered into with the School Commissioner, I obtained the aid of the State for our school."

Temporary toleration was granted, but it was toleration for a dangerous compromise, so far as the public schools are concerned, and not a recognition of, or tribute to, the value and character of the schools for the training of citizenship.

On Sunday, November 19, 1893, in the *Sunday Democrat*, a weekly family journal devoted to Irish Home Rule, literature, politics, etc., published in New York City, there appeared the text of a proposed law to be introduced into the legislature of the State of New York, which had for its undisguised purpose the division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines.

In November, 1892 and 1893, a circular on the school question was issued by the Roman Catholics in Baltimore, the purpose of which was to create sentiment in favor of the apportionment of State school funds by different State legislatures to Catholic schools. The circular advocated "the system of education in England, Ireland and in the Canadas, which combines State and denominational schools supported by the public purse."

While certain high functionaries of the one church which seeks a division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines have denied personal responsibility, none have repudiated the principles and purposes embodied in the proposed legislation.

Dr. Michael Walsh, editor *Sunday Democrat*, in which paper the proposed school bill for New York State was first published, said :

"I may say that the bill has been approved at Rome; where my ideas on the subject have been approved by the cardinals and clergy; by the leading bishops in England, Ireland, and all English-speaking countries, as well as by some of the most noted prelates of France and Germany. It has also been submitted to and practically approved by the

leading clergy and the most prominent men in the Catholic Church in this country."

On December 13, 1893, the daily papers contained the following:

"BALTIMORE, December 12.—The Catholics in this diocese will not press the demand for a share in the public-school funds. A meeting of the clergy was held at the residence of the Vicar-General to-day, at which Cardinal Gibbons presided.

"While all the priests, including the Cardinal, were favorably inclined to the proposition, it was thought best, owing to the decided opposition on the part of the laymen and Protestants generally, not to ask for the passage of the bill by the next legislature. So the matter rests for the present."

On November 30, 1893, at a time when the American people were aroused as never before in reference to the hostile attitude of Roman Catholic authorities toward the public schools, Archbishop Satolli delivered an educational address in Washington, in which he avoided any reference to the public schools, but did say:

"I will say that whoever seriously meditates on the principles of the American Constitution, whoever is acquainted with the present conditions of the American Republic, should be persuaded and agree with us that the action of the Catholic faith and morality is favorable in every way to the direction in which the Constitution turns. For the more public opinion and the Government favor the Catholic schools, the more and more will the welfare of the commonwealth be advanced. The Catholic education is the surest safeguard of the permanence throughout the centuries of the Constitution, and the best guide of the Republic in civil progress. From this source the Constitution will gather on that assimilation so necessary for the perfect organization of that great progressive body which is the American Republic."

In June, 1894, the following letter was sent out to Roman

Catholic archbishops and bishops by the editor of *The Independent*, of New York, to which about thirty responses were received and published:

"Dear Sir: In view of the interest taken by the public just now in reports that the representatives of the Catholic Church propose to ask for a division of the public-school funds in various States, will you be kind enough to inform me whether it is the policy of your church to obtain such a division, and whether you would give your countenance to a movement in your diocese with such an object in view."

Referring to this the *Pilot*, a Roman Catholic paper published in Boston, says:

"These archbishops and bishops represent numerically more than one-third of the episcopate of the United States, territorially almost every one of the fifteen provinces."

In their replies not a single eminent functionary, representing the most influential and densely populated "provinces," speaks a word in commendation of the public schools as they are, or repudiates the principle embodied in the explicit and repeated demand for a division of the school fund on sectarian lines.

The American people understand the English language measurably well. Why not stop this trifling, and give us a few plain sentences in English, repudiating any present or future purpose of tampering with the public schools? We are sure that American patriotism would make very short work of any of the Protestant denominations which should dare to practice duplicity in reference to loyalty to any of our cherished American institutions.

Wherever the public-school funds in any of the States are divided on sectarian lines, or attempts are made at fusion of public and parochial schools, the Roman Catholics are found to be the chief aggressors and beneficiaries.

In 1892 a pamphlet was published by the Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, D. D., Professor of Moral Theology in the Roman

Catholic University in Washington, on the subject, "Education: To whom does it belong?"

He says he "has written this pamphlet at the request of ecclesiastical superiors. They deemed that a clear exposition of the principles underlying the school question would be both useful and opportune at this hour, when the practical difficulties in which it is involved have become national concerns."

The Professor claims to discuss the subject from the Catholic standpoint, and the literature of the assaults upon his attitude would make volumes, and the sources of most of these assaults in the United States, Canada, and Europe are Jesuit Fathers.

The Professor writes:

"We reduce the subject-matter of our paper to the following four questions: right to educate, mission to educate, authority over education, liberty of education. . .

"We will examine these four questions from the point of view of the individual, the family, the state, the church. . .

"As to principles, we acknowledge that they are to be found best exposed in the more recent publicists, rather than in the older writers, who lived before the modern era of the separation of church and state."

Under the head of the Right of the State to Educate, on the point which most concerns us, he says:

"These considerations being premised to obviate all equivocation, we affirm unhesitatingly, and in accord, as we think, with the principles of sound theology and philosophy, and with the testimony of the tradition of the Church, that it must be admitted, as the larger number of theologians do admit, that the state has the right to educate.

"Civil authority has the right to use all legitimate temporal means it judges necessary for the attainment of the temporal common welfare, which is the end of civil society. Now, among the most necessary means for the attainment of the

temporal welfare of the commonwealth is the diffusion of human knowledge. Therefore, civil authority has the right to use the means necessary for the diffusion of such knowledge, that is to say, to teach it, or rather to have it taught by capable agents. . .

"If you would have a people instructed, you must look to its instruction, and, if need be, establish and direct it. We look upon this conclusion as impregnable. . .

"After studying the documents we have cited—and many more of a like tenor might be added—no one need wonder that the best and most serious publicists of our day explicitly acknowledge the right of the state to educate. . .

"At times we have heard serious men deny to the state the right to educate under the pretext that the state might abuse that right. This is bad reasoning. The abuse that authority may make of a right cannot destroy the right.

"You would not deny to the state the right of making laws, of declaring wars, because it may make bad laws, or lead the nation into unjust wars. . .

"The opinion we are criticising will never prevent civilized nations from having public or governmental schools; but it will furnish the evil-minded a pretext for affirming that the church is hostile to the prerogatives of the state; it will prevent Catholics, when in power, from using a means that would be in their hands a powerful agent for good. . .

"It is plain that the right of the state in education is not an unlimited right. The state, just as individuals or the family, cannot teach error and vice, *cannot set up schools that are atheistic or agnostic.* Neither is this right an exclusive one; it cannot destroy the rights of individuals and of parents, it supplements these; all these rights co-exist and should be exercised harmoniously. Our conclusion, then, is this: the state has been endowed by God with the right of founding the schools that contribute to its welfare.

"The state has authority to see to it that parents fulfill

their duty of educating their children, to compel them, if need be, and to substitute itself for them in the fulfillment of this duty in certain cases. In the use of this authority the state does but lend a hand to the execution of the natural law. It forces the parents to fulfill a duty that binds them most strictly, it protects the child and safeguards his future, it removes from society most serious perils."

The pamphlet had the approval of Cardinal Gibbons. It was designed to be a liberal departure for American Roman Catholics. The Pope was disposed to favor this view of a concession to republican institutions, but the Jesuits protested, and the whole policy was reversed, the principles enumerated in the pamphlet condemned, and Leo XIII. was scared into taking part in a new crusade against the public-school system of national education, as evinced by his pronunciamento on the Canadian school question and by the attitude of the Paulist Fathers' Child-Study Congress. The Baltimore Council was radical against the public schools. Satolli tried to utter contrary and liberal views. The Pope who commissioned Satolli has deserted and checked the so-called Liberals and is now in the hands of the Jesuits, who have been his masters since his school days, and politicians continue to ask patriotic American citizens to dance attendance on this alien power in our politics.

At the hearing on June 20, 1894, given to the opponents of the proposed amendment to the New York State Constitution to protect the public-school funds and to prohibit sectarian appropriations, before the committees of the Constitutional Convention, Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, representing the Roman Catholic Church, in the following language made the official surrender and withdrew the opposition of that Church to that part of the amendment which protected the public schools:

"Now, I allude to the attempt by this amendment to make it impossible, for years to come, that school moneys should be

diverted from the common-school system, as we all understand that expression, to aid denominational schools.

"My friends on the other side unanimously speak of the common-school system as the palladium of our liberties, as the corner-stone of our institutions, etc. This language is very fine, and I am quite willing to indorse it, and I shall not to-day say one word in opposition to this plan of amendment so far as it relates to the common schools. Let it be understood that the system shall remain intact—that it shall be unsectarian—that public opinion will not tolerate a diversion of any public moneys from their lawful object, to encourage denominational education. Put it, if you are so inclined, into our Constitution.

"The Catholic Church of New York will continue to labor under a burden the magnitude of which those outside of her her limits have no conception of; yet she is willing to incur the cost, to sustain the burden, and to meet the exigencies of the situation at the expense of her own flock. The tax is a heavy one; it would be intolerable for any body of men whose hearts were not in the work. But it is an idle effort to resist public opinion, and public opinion, our common master, will not favor any such distribution as has been asked for by Catholics.

"Whether the second thought of the people will, in the lapse of years, reach the conclusion that the Catholics were right in principle, and that the injection of religion into education was a sound piece of statesmanship, as well as of religious faith, is a question that none of us may decide.

"All that I have to say on the subject is that neither my associate [Colonel George Bliss] nor myself is instructed to oppose this amendment, so far as it relates to the common schools, and that the arguments of our learned friends on the other side will not be answered by us. I do not wish to be understood as intimating in the slightest degree that what the Catholics of New York considered just and fair thirty

years ago has ceased to be fair and just to-day, but justice must sometimes wait."

The Committee on Education of the Constitutional Convention of New York State decided to report the following form of amendment bearing on the school question, which was adopted by the Convention and ratified by the people at the polls, November, 1894:

"Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property, or credit, or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning, wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught."

Hon. William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, in "Morality in the Schools," says:

"Another important discrimination relates to the definition of the province of the school as compared with other educational instrumentalities; namely, the family, the church, the State, and civil society. It is tacitly assumed by some of the advocates of religious instruction in the public schools that the school is the only educative institution.

"It cannot, however, take the place of the family, or the state, or the Church, and do their work for them, no matter how important that work is, nor how sadly it is neglected by them. The responsibility must be placed where it belongs. If there is irreligion, practical atheism in the community, the Church is not as efficient as it ought to be, and the family is also derelict. If the school secures good behavior and a knowledge of letters and science, it has contributed its share.

"The separation of church and state involves the separation of the church and the public school.

"The classification of pupils in accordance with their religious belief has a positively immoral effect. Great stress

is laid on the religious differences in the religious instruction given in separate schools in order to justify such separation, and to guard the youth against the contamination of other bodies of believers.

"As a plan of settling this question, one may remark that the complete secularization of the school is the truly feasible one.

"The spirit of our civilization is to separate the Church from secular institutions wider and wider. But such separation does not make them godless nor the Church less powerful, but quite the contrary."

In December, 1897, a Child-Study Congress was held under the auspices of the Paulist Fathers in New York City. The entire trend of discussion was to establish the necessity for Roman Catholic religious instruction in our primary schools where the character of childhood is being shaped. The work of the Congress was substantially the opening of a new crusade, based upon scientific principles, against the public schools. A few earnest protests against the assaults upon the public schools and the defense of church schools were made by loyal American Roman Catholic teachers in the discussion, but the opposition was soon suppressed, and the Congress moved on with steady tread toward the consummation it had in view.

With appropriate logical and chronological relations to the Child-Study Congress there came, in January, 1898, the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on the Manitoba school law. The Pope says: "By this latter law a grave injury was inflicted, for it is not lawful for our citizens to seek the benefits of education in schools in which the Catholic religion is ignored or actively combated; all schools of this kind have been condemned by the Church because there can be nothing more pernicious or more fitted to injure the integrity of faith and turn away the tender minds of youth from the truth."

In the Encyclical the Pope enlarges upon the necessity of

religious teaching and the inherent right of parents to decide who shall teach their children morality and when they shall be taught. He urges unity of political action to bring about the overthrow of the school law, and until that can be effected hea dvises Roman Catholics not to refuse, but to accept any partial concession to their claim within their reach, and also exhorts them to increased liberality for the support of their schools.

Precisely the same principle is involved in the Manitoba school question as in the public-school question of the United States, and yet we are told that the Roman Church, of which Leo XIII. is the Sovereign Pontiff, is not opposed to the public-school system of the United States.

In his address before the National Educational Association at Minneapolis, Minn., in 1890, Archbishop Ireland said:

"I am the friend and advocate of the state school," and again: "I protest with all the energy of my soul against the charge that the schools of the nation have their enemies among the Catholics."

The value of this Rev. Archbishop's combined advocacy and protestation may be estimated from the subjoined statement of facts:

Just two years prior to his Grace's declaration of fealty to the American public school, quoted above, a new and revised edition of a book, originally published some years earlier, entitled, "Public School Education," by Rev. Michael Muller, C. SS. R., was issued and copyrighted, bearing within its covers the following indorsement, addressed to the author, over the signature of "John Ireland, Pastor of Cathedral," St. Paul, Minn.:

"Your book is so well-timed, its doctrines so correct and precise, the arguments you employ so cogent, that I am confident it will, under God's Providence, do a great deal of good. May your book be found *especially* in the hands of every priest in the land."

So foul, violent, and scurrilous, in its abuse and denunciation of the American public schools, is the book thus indorsed, that portions of it are unfit for these pages. The following quotations will sufficiently indicate its character:

(1) "Were you given to see a devil and the soul of an infidel at the same time, you would find the sight of the devil more bearable than that of the infidel. For St. James the Apostle tells us that 'the devil believes and trembles' (chap. ii. 19.) Now, the Public School System was invented and introduced into this country to turn the rising generation into men of the above description.

(2) "We may, then, confidently assert that the defenders and upholders of *Public Schools without religion* seek in America, as well as in Europe, to turn the people into refined Pagans.

(3) "The object, then, of these godless irreligious Public Schools is to spread among the people the worst of religions, the no *religion*, the religion which pleases most hardened adulterers and criminals—the religion of irrational animals.

(4) "The moral character of the Public Schools in many of our cities has sunk so low, that even courtesans have disguised themselves as school girls in order the more surely to ply their foul vocation."

Is the man who, at any time or under any circumstances, could give indorsement to such flagrant and filthy libeling, as being "well-timed," "correct," "precise," and "cogent," fit to pose as the champion of the American free public school?

That we may do no injustice to the sincerity of his guileless Grace of St. Paul, let us look a little further into his attitude as a defender of the public schools.

Three years after proclaiming himself, at Minneapolis, the friend and advocate of the Public Schools, he wrote a letter to the Pope (New York *Herald*, February 26, 1893), explaining and defending his futile effort at Faribault and Stillwater, to Romanize the public schools. Referring in this letter to his

Minneapolis address of 1890, he lets us into the secret cause of his professions of loyalty to the public schools in the following significant sentence:

"My adversaries [in his own Church] have tried to put in a bad light this discourse, as though I had wished to put entirely on one side the parochial schools. Anybody who will read it will see at once that such an idea is not tenable."

Then he turns the light on:

"I spoke to an audience composed almost entirely of Protestants, about six thousand in number, ardent advocates of the state schools which are actually organized."

Why, of course, his Holiness could not expect his wise and wily Archbishop to antagonize to their faces "six thousand . . . ardent advocates of the state schools."

A little farther on in the same letter to the Pope, he, with great candor, states his purpose in this Faribault plan, viz.: "to save our parochial schools by means of a satisfactory arrangement with the State," and "given the existing laws against denominational instruction, to procure a part of the public money for the Catholic parochial school."

His Grace then with great blandness reveals to his Holiness his peculiar methods in overcoming such trifling difficulties as legal and constitutional provisions in the way of his scheme. The quotation is so rich that we give it in full:

"They say the concessions made to the Church are illegal, contrary to the provisions of law, and they were granted for personal reasons. What I have said shows clearly that the concessions granted by the school committee to the Church are very important, but why blame me for this? I admit that the concessions may have been granted for personal reasons, and that the contract may be revoked at the end of the year, but I do not see any harm in this, on the contrary there is an advantage—it leaves me always free to control the situation.

"Mr. Kiehle, superintendent of the public schools of Minnesota, has said that the State cannot be bound by law to take

account of religious ideas in selecting the teachers or in the distribution of the classes. Certainly it cannot do so officially. But Mr. Kiehle is a friend of mine and many things are done and in practice are allowed in my favor, through one kind of influence and another, which, though they cannot be said to be lawful in the exact meaning of the word, are at the same time and according to all appearances within the letter of the law. If the school commission could lawfully take into consideration religious opinions, it would be obliged to recognize the religion of the majority, that is, Protestantism. All the gentlemen with whom I have dealt are my personal friends.

"When Archbishop Katzer, at the meeting of Archbishops in St. Louis, raised the objection provoked by Mr. Kiehle's words, Archbishop Williams answered:

"'Monsignor, can you not read between the lines? It is not a right, it is politics.'"

Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, some years ago, took the same deceptive attitude on the school question which Archbishop Ireland has more recently taken. To the people of Cincinnati he claimed to be a zealous friend of the public schools, while at the same time he denounced them to Rome as dangerous and pernicious.

Archbishop Corrigan, when celebrating in 1898 the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop, emphasizes his preference for parochial schools and his hostility to the public schools with a great demonstration in the Cathedral in the interests of the children. Only children of the parochial schools were invited or permitted to be present on that occasion, although they represented only a comparatively small fraction of the children of Roman Catholic parents in the city. The public-school children were not only not invited, but in the services and addresses the only reference made to the public schools, even by inference, was contained in the following sentence from the Archbishop's address: "We wish not only to imbue your minds with a certain amount of knowledge, *which*

you might obtain elsewhere, but what we have in mind is the saving of your immortal souls."

Of parochial schools the eminent Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Brownson, says:

"These schools must be taught chiefly by foreigners, or, if not by foreigners, at least by those whose sympathies and connections, tastes and habits are un-American; because what is wanted by their founders and supporters is not simply the preservation of orthodoxy, *but the perpetuation of the foreignism hitherto associated with it.* Schools which should associate real Americans with orthodoxy would be hardly less offensive or more acceptable than the public schools themselves. . . It is only by breaking the old associations and forming the new in good faith, as we are, in fact, required to do by orthodoxy itself, that Catholics can cease to be in this country an isolated foreign colony, or a band of emigrants encamped for the night and ready to strike their tents and take up their line of march on the morrow for some other place.

"These are some of the reasons which have led many of our most intelligent, most earnest and devout, Catholics to form their unfavorable judgment of Catholic schools and Catholic education, as they now are and for some time are likely to be in the United States."

The solid arguments so forcibly presented by Brownson against the narrow, un-American, and anti-American policy; against the stunted education of an age that happily has passed away, unfitting the pupils for American life; against its corruption of American politics, and its malign influence in lowering the standard of our civilization, have been re-enforced by earnest warnings from those whose knowledge of the results of the policy in this and other lands adds force to their wise and fearless counsel.

Thomas F. Byron, a Roman Catholic layman of Lowell, Mass., writes thus:

"I have read with interest the editorial summary of the

opinions of the Catholic press and hierarchy of the country upon the school question, recently elicited by the New York *Independent.* As one Catholic who is fairly acquainted with the Catholic sentiment on this subject, not only in this locality, but in several States in the West, as a result of personal inquiry extending over seventy years, I concur in the opinion quoted from the *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee to the effect that, were a vote taken, the millions of Catholics in the States would be found to be practically unanimous in favor of the public schools.

"For the parochial school was never desired by the American Catholic people, neither were they even so much as asked to say whether they wanted it or not, nor do they for the most part regard it with any feeling but that of irksomeness now. The thinking class of Catholics would be but too glad to get rid of it, if this could only be done quietly and without public scandal.

"To the minds of nine Catholics out of every ten, the parochial school was no more needed in this country than a fifth wheel for a coach.

"The parochial school is an antiquated institution; similar in purpose and spirit to the claim of the divine right to rule politically, and now thrust without ceremony upon the enlightened Catholic laity of this country as an engine of ecclesiasticism, floated across on a raft of foreign cardinals' hats from Italy."

On February 24, 1889, Dr. McGlynn said: "I assert that it is a calumny and an outrage to denounce the public schools of America as immoral and godless. It is a notorious fact, which will be cheerfully acknowledged by hundreds of priests who are compelled in spite of themselves to get up parochial schools, that the teaching in the parochial schools is altogether inferior to that of the public schools.

"If I could reach the mind and the heart of the whole of the American people I would say: Cherish your public

schools; listen not to their enemies, no matter whence they come. Make them as complete and perfect as you can. Show no favor to any rival system. If you will not exercise the right to forbid rival systems altogether, at least do not be guilty of the incredible folly of nursing and fostering, and actually, by appropriations and tax exemptions, encouraging rival systems. The rival systems, as a rule, are promoted by those who are not friendly to your institutions; by those who, educated in foreign lands, are but half republican or but half democratic. Never be guilty of the folly of dividing your school fund among the various churches and sects. You, in such a case, would be guilty of destroying one of the greatest and most potent instruments for building up and maintaining one great, free, common nationality.

"O American people, protect the poorest, the weakest of the children of the nation, the children of the poor, the children of the emigrant, from the cruel injustice their parents, under the coercion of the Roman Catholic Church, would inflict upon them by depriving them of the magnificent advantages of a common-school education. They are compelled to accept the utterly inferior so-called education that is given in these sham parochial schools. A large part of the zeal for maintaining these church schools comes from the clannishness of foreign nationalities that wish to perpetuate themselves here as if in hostility to our American nationality.

"Don't be so foolish, O American people, as to tolerate such an attempt against the unity of our nation. You have the right—I say you have the duty—to insist that the people of this country, the children born in this country, and those who would exercise the right of suffrage in this country, shall speak the language of this country."

During the year 1895 the local school board in Watervliet or West Troy, N. Y., rented from the Roman Catholic authorities, at a nominal rental of one dollar per month, St. Bridget's Parochial School building, occupied it as a public school, and

employed six teachers therein who were known as "Sisters" and wore the distinctive garb of the religious order to which they belonged. This was objected to by the citizens at large, and an active committee of representative citizens was chosen, who prepared an appeal to Hon. Charles R. Skinner, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and applied to The National League for the Protection of American Institutions for counsel and guidance.

Full details of the case were placed in the hands of eminent legal counsel, who had repeated interviews with Superintendent Skinner.

They held that the hiring of the parochial school building was in direct contravention of the provision in the revised State Constitution already quoted in this discussion.

On November 25, 1896, the State Superintendent rendered his decision against the board as follows:

"I decide that the action of the respondents herein, in hiring the rooms in St. Bridget's parochial school building in which to conduct a public school with the right of the control of the rooms during the school hours only of each day, in which a school under the direction of the respondents is maintained, and consenting and giving to the lessors, complete control of the rooms at all times other than during school hours, and the continuation of such lease beyond the period of emergency contemplated by the statute, was without legal authority on the part of the respondents.

"I also decide that it is the duty of the respondents to require the teachers employed by them to discontinue the use in the public schoolroom of the distinguishing dress or garb of the religious order to which they belong."

Various protests were made to the superintendent by members of the local board and others against this ruling, but he steadfastly adhered to it, and issued an order forbidding a renewal of the lease of the building and directing the discharge of all teachers who refused to discontinue wearing the objec-

tionable garb. Finally, after much delay, and on the superintendent's threatening to withhold the city's apportionment of the State school funds, his order was complied with, the teachers were discharged, and the lease was not renewed.

At the beginning of the school year for 1897, when contracts with teachers, janitors, etc., should have been renewed for the year as required by law, the local board, composed of two members of each of the two leading political parties (the Mayor being a fifth, but having no vote), was deadlocked, and in consequence no public school in that important city could be opened at the close of the summer vacation. After several fruitless efforts to compel the local board to perform its duties, the State Superintendent appointed a corps of qualified teachers, janitors, and employees, under the temporary superintendence of an officer of the State School Department, and shortly after October 1, the schools were opened and put in full operation.

Two members of the local board applied for an injunction, claiming that the superintendent had no right to open the schools, which was denied by Justice Chester, and Superintendent Skinner and the Constitution of the State were both upheld.

Since this decision was rendered, State Superintendent Skinner has, with equal courage and fairness, compelled the local authorities to perform their duties in accordance with the law, and, although repeated efforts have been made to evade these provisions and embarrass him in his work, the Watervliet schools are conducted in a legal and orderly manner.

Despite the explicit commands of the new State Constitution, the Roman Catholics made their assaults on the schools and school funds at Poughkeepsie, Rondout, Lima, Suspension Bridge, Corning, and other places where, previous to the adoption of the new Constitution, they had shared in the school moneys; but they were met with the uncompromising

resistance of the patriotic superintendent, who believed it to be his duty to keep and not break his oath of office.

As in other States, so in New York, Roman Catholic legislators and other officials opposed the Biennial School Census Bill, because the census proposed would expose the needs and places where new public school appliances were demanded, and that would deprive them of the excuse for extending the parochial school system to meet the needs which New York City and other large cities did not supply, and of course, if they did the work of educating for the municipalities and the State, the public must in justice pay the bills.

It is capable of official demonstration that the educational work done by Romanism, chiefly at the expense of the general government, among the Indians has been of the most inefficient character, contributing little toward civilizing and Christianizing, by cultivating a superstitious fear of ecclesiastical power instead of an intelligent loyalty to the United States Government.

Roman Catholic Indian chiefs have often made complaints to the Indian Department in Washington, concerning the character of the instruction in Roman Catholic schools, that "so much time was devoted to catechism and prayers, that their children were not learning much to fit them for the business of life."

In September, 1897, one Crowley, a priest working among the Indians at the Government expense, caused to be printed in Ojibway, at Harbor Springs, Mich., an appeal to Indian parents which was an assault upon schools other than Roman Catholic, and especially upon our noble Indian school at Carlisle. Here are a few extracts from the writings of this self-sacrificing civilizer:

"There are many Catholic schools all over where the children have learned how to read, write, and use figures. They know more in these Catholic schools; they also know how to

love the Lord, and they go to heaven when they die. Foolish parents, only, let their children go to other schools.

"I myself have said this many, many a time. Other priests have said so, and the high priests are teaching this.

"Some Indians seem to have this opinion of themselves, 'I am wiser than the priest; positively I am wiser than God,' but let them and the devil think so. Let them be wise although they are burning in hell.

"Those parents who let their children go to other schools shall associate with the devil who is very stylish in the everlasting fire, but the priest shall enjoy the everlasting life in heaven.

"This doctrine Carlisle School is teaching is the very worst kind in the land of Big Knife [United States]. This is the place where they are taught everything contrary to the Catholic religion, they are led to despise the church, priests and nuns. This thing is all falsehood.

"One Menominee boy went to Carlisle Institute. Before he went he used to make his usual confessions. He came home after three years and hated confession. He said confession is nothing but a fraud. This is what he learnt at Carlisle.

"Carlisle is a very bad place. This young man had a fight with other Indian boys and one was killed. He was also attending the school.

"He did not like confession like other rascals, also the devil hated confession, and this is the reason the devil does not like the Catholic religion.

"The man that gives his children away to other schools does not love them as much as he does his chickens, cows and horses.

"Indians, I tell you not to. If the boys and girls who are growing up do not know God and his commandments the same as you do they will go to the devil, and you shall also go with them to be burnt in hell fire for your sins.

"God said to the priests to preach, unto you to listen to

them only, and why do you listen to others who come to your homes and steal your children.

"Some parents are very foolish in selling their children to other schools for only a small sum of two dollars; they are doing just as Judas did who sold Jesus."

The American Congress is asked to continue to appropriate the people's money for the propagation of such paganism as this among the Indians, and the nation is expected to go on attempting to solve the Indian problem, while malicious fanatics, of whom this priest is a specimen, are permitted to forage on both the Treasury of the United States and on the Indian reservations.

After extended quotations from an address delivered by the writer in 1886 on "Religion and the State" before the Congregational Club of New York and vicinity, in which we took the attitude that the state assuming to give an education designed to fit the youth for citizenship in a Christian nation ought to inculcate the principles of Christian morality, which we then believed and now believe, Father Young, in his volume "Catholic and Protestant countries compared," gives that address the following indorsement:

"He has furnished us with a clear, definite, and powerful exposition of the principles of education, every sentence of which is fully indorsed by Catholics, and they ought to be as fully indorsed by all Protestants calling themselves Christians" (p. 299).

We will now state that the reason of our change of attitude upon this question is both humiliating to us and disgraceful to Roman Catholicism. The portion of our argument extensively quoted by Father Young concludes as follows:

"And not only must we insist upon the common schools teaching Christian morality, but when the state (as with us) enters upon the questionable work of higher education, and seeks to prepare teachers for their work in the common or higher schools, then we must put the salt of Christian morality

in at these fountain-heads, or make up our minds to forfeit the respect both of God and of good men, and invite a reign of irresponsibility and immorality.

"We are told that history and precedent have nothing to do with this question in its present demands for solution. As well might the individual say that birth and educational opportunity have nothing to do with determining present duty. We are told that we must keep retreating until we reach tenable ground. This is the cry of the enemies of righteous government and of humanity, and it ought not to be echoed by the lovers of goodness and of God.

"Is it not time for the populations that give character to our civilization and stability to our government to assert themselves? Is it not time to return to the foundation principles upon which our liberties and integrity as a nation rest? Is it not time to banish this sickly sentimentality that under the hypocritical concession to religious freedom retreats in the presence of secularism, of Jesuitism, and of atheism?"

The author of these sentiments, who again declares that he believed them when uttered and believes them still, with the other friends of our public schools in this country has been obliged to consent to secularize the public schools in order to save them from destruction; the chief assailants being the three mentioned in the closing sentence quoted from the address in question delivered in 1886: namely, secularism, Jesuitism, and atheism. Roman Catholicism controlled by Jesuitism joined these other forces in demanding that the Bible and instruction in the fundamentals of Christian morality should be expelled from the schools, and then when they had largely succeeded called them "godless," and declared that therefore they ought not to be patronized by a Christian church. Father Young can accept either horn of this dilemma and extract all the comfort from his opposition that his burning sectarian zeal will permit. Of course the blindest citizen can see what the purpose of the attitude of Romanism on the school

question was. First, they called the reading of the Bible and the teaching of the elements of Christian morality sectarianism; of course the principle of religious liberty in a free country would not unjustly force sectarianism upon the followers of Rome. Secondly, when the triumvirate had succeeded in making the schools largely secular, then of course a Christian church could not patronize "godless" schools. This all meant that Romanism must have its own private parochial schools for the education of its children supported by moneys from the taxes of the people.

When this controversy first started some candid citizens gave credit to Romanism for honesty of purpose, but it would now be difficult to find any citizen, not under papal domination, so benighted as to believe that there has ever been anything in the movement in opposition to the public-school system of the United States except Jesuitical trickery.

That we are not resting upon doubtful authority in our representation of the attitude of the Roman Catholic authorities concerning the Bible in the public schools, will be seen from the following quotation from the letter of Archbishop Ireland to the Pope in 1893:

"On account of the great diversity and the number of the religious beliefs in America, there is a common law for all the States which prohibits the teaching of any particular form of religion in the public schools. This is a necessary measure to promote peace, and was brought about principally by the remonstrances of the Catholics, *to satisfy whose demands the Bible itself has been excluded from the Public Schools.*"

The conclusions on the relations of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the school question may be summed up as follows:

First.—The general assumption that Roman Catholic religious education is indispensable, not only to the training of individual character, but to the perpetuation of constitutional government, is antagonistic to the American theory; it is

the function and duty of the state to furnish elementary secular instruction, and that religious instruction is the function and duty of the family and the church.

Second.—Historic statement proves beyond rational question that the consensus of opinion among the controlling authorities of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood in the United States—undoubtedly sanctioned by the Pope, and in harmony with his explicit commands in Canada and in other countries where the same public-school issue has been presented—has been, and is, violently against the American free common schools, claiming that they are "godless." They never were subject to the charge of being "godless" until Romanism and atheism demanded the expulsion of the Bible and all religious teaching from them.

Third.—Cardinal, Archbishops, and Bishops, when questioned, have spoken no word of commendation for public schools, but have dilated upon the necessity of religious education for youth, and have protested against what they fallaciously call unjust double taxation because their people are obliged to support their parochial schools, and also pay the public-school tax. This claim does not come with very good grace from a class of our citizens who contribute so small an amount of the total of the taxes, but who, through their multitudinous office-holders, dispense such enormous amounts of other people's money.

Fourth.—Almost all of the demands made upon State legislatures for enactments for a division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines have been made by Roman Catholics. Almost every assault upon the character of these schools has emanated from the same source.

Fifth.—Every compromise proposed by the Roman Catholics between their parochial schools and the public schools has involved a surrender of some vital principal of public-school instruction and discipline, but has always preserved the sectarian essentials of the parochial schools.

Sixth.—Appeals to the Pope to "tolerate" some compromise have been based upon the poverty of the Roman Catholic churches in the given localities where they were unable to support parochial schools without State aid, and no word of commendation has been spoken of the public schools. The argument has been: "Tolerate" a compromise system, in which the compromise is on the part of the public schools, and permit us by this ruse to get State money for the support of our poverty-stricken parochial schools.

Seventh.—All attempts at compromise have been deceptive and essentially dishonest, and have proceeded from the same ecclesiastical source, and have only been effective because of the political power back of them.

Eighth.—Such a storm of resentment against the bold and audacious Roman Catholic assaults upon the public schools arose in 1893 that candid assailants were called off for the time being by the diplomats of that church, and an official statement, coupled with an evil prophecy and an assertion of the justice of their claim, was made in 1894 at Albany, before committees of the Constitutional Covention, saying in substance that they were convinced that public sentiment would not now permit any tampering with the public schools. The surrender and the prophecy were both confessions of undoubted but discreet antagonism.

Ninth.—From intercourse with many prominent priests and laymen of the Roman Catholic Church, we are convinced that the ultimate purpose of the hierarchy still is to secure a division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines.

Tenth.—Occasionally a Roman Catholic priest is rash enough to express his honest convictions in favor of the public schools. But he is soon silenced.

Eleventh.—Many priests have said to us that they were in favor of the public schools, but they dared not assert their belief.

Twelfth.—The rank and file of the lay members of the

Roman Catholic Church not only prefer the public schools for their children but patronize them; believing that their children must be educated side by side with other American youth, if they are to compete with them for the successes and prizes of this life. Many of these laymen have said to us: "Give us a chance to vote for a constitutional amendment and we will show you where we stand." And they have shown us where they stand, by aiding in the passage of constitutional amendments protecting the public schools, which have been submitted to the vote of the people.

Thirteenth.—In the face of these facts the American people are not called upon to express their gratitude to the Roman Catholic Church, because through its Pope or any of its representatives it consents to "tolerate" the American free public-school system, but they are called upon to assert their self-respect and strike any power, religious or political, that assaults this distinctively American institution.

The practice of nations in the support of schools where the union of church and state prevails furnishes no precedent for the United States. We are not looking to monarchies for instruction concerning the best training of youth to fit them for citizenship in the republic.

Popular suffrage here rests for its safe exercise upon the character and intelligence of all classes of the people. The States for their own preservation have established, and must insist upon maintaining, the American free common-school system of education.

It must be maintained without compromise. It is the only institution capable of converting the dangerously heterogeneous elements of our population into a safely homogeneous citizenship.

The tax for the maintenance of public schools levied upon all citizens, whether they have children to educate or not, is for the *public* good and not for *private* benefit.

The state opens its schools with equal advantages to the

children of *all* its citizens. Its laws make no distinction as to the creed of the individual in the choice of its teachers.

The state does not deny the right to parents, organizations, or churches, to establish and maintain private or parochial schools at their own expense.

The movement, with audacious demands and specious claims, for the division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines, is a common programme for all the States.

That this has mainly in view selfish and not public ends is shown by the fact that the movement is being pushed almost exclusively by Romanism, which for many years, as we have seen, by its chief authorities, has been assaulting the public-school system. A few of its more liberal representatives have tolerated the system, and have sought in many ways to control it. Every compromise, however, between sectarian and public schools which has previously been tried, has invariably resulted in the humiliating surrender of some vital principle of public-school education.

It is auspicious for the republic that the demands made are now plainly and officially set forth, and clearly defined.

There is now no opportunity for the compromising citizen or politician to evade responsibility.

The question is not, Are these common schools capable of improvement? They should and will be improved.

The questions presented and which demand an answer are:

1. Shall the whole principle upon which the common schools rest, *i. e.*, the right and duty of the state to educate impartially its own children for intelligent citizenship, be surrendered to its enemies?

2. Shall the common schools be disintegrated and destroyed by the dispersion and use of their funds for sectarian ends?

3. Are our citizens in favor of the union of church and state in the most dangerous possible feature of such union, viz.: in the fundamental and elementary education of future citizens?

These questions demand an answer and must be perma-

nently settled for weal or woe. We believe they will be settled in the interests of the whole people, and not in the interests of any one class of our citizens, however specious their claims or urgent their demands.

Not only the consensus of opinion of the highest ecclesiastical authorities of Romanism from the Pope down, but the consistent and persistent assaults of these ecclesiastics proves that the opposition to the American free common-school system of education is unchanged and unchangeable. They are aware of the fact that they are engaged in a losing contest, and that they cannot control their own people in this matter, and that to attempt to compel them to decline to patronize the public schools and send their children to the parochial schools will result in driving them out of the communion of a Church which dares to exercise such tyranny against individual rights.

TO THE PRESS AND LITERATURE.

Rome in history has always opposed the freedom of the press. Her arguments have been the policeman, the inquisitor, the prison, the rack, the flames, the ax, the halter, and confiscation. The legates of the Holy See introduced in the Council of Trent the legislation against the freedom of the press. The subject was styled: "The Business of the Books, Censures, and Index." The Council enacted ten rules on prohibited books which remain as the unrepealed laws of the Roman Catholic Church. Strictly carried out, these rules make sure of a condition of ignorance on the part of its subjects that unfits them to understand what civil and religious liberty means, and that would, if universally obeyed, turn civilization back to the darkness, ignorance, and tyranny of the Middle Ages.

The following is a digest of the rules in question, which from time to time have been particularized in legislation but never repealed in their scope:

The first rule condemns all books censured by Popes or councils before A. D. 1515.

The second condemns the works of all arch-heretics and minor errorists since A. D. 1515; it, however, permits books of the latter class of authors on secular subjects, and books of Catholic writers who have fallen into heresy, after examination by a Romish university or general inquisition, to be read.

The third permits the Old Testament, *at the discretion of the bishop*, to learned and pious men. But versions of the New Testament made by authors of the first class of this Index shall be permitted to no one.

The fourth prohibits the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue (no matter in what version), unless when a bishop or inquisitor, on the recommendation of a confessor, grants the privilege; and it ordains heavy penalties against those who sell or read it. Even monks must not search the Scriptures without the permission of their superiors.

The fifth permits lexicons, and similar works, from heretical authors, after being duly expurgated, to be read.

The sixth permits books on practical religion to be read by the faithful in their own tongue; but forbids the perusal of controversial books, except when permitted by a bishop or inquisitor on the advice of a confessor.

The seventh forbids the use of all indecent books, except the ancient classics, and it permits these with restrictions.

The eighth permits the use of books whose general sentiment is good, after purification by the Catholic authorities.

The ninth forbids the use of all books on magic, necromancy, and kindred subjects.

The tenth aims at the destruction of the liberty of the press throughout Christendom.

The Index down to 1754 embraced 20,000 titles. It was true, up to a comparatively recent period, that the condemnation of standard literary works was so sweeping that no per-

son who obeyed and abstained from reading the condemned works could be styled a liberally educated person. The vast multiplication of printed books now renders impossible a universal censorship. The condemnation in the recent supplements to the Index is largely, necessarily confined to conspicuous and dangerous attacks upon the doctrines, discipline, claims, or privileges of the Roman Catholic Church. The Index is especially watchful against any liberal tendencies on the part of Roman Catholic writers. George P. Marsh says: "In the earlier centuries the prohibitions of the Index controlled the intellectual culture of the Catholic world, and they incidentally caused the destruction of great numbers of works of more or less importance in ecclesiastical literature. Confessors deny absolution to penitents who refuse to deliver up books expressly or impliedly forbidden, and these, when surrendered, are generally burnt and so mutilated as to be illegible. This explains the rarity of many old books formerly widely read."

The Roman Catholic New York *Sunday Democrat* of July 24, 1898, says concerning the Index:

"As the guardian of faith and morals the Church forbids the reading of such books as endanger the faith or morals. In January, 1897, the Holy See was pleased to simplify and in many respects to modify the provisions of the Index, and issued a constitution to that effect. Like all legislation of a general kind, it was issued to the Church as a whole.

"Probably out of every hundred Americans who rail against the restrictions of the Index, not a tithe has any direct acquaintance with, or takes any due account of, the flood of bitterly anti-Christian literature, often infidel, immoral, and blasphemous, and almost always insidiously polemical, which is poured over Italy and the continent of Europe generally by the Masonic and anti-clerical press. It is in great measure this degrading abuse of one of the noblest of the faculties of civilized society, and the need of duly protecting the minds of

the masses from its ravages, that the provisions of the Index are specially designed to meet.

"However much we may feel that in times like our own, when our best triumphs promise to be gained by guiding, rather than by limiting, human liberty, and when necessarily much must be left to the discretion of the conscientious individual, the practical application of the principle is a matter which calls for the exercise of that generous and tactful delicacy which the Catholic Church knows so well how to use in dealing with her children."

In a Sunday issue of the New York *Herald* in 1894 appeared the following:

"In order that they may testify, individually and collectively, in their own behalf and in behalf of the several publications they represent, their unqualified and complete fidelity to the Holy See, the editors of the Roman Catholic periodicals and newspapers in the United States have prepared a memorial to be presented to Pope Leo XIII.

"Following is a copy of its translation:

"'*To His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII.:*

"'MOST HOLY FATHER: Prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, we, the editors of the Catholic press of the United States of America, taking the occasion of the presence of your apostolic delegate, whose residence we regard as a special mark of your favor, beg to present through him the expression of our filial devotion and steadfast loyalty to the person and policy of the sovereign pontiff, the vicar of Christ upon earth, and at the same time profess ourselves filled with a determination not only to vindicate the inalienable rights of the See of Peter, but to advance, as far as in us lies, the welfare of the Holy Church in the United States.

"'Your Holiness is well aware of, and has given expression in many briefs and apostolic letters to, the vast importance of a sound and loyal Catholic press, and of the paramount necessity of having enlisted in the cause of truth so mighty an

agency for its dissemination. As workers in a ministry of special importance, we endeavor to prosecute our labors in the spirit of a sacred apostolate, and to bring to our work a spirit of obedience and reverence for the mandates of the holy mother church, as expressed by the chosen shepherds of the flock. We pledge ourselves to renewed zeal in vindicating the cause of God's holy truth as expressed by Christ's vicar on earth.

"'Quickened, therefore, by your salutary words, and stimulated by a profound belief in the noble mission of the Catholic press and its untold possibilities for good, we, who by the providence of God have been permitted to serve under this banner, consecrate to the work not only the loyal service of the tried soldier, but the filial love of the dutiful child.

"'Begging upon us and our labors in this sacred work, which makes us one in mind and heart, your apostolic blessing, we are, most holy father, the editors of the Catholic press in the United States of America.'"

Then follow the names of the editors of fifty-two Catholic magazines and newspapers, with the names of the publications.

Some time previous to the issuing of the above memorial to the Pope the American Roman hierarchy sent a warning to the Roman Catholic papers against criticising the bishops, which said:

"And lest the present evil, a daily growing source of scandal to Catholics and others, should continue to flourish, we judge well to meet it, not by cautions and advices merely, but also by ecclesiastical penalties. Wherefore, for the future, laymen or clerics who through themselves or through others associated or encouraged by them, in public print assail by wanton words, ill-natured utterances, raileries, those in authority—much more if they presume to carp at or condemn a bishop's methods of administration—all those, principals, partners, and abettors, disturbers, contemners, and enemies of ecclesiastical discipline, as they are, we declare guilty of

gravest scandal, and thereby, their fault being proved, deserving of censure."

The attention of the hierarchy is called to the following news item appearing in the New York *Evening Sun* of Friday, September 9, 1898, as witnessing to the delicate recognition of church and ecclesiastical claims upon Roman Catholic political editors:

"The editors of Democratic newspapers published in the smaller cities and towns of the State are to be entertained at dinner to-night in the Hoffman House by Senator Patrick H. McCarren and the members of his campaign committee. The members of the committee were worried or amused, according to their point of view, to-day when they discovered that seven out of ten of the editors do not eat meat on Friday. The order of the dinner was changed in a hurry this morning.

"The meat courses were reduced in number and quantity, while the fish and oyster courses were extended as far as the season would permit. There is to be no limit to the extent and variety of the wines served, and the members of the committee are hopeful that the editors will be convinced before the finish that Friday is just as great a day as any for a harmony feast."

While the political power of Romanism muzzles the secular and political press, its own people do not largely patronize its religious papers.

The *Catholic Review*, in 1885, published a statement by Bishop Cosgrove of Davenport, Ia., in which, complaining of the small support given by Catholics to the Roman Catholic papers, he says:

"We find that about one Catholic in forty is a subscriber to one of them; we find the combined circulation of all the Catholic papers of the country to be less than that of some single issue of *The Police Gazette;* we find it less by thousands than that of the journal (*The Christian Advocate*) published by another single establishment, the Methodist Book Concern.

Protestant exchanges charge that our people are ignorant; that they lack intelligence, . . . and usually they have decidedly the best of the argument, for the facts are very stern and hard to face."

The editor of the *Review*, in introducing the bishop's remarks, said:

"It is with reluctance that we publish the well-founded complaints that are frequently made of those Catholics who, though blessed with the Catholic faith, have little relish for reading of Catholic affairs and no love for the Catholic press."

The attempts of the political power of Rome to control the press of Paris have produced a revulsion of sentiment amounting to a revolution.

Le Bulletin de la Presse, Paris, March 10, 1897, in an article on "The French Catholic Press," says: "After most recent researches we find there exist in Paris 2291 journals, but out of this number only 163 are political, the rest are on special matters.

"The classification established of the preceding 163 journals is 10 neutral, 31 favorable to the Catholic religion, and 122 unfavorable."

In 1870 there was not a journal in Paris which was openly unfavorable to Romanism.

In any land wherever papal authority is dominant freedom of the press is not only not permitted, but the reverse is also true, that wherever the press is free the papal power is restricted in its tyrannical practices if not in its pretenses. Previous to 1870, when the Pope possessed temporal power, he absolutely controlled the press within his domains. Criticism upon the Church or upon any papal subject was not only not allowed, but favorable comments upon persons or associations not in sympathy with the Vatican authorities, or any published evidence of lack of reverence for church institutions, was adequate reason for the suppression of a paper. The

action was even more rigid in reference to books. The same censorship is now exercised over books under Vatican control, and absence of opportunity furnishes the reason for its not being extended over papers as formerly. In fact, the Italian press exercises its liberty in discussing and criticising papal pretensions more freely and fearlessly than the American press. Censorship seems to have landed on our shores with papal immigration.

We are authentically informed that many, if not most, of the political daily papers in this country are under Roman censorship, either by the power of political fear, or by the presence on the editorial staff of some astute and watchful Roman sentinel. The news companies are largely under the same control and block the avenues of communication with the people.

How is it that the hour anything occurs in current events that in any way touches the Romanism of the past or present, no matter how mild the indictment or how iniquitous the facts, the account falls into the hands of some Roman editorial sentinel on the press and is either suppressed or editorially assaulted? The guards and pickets seem to have been carefully stationed at these avenues of communication with the people. And yet we have freedom of the press in this republic! What indignant protests would make editorial columns lurid if other religious or ecclesiastical organizations should insist upon having a censor stationed at managing editors' elbows. But these organizations do not control a massable vote.

The political press as a rule, and largely the religious press, cannot be depended upon to discuss Roman Catholic affairs even as matters of news in case anything discreditable to either religious or political Romanism occurs; while at the same time, scandals and heresies in all branches of Protestantism are voluminously discussed. Why is this?

If individuals or organizations expressed themselves upon

the impertinent interference of the Pope or his representatives in the affairs of this country in her relations to Spain, all the compromising editors and correspondents of both secular and religious papers commenced deprecating debate and excusing Romanism, and usually they turned their batteries on the impudent individuals and organizations who ventured to tell the truth. The very thought of defending the political aggressions of Rome seems to breed cowardice and blunt moral sense.

Within the memory of the present generation, several papers in New York and in other cities have evinced candor and courage in their news and editorial departments in discussing the assaults of Romanism upon our institutions. Loss of circulation causing a depleted treasury has forced the editors and proprietors of some of these papers to seek financial aid, and Roman Catholic capitalists or rich Roman Catholic party bosses coming to the rescue, the papers have been tided over the bar, but when they floated their columns were locked against news or discussion which would contest the propriety of the flag flying at the masthead bearing the symbol of the keys of the modern Peter.

The Standard, New York, Saturday, April 23, 1887, contained the following item, which is germane to our discussion of the relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the press:

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN SENDS A THREATENING LETTER TO THE "CATHOLIC HERALD."

The following interesting and characteristic document by a strange series of accidents, unnecessary to describe, came into our hands. Its publication will surprise no one more than the gentlemen to whom it is addressed. We do not feel bound by the obligations of secrecy which the writer seeks to impose on those gentlemen. We sincerely hope that he will not excommunicate the editor and the proprietor of the *Catholic Herald* for our publication of the letter, and we hardly think he will deem it worth his while to excommunicate us.

"452 MADISON AVENUE,
"NEW YORK, April 13, 1887.

"*To the Editor and Proprietor of the Catholic Herald:*

"GENTLEMEN: By this note, which is entirely *private* and *not to be published*, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the third plenary council of Baltimore, following the leadership of Pope Leo XIII., has pointed out the duties of the Catholic press, and denounced the abuses of which journals styling themselves Catholic are sometimes guilty. 'That paper alone,' says the council (decree No. 228), 'is to be regarded as Catholic that is prepared to submit in all things to ecclesiastical authority.' Later on it warns all Catholic writers against presuming to attack publicly the manner in which a bishop rules his diocese, affirming that those who so presume, as well as their approvers and abettors, are not only guilty of very grievous scandals, but deserve moreover, to be dealt with by canonical censures.

"For some time past the utterances of the *Catholic Herald* have been shockingly scandalous. As this newspaper is published in this diocese, I hereby warn you that if you continue in this course of conduct it will be at your peril. I am, gentlemen, yours truly,

"M. A. CORRIGAN,
"Archbishop of New York."

The *Western Watchman* is a representative Roman Catholic weekly journal, published in St. Louis, Mo., and was established in 1865. Rev. D. S. Phelan, Pastor of the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, in the Archdiocese and city of St. Louis, is the editor of this paper and claims to be its owner.

With a temerity refreshing because of its rarity in the ranks of the faithful, this paper has from time to time commented with great freedom upon the attitude and methods of the high authorities of the church it represents, in reference to the public-school question and to the use of public funds for sectarian purposes. Two quotations will sufficiently indicate the efforts of this "hereditary bondsman" to be free.

In December, 1893, when the entire country was agitated on the school question, Father Phelan says:

"There is to be a new aligment on the school question. The Faribault plan is no longer under discussion. The rally-

ing cry is now 'Denominational Education.' Archbishop Ryan, Archbishop Corrigan, Cardinal Gibbons, and Bishop Keane are the leaders in this new movement. Petitions have been prepared for submission to several State legislatures, asking for a pro rata distribution of the school fund among all denominations, and a system of school supervision and support similar to the one now in vogue in England and Canada. This may be briefly described as 'Faribault with fringes.' We are glad to see these doughty champions of the faith, who have been fighting against each other so long, once more united under one banner and standing shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. These are the strongest men in the American hierarchy, and it is a pity they ever divided their tremendous strength. We do not know just where Archbishop Ireland will be found in the coming struggle, but if there is any merit in his plan, there must be still more in the New York-Baltimore proposition, and he would naturally take sides with his four distinguished brethren.

"In this conflict which is now upon us the *Watchman* must stand alone. We are unalterably of the conviction that the denominational system is the very worst that could be devised for our country. We have no hesitancy in stating that the present purely secular system is the very best that could be adopted for our heterogeneous mass of believers and unbelievers.

"We are so convinced of the truth and wisdom of our position that we would not hesitate to come out against all our former friends to defend it. We are well aware that the Holy Father and his august representative in this country are partial to the denominational system; but it shall not be our fault if they are not made aware of the ruinous disadvantages of the arrangement. We have spoken to those in authority on the subject before, and the readers of this paper know our views on the subject, for they are not new. We hope and pray that God will enlighten the minds of the chiefs of the

Christian fold to enable them to see the calamities that lurk under the fair exterior of a system that is born of Catholic slavery, and is by nature formed to generate Catholic slaves."

In a subsequent issue of this paper, in discussing the question of State aid to Catholic institutions, this editor says:

"For years we have opposed doing good at the cost of the public treasury. As we grow older and see more of the results of this insidious attempt to unite church and state, we are more convinced of the unwisdom of such a policy.

"The best policy is for us to conduct our own charities; pay as we go, and grow as we can without artificial forcing. God will bless what we do ourselves for love of Him.

"We would like that the announcement were made in clarion notes from the Lakes to the Gulf, that the Catholics of the United States wanted no more State money. It would settle this miserable controversy once and forever."

From the American point of view it might reasonably be expected that the man who possessed sufficient courage to voice honest conviction in language so unmistakable in its purport, and so creditable to his judgment as a citizen of this free republic, would be somewhat beyond the reach of ecclesiastical intimidation. But what are the facts? About the time during which he was uttering these sentiments above quoted, this editor took occasion to print in his paper some rather severe strictures on the actions of the bishops of the Church. He was ordered into the presence of his ecclesiastical superior, Archbishop Kain of St. Louis, and an humble apology was presented to him, with the demand that he print it in the columns of his newspaper, which he agreed to do.

On leaving the awful presence of "His Grace," however, his courage returned, and he determined not to do it, and announced such determination in his paper on March 15, 1894, in the following vigorous language:

"As to my resistance of Archbishop Kain's assumption of authority, I will state that I do not publish the *Watchman*,

but I own it, and have paid for every type that prints it. I own the paper. Now, let me say to Archbishop Kain, no man owns me. He comes from an ex-slave State, and he knows what that means. No man owns me. I will go farther and say no man owns my pen. I shall allow no man born to dictate how I shall write or what I shall write. I would not be a legitimate child of the Catholic Church, the mother of individual rights and liberty, if I feared to assert my God-given prerogatives, as a man and priest, in the face of any man under the stars."

The resources of the Church against this contumacious editor were, however, by no means exhausted. Under cover of authority vested in his office by the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, Archbishop Kain prepared a circular letter, which Father Phelan, in common with all the clergy of the archdiocese, was compelled to read before his congregation. This letter denounced the *Western Watchman* as "a most unfit paper to be introduced into our Catholic families," and warns Catholics against its "baneful influence," and entreats them "not to give it their support or encouragement."

This happy application of the ecclesiastical boycott, which is always effectual in the ranks of the faithful and frequently outside of them, accomplished its purpose in this case, for on March 30, 1894, there appeared in the *Western Watchman* this contrite recantation:

"Rev. D. S. Phelan, editor of the *Western Watchman*, also of the *Sunday Watchman*, hereby publicly disavows every utterance which I have published or permitted to be published in said papers, derogatory to the person or sacred office of any bishop of the Church, and I hereby recall any reflection upon the Most Rev. Administrator of this diocese, which has appeared in the columns of these papers, and I promise to prevent any such publications in the future in the papers under my control. I also retract the false position assumed in

the article (March 15), entitled Address of the Editor, and fully acknowledge the right given to the bishops over the papers that claim to be the exponents of Catholic thought."

Is there need for further comment?

We frequently see this editor quoted as a type of "liberal" American Roman Catholicism. Let us quote from his paper of February 17, 1898, on the destruction of the *Maine:*

"Fitting out expeditions to prey upon a neighboring nation with which we are at peace is a crime. We shall soon dispute with England the title of the most unprincipled nation on the face of the earth. Our brutal bluff lies at the bottom of the Spanish Main."

God guard our land against all such types!

TO CHARITABLE, REFORMATORY, AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

Political Romanism's assault upon all charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions which it does not absolutely control has for many years, in many States, been most persistent, un-American, and cruel.

The contest over so-called Freedom of Worship bills in different States startlingly reveals what Romanism means by religious liberty. The contest in New York State presents the best illustration of the general line of attack consistently waged in that and in other States, on every incorporated or unincorporated society for the reformation of its inmates, as well as houses of refuge, penitentiaries, protectories, reformatories or other penal institutions, continuing to receive for their use, either public moneys, or a per capita sum from any municipality for the support of inmates.

The following text of a so-called Freedom of Worship bill plainly represents the numerous succession of such proposed measures, and because of its origin may be considered authoritative:

AN ACT WITH REFERENCE TO THE PAYMENT OF MONEYS OF THE STATE TO INCORPORATED INSTITUTIONS, SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall not be lawful for any officer of the State to pay to, or for any incorporated institution, society or association, nor to the managers, agents, or officers thereof, any moneys of the State whatever, unless the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, as guaranteed by the third section of the first article of the Constitution of the State, is in good faith allowed to all inmates of such institution or beneficiaries of such society or association. The governor or comptroller may, from time to time take measures and prescribe rules to ascertain whether the provisions of this act are complied with in and by the managers and officers of such institutions and societies to which appropriations of moneys of the State may be made. This act shall apply to all appropriations made to take effect after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, unless in the act making the same it is otherwise specially provided. Any tax-payer may apply to the attorney-general to take measures to prevent the payment of any funds of the State in violation of this act, and if the attorney-general shall refuse or neglect so to do, such tax-payer, on notice to the attorney-general, may apply to the Supreme Court to authorize him to bring an action to prevent such payments. If the court shall grant such authority, which it is hereby authorized to do, such tax-payer may bring such action with the same force and effect that tax-payers are now authorized to bring actions to prevent the waste of city, county or village funds.

The late Colonel George Bliss prepared this bill under the direction and with the approval of Archbishop Corrigan, and it thus became, both in origin and in purpose, a measure of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and in the interests of a religious denomination then and now drawing more money from the State, municipal, and excise funds than all other denominations put together.

This was primarily a sectarian movement for the purpose of gaining political power through the intimidation of law-

makers by the use of "political damnation"; and the secondary purpose was "for revenue only."

The object of the bill pure and simple was to open the doors of all institutions which received State aid, and were of a benevolent and unsectarian character, to the entrance of Roman Catholic teaching and forms of worship, on the assumption that everything which is not Roman Catholic is sectarian, and to commit the State to this un-American theory.

This was a demand of the Roman hierarchy, which in its highest authorities denies that the right of freedom of worship can exist, but which, to deceive the people of a republican State by appealing to their sense of fairness, came to the front as the pretended champion of freedom of worship.

Substantially the same bill had been introduced into most of the sessions of the legislature of the State of New York since 1880; had been discussed, protested against, and defeated in either house or by executive veto. Its objects, promoters, and purposes were well known, not only to the politicians, but also to the people of the State. Under the guise of contending for individual religious freedom, which no one challenged, it aimed to introduce the ecclesiastical machine of one denomination into every institution which received any financial support from the State. This would secure and publish a practical league between the ecclesiastics of that church who appeared as the sole promoters of the bill, and the civil government in the State, which is directly at variance with the letter and spirit of both the National and State Constitutions, both of which virtually declare the principle that each church should work out its own destiny without governmental interference or aid.

Finally after twelve years of controversy, this politico-ecclesiastical power styled Romanism, secured in 1892 a subservient legislature which passed the measure in an emasculated form and Governor Flower signed it, giving as the reason for

his action to the opponents of the bill the sage and statesman-like utterance: "You have robbed the bill of all its worst features, and now I will sign it to please the boys." So it will be seen that the serious and broad-minded statesmen are not all dead.

Freedom of worship, according to the American idea, is that the state protects its citizens in the right of public assemblage for religious worship, and protects them from any loss of civil rights and privileges on account of their religious faith.

The individual rights of citizens, however, in many respects, are restricted and qualified when, by virtue of their own crime, they are committed to any of the penal institutions of the State—they lose the right to vote, the right of liberty of person, and the right of free and unrestricted correspondence. When children of the poor and thriftless, no longer receiving the protection and support of their natural guardians, are taken charge of by benevolent and charitable institutions, the managers of these institutions assume for the time being the position and responsibilities of parents and guardians, and should be left free to exercise it without interference by the State, the attitude of which should be strictly impartial, and with regard to the contending forms of religious belief should exercise its functions "without discrimination or preference."

Unless we have a state religion, the fact that the state contributes in some measure toward the support of such institutions, partly relieving them from the total charge of supporting these waifs, gives the state no right whatsoever to interfere with the religious teaching which may be provided or authorized by the managers of such institutions.

The other idea of freedom of worship which is adopted by the advocates of such measures is found in the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX. as follows: No. 77. It is an error to believe that "in the present day it is no longer expedient that the [Roman] Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship."

No. 24. It is an error to believe that "the Church has not the power of availing herself of force, or any direct or indirect temporal power."

Pope Leo XIII., in a recent encylical letter, says as follows:

"To treat in the same way different forms of religion is unlawful for individuals, unlawful for states."

The intent and aim of these so-called Freedom of Worship bills has been, through political organization and threats, to compel the state to turn aside from the impartiality with which in the past it has treated the various religious bodies, and cause it to show a decided preference for the Church to which the advocates of such measures belong. They put the machinery of the Supreme Court (which heretofore has ignored questions of dogma, except so far as they were incidentally considered in deciding questions of rights of property) in operation in deciding what forms of religious service must be provided in institutions within the State which receive any allowance from public money toward their support, and in enforcing their decisions.

The so-called Freedom of Worship Bill contest, involving in many States so many features of the principle of religious toleration and liberty as understood and advocated by Romanists, demands careful study and ample discussion. At the various hearings before legislative committees in New York and other States, the Romanists revealed their estimate of the importance of the issue by employing their ablest lawyers to make arguments, and by crowding the rooms where the hearings were held with their priests and prominent laymen. The intolerant conduct and unmanly behavior of these Roman legions on more than one occasion elicited stern rebuke from the officer presiding at the hearings. One eminent counsel eloquently declared that Romanism was always tolerant. His assertion was received by most of his auditors as a piece of humor, although he protested his seriousness.

There is no intelligent man so ignorant of history that he

does not know that religious toleration is unknown where Roman Catholicism has absolute power.

Pope Leo XIII., addressing his cardinals, sent the following toleration Christmas present in 1884 to the Christian world: "It is with deep regret and profound anguish that we behold the impiety with which Protestants propagate freely, and with impunity, their heretical doctrines, attacking the most august and the most sacred dogmas of our very holy religion, even here at Rome, the center of the faith and the seat of the universal and infallible teacher of the church; here, where the integrity of the faith should be protected, and the honor of the only true religion should be secured by the most *efficient means.*

"It is with sorrow of heart that I see the temples of heterodoxy multiplying under protection of the laws, and liberty given in Rome to destroy the most beautiful and most precious unity of the Italians, their religious unity, by the mad efforts of those who arrogate to themselves the *impious* mission of establishing a new church in Italy, not based on the stone placed by Jesus Christ as the indestructible foundation of his heavenly edifice."

These so-called freedom of worship bills always provide for a sectarian classification of the inmates of the institutions in question, who are mostly juvenile delinquents of tender years and immature judgment, according to the denominations which they prefer, or to which they have belonged, and for the admission of clergymen of various denominations or churches, who are to bring their "spiritual advice and ministrations" to the said classified inmates. The legislatures beyond question have no constitutional right to divide the inmates of the said institutions into religious or sectarian classes, or to delegate such power of classification, or to establish rules for the religious teaching of the sectarian classes thus provided for; and the rule laid down by these acts for the denominational classification of the inmates by the

managers is in disregard of the plain meaning and intent of constitutional provisions securing freedom of profession and worship; they subject the inmates, during their temporary confinement by the authority of the state, to the visitation and "private ministrations" of religious sectarians, proselytists, and propagandists, thus exposing them to insidious attacks and open assaults upon their religious liberty; permitting, encouraging, and intensifying the dangers from which they should be most carefully guarded by the state during the period of their duress.

The proposed assumption by the state of the power to arrange the juvenile paupers or offenders who may be confined by its authority into classes of religionists, to be instructed and disciplined by sectarian teachers, who are to be admitted by the State into its institutions, would not only be a departure from the ancient principles so sacredly cherished by our fathers, of an entire separation of church and state, but a fundamental and revolutionary change in our institutions.

The pretexts offered to justify the state in distributing the children in sectarian classes and subjecting them to denominational teachings, ceremonies, and ministrations, add strength and clearness to the view that the scheme is foreign and Jesuitical, subversive of religious liberty, absolutely un-American, and utterly unconstitutional.

They treat all inmates of these institutions as if they were adults who were fitted to decide for themselves which Church or denomination they would prefer, or who already belonged to some Church or denomination; and who, as selecting a denomination, or as having belonged to a denomination, should be allowed "spiritual advice and ministration from some recognized clergyman of such denomination or Church," whereas it is, as a matter of fact, true that a large proportion of these inmates are children, who are not yet come to years of discretion, and who, from their immature judgment as well

as from lack of mental and moral training, and of intelligent study and reflection upon so grave a question, are incapable of exercising the freedom of profession and worship secured to them by the Constitution; and who have not, prior to their commitment to such institutions, belonged to any Church, in a sense that entitles the state to allot them to a religious class or to subject them to sectarian advice or ministration.

The claim that the wishes of the guardians or parents should be considered is disposed of by the rule of law and of justice and of common sense, that the state is bound to give the children, during their temporary detention, such Christian teaching as it may deem proper, under the established principle, declared by Kent and Webster and our highest judicial tribunals, that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. How the Christian morals revealed in the Bible and recognized by all Christians shall be taught in the state institutions rests in the supreme discretion of the state, under the constitutional restriction that the right of all to freedom of worship, which all will be entitled to enjoy without restriction on being released by the state, shall not be impaired by subjecting them to sectarian teaching while in confinement. But on no point of religious teaching is the state bound to consult the wishes of the parents or guardians, for the reason that "by the conviction and imprisonment of the children the parents and guardians have lost the right of control."

Most of these bills provide for the division of the inmates of these institutions into religious classes, subjecting each inmate to the public and private spiritual ministration of some recognized clergyman of "the denomination or Church which said inmates may respectively prefer, or to which they may have belonged prior to their being confined in such institutions."

The tender age of the inmates unfits them for a decision on the point as to which Church they would adopt, and to meet

this fact the Roman Catholic promoters of these bills have made these two points:

1. "That the infant having been baptized is Catholic.

2. "That his rights should be determined by the Church of which he is a member."

The bearing of the first point upon the destiny of the infant inmates of an institution who have been baptized, and its bearing also on the question how far the distribution of the children, in accordance with this proposition, among the various Churches or denominations, will contribute to their harmony and good will are worth considering, when the well-known rule of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to baptism is recalled. The rule of the Fourth Canon of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, and alluded to by the late Pope Pius IX., when he wrote from the Vatican, August 7, 1873, to the Emperor of Germany, that everyone who had been baptized belonged to the Pope, provides that baptism administered by heretics or Protestants is true baptism.

The Eighth Canon affirms that baptized persons are bound by all precepts of the Church of Rome, and that they are obliged to observe them whether willing or unwilling, and the Fourteenth Canon affirms that, when they grow to maturity, they are not to be left to their own choice, but are to be compelled to lead a Christian life by *punishment*. The Constitution of Benedict XIV. declares, "that he who receives baptism from a heretic becomes a member of the Catholic Church," and adds that "if they come to that age in which they can of themselves distinguish good from evil, but adhere to the errors of their baptizer, they are to be repelled from the unity of the Church, *but they are not to be freed from its authority or its laws.*"

While no other denomination can claim, perhaps, as the promoters of these bills have done, for their denomination, that more than half the inmates of the institutions affected by these bills belong to them,—a claim which, if correct, confirms

the rule established by the statistics of our own country and of Europe, that the Jesuit teaching produces a very large and undue proportion of ignorance and pauperism, vagrancy, and crime,—a new significance is added to the point of baptism by the further assumption that, the baptized infant being Catholic, his rights may be determined by the Church of which he is a member.

This proposition invites the attention of legislators to the question, how far the rights of American citizens, and especially their rights to religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship, which are guaranteed by the Constitutions of most of the States and of the nation, are recognized and protected by the Church and Court of Rome.

The highest authorities of the Roman Catholic Church *deny* that the *right* of freedom of worship *can exist;* nevertheless, to deceive the people of a republican state by appealing to their sense of fairness, the Jesuits now come to the front as the pretended champions of freedom of worship. This attitude, though specious, will not deceive any but thoughtless citizens and innocent politicians. They are so zealous for freedom of worship that they have threatened from time to time "the political damnation of any man or party" that should refuse to vote for measures they approve, and boast that "we have already marred the political future of more than one bigot, and we advise all others to note the fact."

No State in this republican nation ought to intrust the training of its infant wards to any sect or church, with their "services, rules, and discipline," and in this era of civilization take the initiative in pronouncing the banns of the "union of church and state." It would be a dangerous marriage that not even law could make sacred. We are learning in this country the lesson, long since learned in the Old World, to distinguish between Jesuitism or political Romanism and religious Roman Catholicism. We wage no war on the equal rights of Roman Catholics with all other denomina-

tions to freedom of worship and religious liberty, nor deny their rights, but rather would vigorously defend these rights, while we protect our own, to the "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship." But we will war against any attempt to invade with sectarian teachings our absolutely unsectarian beneficiary institutions, whether they be the public schools or the penal and reformatory institutions.

All bills in every State and in the nation of the specious character of so-called Freedom of Worship Bills, ought to be defeated:

Because they are deceptive in their purpose, and would be destructive of the interests they pretend to desire to promote in their enactment and enforcement.

Because they attempt to accomplish by a single enactment a change in State or national policy of so fundamental a character that it amounts to a constitutional amendment.

Because it is impossible to classify into sects juvenile criminals and delinquents, the children of criminal or neglectful parents.

Because no other denomination except the Roman Catholic asks for the legal privilege of proselyting.

Because, if their provisions should be literally carried out, it would open, for the admission of Jesuits, Protestant asylums chiefly supported by private beneficence, and threaten every private charitable institution with a similar outrage.

Because they are not designed to *secure* freedom of worship, but to *suppress* it.

Such bills are favored by the Jesuits or political Romanists and their adherents alone, and assented to by other Roman Catholics, who in many instances do not appreciate their origin or understand their import.

They are opposed by the boards of management of the institutions liable to be affected by their provisions, by the entire Protestant community, and by a large number of thoughtful

Roman Catholics, who do not forget that they are American citizens.

The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children under its present management has, by legislation, so thoroughly intrenched itself that it possesses autocratic and all but omnipotent power. Its history for years has shown it to be certainly in collusion and apparently in copartnership with the Roman Catholic Church. It seems to be the constant feeder of the reformatories under the control of Romanism. It never uses its power to place children in the care of the Children's Aid Society, which, in its noble work, has placed thousands of neglected children in homes of comfort. The New York State Commissioners of Charities and the corresponding Commissioners in other States furnish many evidences of being under the domination of Romanism, even going to the extent of seeking legislation to prohibit the placing out in homes in the country neglected children, by the Children's Aid and other kindred societies, unless these children can be placed in families of the faith of their parents; as though parents who have neglected and cast off their children, and thus proved their unfitness to rear them, had any right to dictate concerning the future and education of the children thus neglected. Romanism alone demands such legislation.

The Superintendent of the Poor of Westchester County, N. Y., in 1898, placed fifty Protestant children in the Westchester County Roman Catholic Protectory, expecting that they would remain there temporarily, and that he would be able to provide for them elsewhere. He finally tried to place these children in the hands of the Children's Aid Society that they might be located in comfortable homes, but the authorities of the Protectory refused to give up the children, knowing that they were Protestant. Suppose this condition of things had been reversed, what howls of rage would have emanated from the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and all the other allies of Romanism in Manhattan!

The relations of Roman Catholic charitable institutions to the governments from which they receive appropriations from the taxes of the people for their support, find an interesting and instructive illustration for the American people to study in the report of 1898 of Herbert W. Lewis, Superintendent of Charities, District of Columbia, to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Let it be remembered that the government of the District of Columbia is under the direct control of Congress, that the residents of the district are substantially disfranchised, and are without responsibility for the affairs of the district, and that therefore all the people of the United States are partners in the government of the District of Columbia, and are responsible for it. Superintendent Lewis' report reveals a condition of affairs in Washington which we do not believe the American people can look upon without being aroused to disgust and loyal indignation. In reference to the Roman Catholic institutions which receive public funds, he gives an account of inefficiency, of sectarian bigotry in teaching, of dishonest financial dealing with the Government, and of defiance of Government authorities, almost incredible. The entire report of Mr. Lewis is worthy of study, but we can here only give two sentences of his conclusions:

"The support of private and religious institutions from public funds while the public has neither voice in their control nor power to select their beneficiaries, the policy of giving such institutions legal agency for the performance of a public duty without requiring in them any legal responsibility, is one which has received the strongest disapproval, and has never been seriously defended except upon grounds of temporary expediency.

"The appropriations for their support are held to be compensation for service, but when one asks what service, and how much and at what rate, one is met by a bewildering maze of sentimentality, conflicting notions, statements of facts

of no consequence, diversity of method, and, in some instances, a disposition to consider any inquiry an impertinence."

It is a fact of great historic import that the last session of the Fifty-fifth Congress made no appropriations for the sectarian institutions in the District of Columbia, and announced the future policy of the National Government to be: No more appropriations for either charities or education under sectarian control.

The Catholic Club of the City of New York conducted the contest for the Roman Catholic Church in the Constitutional Convention of 1894 against the majority of the people of the State of New York, who sought amendments to the Constitution to protect the public schools and prohibit appropriations for sectarian charities. The Romanists were defeated in their assaults upon the schools, but they were largely successful in retaining and tightening their grasp on the funds of the State and of the municipalities for the support of their "charitable" institutions.

The history of this victory over the numerical majority of the citizens and over the overwhelming majority of those who pay the bills of the State, by a numerical minority of those who pay the taxes, but who furnish a majority of the paupers and criminals, is one of the most instructive and humiliating chapters of the defeat of the best majority sentiment among the people in the annals of a republican form of government. By autograph and organic expression of opinion an actual majority of the voters of the State made their appeal to the convention for the passage of these amendments. A very large proportion of the most influential members of the Convention had committed themselves to the amendments previous to the assembling. Hearings were had before the Joint Committee composed of the several committees having the various phases of the amendments in charge. The hired representatives of the Roman Catholic Club, one Jew, who misrepresented the general Jewish sentiment, and the President

and counsel of the Society which constitutes the connecting link between the committing courts and the Roman Catholic institutions in New York City appeared in argument before the Joint Committee on the one hand, and the representatives of the people through the National League for the Protection of American Institutions on the other. Members of the committee made a junketing tour among the institutions in question and superficially inspected them while on dress parade, and accepted of their hospitality and entertainment, and were thus of course in condition to pass critical judgment upon the State's duty to its wards and toward these institutions and the tax-payers. This performance would have been counted ludicrous, if the people had ventured to call any action ludicrous in which statesmen elected to make a constitution took part. In the presentation of statistics and figures and so-called facts, veracity was more economically displayed than the funds of the State in the support of these Roman Catholic "charities."

The minds of so-called statesmen in the Convention were supposed to be confused over the question of what constituted "sectarian" control; at least their conduct indicated confusion and their conclusions produced confusion, which pained the friends of righteousness and gladdened the heart of ecclesiastical greed.

The proposed amendment, prohibiting sectarian appropriations in its application to certain charities, was defeated in the Convention by the following powers:

(1) The solid front audaciously presented by politico-ecclesiastical Romanism with its threat of political death to any member of the Convention who dared favor the amendment.

(2) The plausibly specious arguments presented by one astute Roman Catholic Democratic lawyer.

(3) The political plea made by the lawyer of the Archbishop of New York, a new convert to Romanism, who stayed

in the Republican party that his church might keep its grip on the party to which it gives few votes.

(4) The eloquent and pathetic plea of the factotum of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

(5) The combination for revenue of the Roman Catholics with a section of the Jews.

(6) The political ambitions of some of the conspicuous members of the Convention, who thought to conciliate the Roman Catholic vote in its solidarity.

(7) The spiritless and unintelligent character of the patriotic convictions of the rank and file of the members of the Convention.

The following are some of the results of the defeat of the amendment:

(1) Colonel George Bliss spends the ensuing weeks in an expensive villa in Rome, where he is lionized by Pope and Propaganda.

(2) The Pope confers upon him the distinction of Commander of the Order of St. Gregory as a reward for his services in defeating the will of the people in New York, one of the sovereign States of his "beloved America," and in fastening the hold of Roman Catholic charitable institutions on the treasury of the State.

(3) Colonel Bliss and Mr. Coudert are presented with a "loving cup" by the Catholic Club, in addition to their stipulated fee for legal services, in recognition of their great services to the financial interests of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in New York and in the country at large.

(4) The doors of State and municipal treasuries in New York are thrown open, with no feasible chance to close them by constitutional bolts and bars for twenty years to come.

An issue of the New York *Sun*, in March, 1896, contained an interesting account of a meeting of the New York Roman Catholic Club. It said:

"The Catholic Club gave a reception last night to Colonel

George Bliss and Frederic R. Coudert, and incidentally the Committee on Catholic Interests presented to each of them a silver loving cup, in recognition, as the inscription stated, 'of valued and efficient services in the cause of the Catholic charities of the archdiocese of New York as counsel before the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York held in Albany in 1894.'

"Judge Joseph F. Daly presided, and in his address he sounded the praises of Colonel Bliss and Mr. Coudert for the service they rendered on behalf of the religious charities of the State. 'The result of these services,' said the speaker, 'was the passage of enactments which, it is hoped, will forever remove the ignorance and prevent the misrepresentation concerning these charities which were so conspicuous when these gentlemen began their labors.

"'Their task was to enlighten an ignorance as profound as it was widespread, and to refute calumnies as adroit as they were labored.'

"In presenting the cups on behalf of the Committee on Catholic Interests, Judge Morgan J. O'Brien said:

"'You will recall that for months preceding the Constitutional Convention the air was rife with rumors of the formation of what were regarded as the two most formidable organizations hostile to Catholicity which have appeared since the era of Know-Nothingism. Of these the most blatant, the most bigoted, and the most extreme, was the organization known as the "A. P. A." which was avowedly anti-Catholic and was engaged in the attempt not only to destroy Catholic churches and religion, but to deprive Catholic citizens of their rights to vote or to participate in any way in political life.

"'The other organization, known as The National League for the Protection of American Institutions, whose promoters were more circumspect and judicious, and who proceeded to accomplish their objects without any flourish of trumpets, succeeded in enlisting not only those who from pure prejudice

were opposed to Catholicity, but obtained the support of many intelligent and well-meaning men, who, without going beneath the surface, were engaged to follow and to lend their names and influence to an organization whose ostensible object was the protection of American interests.'

"At the end of Judge O'Brien's speech Colonel Bliss advanced to the stage and received the loving cups. About his neck he wore the red ribbon and medallion of the Order of St. Gregory which was recently conferred upon him by the Pope.

"'I think you are doing me too much honor, and I will prove it to you before I get through,' he said. Colonel Bliss then went on to state that all the figures and data with which he demolished the Rev. James M. King and William Allen Butler, in the argument before the Committee on the Constitutional Convention, were prepared for him by the members of the Catholic Club, and instead of being work his part of the affair was fun."

Juggling with figures by the paid agents of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to deceive or coerce politicians and unlock the treasuries containing the moneys of the tax-payers it appears is considered "fun" by a new convert to Romanism, and it is also considered as a meritorious act by Leo XIII. worthy of reward: for Colonel Bliss on the occasion above referred to "about his neck wore the red ribbon and medallion of the Order of St. Gregory which was recently conferred upon him by the Pope."

Concerning the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the Charities Amendment defeated in the New York State Constitutional Convention, and over which the Romanists were so jubilant, the New York *Times* of June 3, 1894 said:

"The plea in regard to these charitable institutions is not logically different from that in regard to the instruction of children in schools. Traditions of the Roman Catholic Church have come down from the time when it claimed the

right to control secular government in all its branches and to be supported by public revenues. The claim was based upon the plea that this was for the temporal and spiritual well-being of the people. It is still the plea that charitable institutions and schools should be under ecclesiastical control in order that the inmates and pupils should be subject to sound religious nurture for the good of their souls. Any church or religious sect is entitled to maintain charitable institutions and schools for that reason, but in this country the state cannot do it or pay for doing it. The Roman Catholic doctrine of the past is at war with the American doctrine on this entire subject, and there is no question as to which must prevail.

"It would be much better for the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents in this country to cast aside their traditions and accept the American doctrine, which is fundamental in our institutions and ineradically planted in the convictions of our people. It is a doctrine which permeates our whole system of government and contributes to its strength. Church and state must be kept apart, religion and politics must be kept separate, if our institutions are to live, and to this end there must be no mingling of public and ecclesiastical functions, interests, or expenses. The resistance of Roman Catholic authorities to the American doctrine is the source of the prejudice and passion which bigots seek to inflame. Let them once accept that doctrine and give over all effort to obtain public funds for religious purposes, and they will soon be regarded with the same tolerance and liberality that are shown toward Protestant sects."

That the tendency of unnecessary appropriations in the name of charity is to encourage pauperism, and to increase the burden of tax-payers, has been shown here as in England by the effect of injudicious legislation, in increasing the evils which it was intended to correct.

Official statistics confirm the conviction, repeatedly ex-

pressed by experts, that our system of public charities has offered temptations and facilities for abuse on an enormous scale.

The most of this baleful legislation and the most of the abuses practiced, have been the price paid by politicians for the solid Roman Catholic vote which has placed them in power.

The Roman Catholic Foundling Asylum in New York and the Catholic Protectory received from the city funds in the years 1884 to 1893 inclusive $5,103,498. Many of the so-called "orphans" have both parents living, and the church is maintaining them at the expense of the tax-payers and making an enormous profit, the appropriations being many times in excess of the requirements of their support.

The House of Refuge on Randall's Island, New York City, as the result of the passage of the so-called Freedom of Worship Bill under Roman Catholic political dictation has become substantially a sectarian institution, and is now far removed from the original unsectarian methods of its founders.

Romanists require constant watching on account of their persistent raids in legislatures and Congress on the treasuries which hold the people's taxes. Every political device by legislation and otherwise to escape taxation is resorted to, and exemption from taxation means more taxes on others, and all in the name of charity.

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism, by its assaults upon municipal, State, and national treasuries, has corrupted Protestantism by putting it on the defensive in behalf of its own educational and charitable institutions, and, be it said to its discredit in many instances, it has through its varied branches engaged in money-grabbing from the people's treasuries, giving as its excuse that if Roman Catholic institutions are to be supported from public moneys, it proposes to get its share, thus absolutely ignoring the principle involved.

Whenever the great body of Protestantism, including Judaism, has been brought to see the situation and the danger, it has promptly withdrawn from the copartnership with the state at the treasury point.

A single instance of Protestant interference or iniquity in political or personal ways in any charitable institution, public or private, of the kind which is both normal and continuous with Romanism, notably in New York, would arouse the press of city and country to a condition of excited indignation that would amount to editorial hysterics, and would fit many an editor for entertainment at the Roman Tammany hotel on Randall's Island, styled the Hospital for Incurables.

A competent observer has said: "Go where you will, to prison, penitentiary, insane asylum, orphanage, hospital, you find a very large disproportion of the money which the country is spending for the indigent and criminal classes is spent for people first who have been made poor by the Roman Catholic Church in other countries or in this country, and second, for people who are now kept poor in its communion."

Politico-ecclesiastical Romanism vaunts itself upon the care of the poor. Admit the claim, and then consider the fact that the poor it cares for are chiefly the children of its own faith, and that in our land they mostly come in their wretchedness and poverty from lands where Romanism has been in control and has shaped the conditions under which the people live.

Why has Romanism across the seas made so many dangerous elements of our population as are represented in our pauper, dependent, and criminal classes in this country? And why does Romanism claim it to be a virtue to take care of them here in their "charitable" institutions largely supported by funds taken from the taxes of the people? Romanism failed in making these people, before they came here, fit in character for citizenship in the republic. Why should it be

permitted to continue its work on this side? Why should not the Government undertake this work of neutralizing peril and of shaping character for safety? The experience of States which have undertaken their own charitable and reformatory work adequately vindicates the wisdom of such a course, and has promoted the interests of both religious liberty and civic safety.

Romanism is willing to admit the fact that the pauper and criminal classes are chiefly members of its faith if it can thereby secure money from the taxes of the people for their care. Out of these grants for charity it often has a surplus to be devoted to such sectarian propaganda as it may elect.

TO LABOR AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

While no fair-minded citizen will deny the right of any person to secure honest employment by honest means, regardless of sectarian relations, all fair-minded citizens will deny the right and equity of movements and combinations designed to secure employment for the members of a given sect to the detriment and exclusion of those of other religious affiliations.

It is notoriously true that political Romanism has systematized the labor question to an extent that works great wrong to laborers who are not Romanists. Some of its brotherhoods and sisterhoods are recognized by corporations and politicians as the authoritative agents of Romanism for the placing of employees. For years a letter bearing the seal and cross of one of the religious orders has been the condition of securing employment in a great municipal department. We have repeatedly had brought to our attention the persistent and often audacious demands upon politicians, regardless of party affiliations, by high Roman Catholic functionaries for even the humblest places of toil for their following, and the reason assigned was that they were Romanists.

This control of labor by Romanism, and then forming it into organizations officered and managed by Romanists, adjusts

affairs in such convenient style for presenting an imposing organized array of voters to politicians, that the demand for places, power, and appropriations on the delivery of votes presents a persuasive and tempting argument which the virtue of the political leader finds itself unable to resist.

With rare exceptions, the multiform labor organizations which constitute the chief avenues to toil in the varied departments of human industry in this land to-day are in the control of Romanists, who either openly boycott or secretly plot against the equal rights to remunerative occupation of their fellow-citizens of the Protestant faith.

Almost any pay roll of the administrative departments of the National Government, and of the varied departments of many of the State governments, and of most large municipalities and great corporations, will verify the statement that vastly in excess of their rightful ratio based upon their entire numbers relative to the entire population, Romanists hold positions, while it is increasingly difficult for Protestants or those of other faiths to secure positions.

It has come to be true that most labor legislation is enacted because the labor leaders, being Romanists, make demands as Romanists upon the party leaders, and thus intrench themselves in power, evidently caring little for the rank and file of the laboring men whom they claim to represent. These agitators, who are petty tyrants and who hold the offices and live on the toil of others, are chiefly responsible for the antagonisms between capital and labor. Their stock in trade is fomenting discord and breeding discontent.

These Romanist labor leaders and walking delegates have been the chief instigators of riots and causeless strikes. Just laws, designed to protect the rights of all classes without erecting barriers between men, would dethrone these tyrants and make each honest man in every rank a self-respecting and thrifty citizen.

The relations of capital and labor are difficult to adjust,

because frequently when the laborer passes from the Romanized labor organizations into the capitalist class he is more tyrannical than the capitalist who inherits his capital. Neither class legislation nor political Romanism can cure these conflicts. Genuine, religious Christianity crystallized in law and incarnated in life can.

Leo XIII., in his Encyclical of January 6, 1895, delivers himself on labor organizations thus:

"Now, with regard to entering societies, extreme care should be taken not to be ensnared by error, and we wish to be understood as referring in a special manner to the working classes, who assuredly have the right to unite in associations for the promotion of their interests; a right acknowledged by the Church and unopposed by nature. But it is very important to take heed with whom they are to associate; else, while seeking aids for the improvement of their condition, they may be imperiling far weightier interests.

"Let this conclusion, therefore, remain firm—to shun not only these associations which have been openly condemned by the judgment of the Church, but those also which, in the opinion of intelligent men, and especially of the bishops, are regarded as suspicious and dangerous.

"Nay, rather, unless forced by necessity to do otherwise, Catholics ought to prefer to associate with Catholics; a course which will be very conducive to the safeguarding of their faith. As presidents of societies thus formed among themselves, it would be well to appoint either priests or upright laymen of weight and character, guided by whose counsel they should endeavor peacefully to adopt and carry into effect such measures as may seem most advantageous to their interests, keeping in view the rules laid down by us in our encyclical *Rerum Novarum*."

Romanism puts a ban upon secret societies, but organizes its own, and seeks by them to control, by political solidarity, industrial, civic, and educational affairs.

It stations the representatives of the secret societies of its church on pay day at government and corporation departments, and by the garb of these secret orders advertises the creed and the ecclesiastical connection, and collects the first installment of money from the toilers' wearily-earned wages in advance of the first claims of the wives and families.

The claim often made by Romanism's political power is that it arrays itself on the side of social order and frequently suppresses among its people socialistic, anarchistic, and riotous tendencies. The claim is a confession that its fundamental teachings have not prohibited these tendencies, otherwise it would not be obliged to resist them when developed.

The New York *Tribune*, February 27, 1898, said: "It is true that there are turbulent and lawless elements in the population of the United States, largely derived from the older civilization of Europe, which occasionally antagonize the rights of property and array themselves against the law."

The Columbian Order was the name given to the Tammany Society when it was originally instituted as a patriotic organization. The Columbian Order has been converted to political Romanism, and now the principles of converted Tammany are being extended throughout the country by the Roman Catholic secret society styled the "Knights of Columbus," which has made tremendous strides in organization and development during the past few years. Its members, in speaking of its purpose to outsiders, call it a benevolent society, but we have ascertained from the most authentic sources that benevolence is only an incidental feature, and that its purpose is primarily and essentially political. In the city of New York and vicinity it is definitely an adjunct of Tammany Hall in its political workings and purposes, and it reports nearly one hundred lodges in flourishing condition.

In some portions of the northern part of the State of New York and elsewhere its membership claims to be made up largely of Republicans, but it matters not whether the mem-

bership are professedly Democrats or Republicans, the one predetermined object of the multiplication of these secret organizations is to mass in secret oath-bound organized form the male Roman Catholics of the city and State and country, with a view, at no distant day, of making the organization the basis and structure of a distinct Roman Catholic political party, to be openly announced, as in Germany, when the originators and promoters of the movement shall judge that it has gained sufficient strength, and that the times are ripe for its announcement. This organization has its chapters and ramifications not only throughout the churches, but within the police and fire and other administrative departments of municipal governments. Blanks, to be filled out with applications for membership, are placed in the hands of government officials and others to secure names, and the number of names filling those blanks, when reported, has determined in many instances the claims of the men who have circulated the blanks to political preferment and promotion. In more than one instance coming within our knowledge, men who have sought clerical positions in some department of government have been told that to secure their position, or to retain it when secured, they must join either Tammany Hall or the Knights of Columbus. In the various labor organizations, where the Roman Catholics by their superior numbers are not in absolute control, chapters of the Knights of Columbus are formed, that they may be able to use their united vote to best advantage until they get control of the organization.

The following extracts from an application blank for associate membership in "The Order of Knights of Columbus," circulated among the employees in the different departments of the politico-ecclesiastical Tammany Roman Catholic government of the City of New York, furnish another link in the chain which binds the ecclesiastical and political power of Tammany by an indissoluble bond.

Being desirous of becoming an associate member of the Order of the Knights of Columbus, a body corporate, organized and existing by

special Act of the Legislature of the State, through —— Council, No. —— a Subordinate Council of said Order, do declare and say:

That I am a *practical Roman Catholic.*

That I will *remain and continue to be a practical Roman Catholic*, or upon failure so to remain and continue, forfeit my membership in said Order, and all advantages accruing from membership of said Order.

That I agree to *ipso facto* forfeiture of membership, if hereafter I engage in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, *except* as may be *provided by law.*

That I will conform to and abide by the Constitution, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations, of said Order, and of any Council thereof, of which I may at any time be a member, which may now be in force, or which may at any time hereafter be adopted by the proper authorities, or submit to the penalty now or hereafter provided for the breach or violation of such Constitution, By-Laws, Rules or Regulations.

That I will abide by the decision of the Board of Directors of said Order, or their successors, in all matters of difference or dispute between said Order, or any Council thereof and myself, relative to membership or the obligations thereof. And I hereby *waive and surrender any right which I may or might otherwise have, to bring, institute and prosecute any suit against* said Order or any Council thereof, in any *Court, of Law, or Equity, in this or any other State in the United States.*

The papal power is violently opposed to such secret societies as it cannot control, but has always employed secret organizations and conclaves as its mightiest cohesive power and as its instrument for offense and defense.

The following is in part the text of the Encyclical against the Freemasons, sent out by the Pope in December, 1892. It was printed in all the Roman Catholic papers in this country. We have been accustomed to look upon Masons in America as a highly respectable and patriotic class of citizens. But what a wicked and pestilential institution Masonry must be! And yet, such is the perversity of human nature that the organization persists in living despite the papal anathema.

"Permit us then, in addressing you, to point to Masonry as an enemy at once of God, the Church, and our country. Once for all, recognize it practically as such and guard yourselves against such a formidable enemy with all the arms that reason,

conscience, and faith place in your hands. Let no one be deceived by its fair appearance, enticed by its promises, seduced by its flatteries, or alarmed by its menaces. Remember that Freemasonry and Christianity are essentially irreconcilable, so that to join one is to be entirely separated from the other. The incompatibility between the creed of a Catholic and that of a Mason, you cannot, dear children, be ignorant of. Our predecessors openly warned you of it, and in the same way, We emphatically repeat the warning to you.

"Let those, then, who to their great misfortune have given their names to any of these societies of perdition, know that they are strictly bound to separate themselves from it if they do not wish to remain cut off from the Christian communion and to lose their souls in time and eternity. Let parents also, and teachers, and employers, and all those who have charge of the interests of others, understand that a rigorous obligation binds them to do all that is possible to prevent those who depend on them from joining this wicked sect, and from remaining in it if they have actually joined it.

"Let not women readily join philanthropic societies of which they do not quite know the nature and the object without first consulting prudent and experienced persons, because this mountebank philanthropy, so pompously contrasted with Christian charity, often serves as a passport to Masonic intercourse. Let everyone avoid having ties of friendship and familiarity with people suspected of belonging to Freemasonry or with the societies affiliated to it; recognize them by their fruits and eschew them.

"Since we are dealing with a sect which has spread itself everywhere, it is not enough to be on the defensive towards it, but we must go courageously into the arena and meet it, as you will do, dear children, by opposing press to press, school to school, association to association, congress to congress, action to action."

When the trial of Sheriff Martin and his deputies for sup-

pressing violent rioters, some of whom were killed at Lattimer in Pennsylvania, was in progress, the combination between priests and labor demagogues appeared as usual. Ex-Attorney General Henry W. Palmer, in his eloquent defense of the heroic men who risked their lives to preserve the lives and protect the property of others, said:

"In all my practice I have never before heard of a prosecuting committee. Its presence in court is a great injustice to eighty-four men under indictment for murder. It has no standing in court. It is composed of two priests, a whisky-seller, and a worn-out politician. It is the business of a priest to send souls to heaven; of a whisky-seller to send souls to hell, and of such a politician to lie and deceive."

He then alluded to Gompers and Fahey, who organized the Miners' unions, as vultures who were feeding upon the quarters which had been paid in dues by the dead men, while the bullets were flying at Lattimer. "God help the American Federation of Labor," he exclaimed, "if it depends upon the counsels of such birds of prey."

On December 12, 1897, in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, Rev. Daniel C. Cunnion, president, preached a sermon before the New York Union of Catholic Young Men's Societies. Among other things he said:

"He can only win in the struggle of life who learns his responsibility as well as his capability. We must recognize the triple relation of family, state, and church. Only by building themselves on the Church's foundation can nations save themselves from final ruin. If we see men sitting on high in Catholic countries who are not of our Church, to what must we ascribe it if not to the lack of organization among the young men of those countries?

"It is strange that millions of Catholics can be governed by men who hate the name of Catholic. It almost seems as if the struggles of past centuries had been in vain. In this country, where democracy is on trial, we must not lose sight of the fact

that history may repeat itself. Organization is the order of the day. We aim in our national union to keep young men in a novitiate, whence they can be graduated into those movements which are fast becoming the strong right arm of Mother Church. There should be a society in every parish. It is thus that Mother Church hopes to make these United States entirely Catholic."

If political Romanism will cease using the laborer for political ends; and if party politicians will stop contracting with political Romanism for the degradation of men by the delivery of votes; and if Romanism and Protestantism as religious powers will unite in raising the individual laborer and the individual capitalist into a higher, responsible, and sovereign manhood; the relations of employer and employee will soon adjust themselves normally, as this part of the world, the New World, is moving irresistibly toward the general recognition of the common fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This in fact is the very genius of republican institutions, and self-government finds its inspiration in the statement of high authority that "God is no respecter of persons." Righteous men respect this principle because it is righteous, and unrighteous men accept it, in part at least, because they are obliged to.

Let us remember that capital has no rights, but the capitalist has; labor has no rights, but the laborer has. What is an equitable adjustment of advantages between the employer and the employee, between the capitalist and the laborer? The exalted idea of man that went out from the land of Judea changed the institutions of men, reconstructed society, and inaugurated a new epoch in the history of humanity. Love of wealth was the teaching of Paganism, but the love of man is the teaching of Christianity. Cicero said: "All who live by mercenary labor do a degrading business; no noble sentiment can come from a workshop." The sentiment that came forth from the workshop of the Carpenter of Nazareth gave a new

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conception of man. It taught humanity that it was possible to endure poverty without despair, and that riches might be accumulated and used without sensuality and pride. It banished the selfishness which would isolate itself and divide the race artificially and imperiously into classes, and dictated the model prayer which binds the race together in a common brotherhood, based upon the facts of a common origin and common dependence. It promises no blessings to individual man, only as they are asked of "Our Father," recognizing "our debts" while seeking "our daily bread."

Christianity gives the spirit but not the science of a solution of the problem of the equitable distribution of wealth. Its relation is the same to other problems. It respects and defends every man's rights because he is a man. It unmistakably teaches that the right of property is simply the right of a steward to discharge his trust without interference. Morality and legislation give different definitions to crime. Morality never changes its definition, but in legislation the crime of yesterday may be the virtue of to-morrow. Human enactments vary with the sentiment of the time; the law of God is never repealed or amended.

Talk about adjustment by arbitration of differences between classes as we may; after all, the relationship which men sustain to each other, in the last analysis, is a moral and individual relationship of man to man, and out of that relationship arises duty which no man with a title to manhood can either evade or will seek to evade. The acceptance of this immutable truth gives dignity to personality and erects a fortress of safety for individual right, and permits no man to lose his identity or responsibility in a crowd or in a corporation.

TO THE BOYCOTT AND THE BOSS.

Captain Boycott, a factor and farmer of Mayo, Ireland, has gone into history, his name embalmed in a new word now used in the languages of many lands, both in the Old World

and in the New. Boycotting is defined to be: "the system of combining to hold no relations, social or commercial, with a neighbor, in order to punish him for differences in political opinion; a kind of social excommunication." Mr. Parnell, the Irish parliamentary leader, has the credit of inventing and formulating the methods of torture of this modern Inquisition. The date and place of this invention were September 19, 1880, at Ennis, Ireland. The first celebrated victim was Captain Boycott. The persecution was conducted by Roman Catholics in the supposed interests of Roman Catholics. Victim after victim was made to suffer inhuman treatment until the British Parliament laid its heavy hand on the social, business, and political iniquity by enacting the Crimes Act of 1887.

The boycott was begotten by the same spirit which invented the Inquisition. In fact, it is the Inquisition operating under the enforced restraints of our modern civilization, and it only lacks opportunity for an exhibition of cruelty in enforcing its edicts by the penalty of death to the person of its victim as well as to his property or business pursuit.

The same spirit and the same purpose which devised and put in practice the boycott in Ireland, brought it across the ocean, and promptly began putting it in operation in this republic. The boycott everywhere is essentially a Roman Catholic institution.

It is extensively employed by politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in this country against merchants and others who dare advertise in papers which fearlessly discuss facts concerning its aggressions. Several newspaper enterprises have thus been killed off in late years. Merchants will contribute to causes for which they have contempt because of their fear of losing customers, or because of their desire to secure a given class of customers. Politicians, of course, notoriously do the same thing, thus corrupting the whole public moral sense of the people with cringing cowardice.

Protestants refuse to contribute, or if they do contribute to the support of patriotic publications or movements, desire to have it kept quiet for fear of the boycott in business. The average citizen as a rule stands in fear of the boycott.

The political boss was begotten from the necessity forced upon political leaders by Roman Catholic politicians holding the Roman Catholic vote as a solidarity capable of delivery and thus beyond the power of argument. This accounts for the political pre-election bargains made by the bosses of both parties to appoint factory inspectors and members of labor bureaus who are Roman Catholic because of their claim to control the labor vote in the varied labor organiatizons which are chiefly manipulated by Roman Catholics.

A boss is important only as he represents a constituency which he can control and upon which he can barter to secure money from corporations and appropriations from legislatures and fees for the security of crime against prosecution. There is no city or State in the United States where Romanism holds the control or the balance of power in the electorate where these three sources of revenues are not drawn upon.

Political Romanism has thus created the boss and the boss has in turn intrenched its creator in power.

An editorial in 1894 appeared in the Glasgow (Scotland) Evening *News*, which in the light of the facts then existing and in the light of the experience of a restored Roman Catholic Tammany rule in the commercial metropolis may be interesting to American readers:

"Although the word 'boss' is so familiar as to have secured the respectful recognition of the latest lexicographers, it does not figure even in the slang dictionaries of ten years ago. It has come to us from the Americans, who got it from the Dutch—(*baas*, a master).

"The 'Boss' (for he is considered worthy of a capital B now in the States) has become one of the most extraordinary features, if not the most extraordinary feature, of American

municipal life, and 'Bossing' is a disease which is eating into the vitals of American citizenship. The Boss of the United States, from New York to San Francisco, is Irish.

"Bred in the odor of the saloons and the gambling halls, he graduated in time to the domination of other 'patriotic exiles,' and practically owns the polling booths of the municipal wards. An Irishman has no sooner landed off the ship and set foot on Castle Garden, than the Boss has him under his thumb by bribery, by threat, or by the old inalienable claim of clanship, so strong a factor in bringing the Celtic races to the front. There landed in America from Ireland during the last half century, no less than 3,250,000 Irish people, and the sons of this great multitude, native born, have shown a marvelous hereditary aptitude for securing offices, such as those of aldermen, councilmen, policemen, bureau chiefs, and mayors.

"As long ago as 1886 more than a seventh of the entire population of the City of New York was of Irish birth. New York is under the heel of the Irish Boss. It is a fact apparent in the press of the State.

"If New York was well governed, there would not be the same ground for alarm at this universal rule of the Irish minority; but it is not well governed.

"What has been said of New York City is true of all the principal cities of America, and a writer in the April number of the *Forum* describes the Irish bossing as 'a national ulcer,' to be thrown off sooner or later if American independence is ever to be anything more than a mere name. It is difficult for the Britisher, with his well-balanced municipal representation, to realize the full misfortune of all this. The Trade Union Boss we know in George Square, in a mild, and, as yet, harmless form, but we are lucky as citizens, inasmuch as the common sense of the electorate and good counsel have prevented any particular race, class, or interest from getting the upper hand of our civic affairs—although the attempt to

establish the Boss is growing every year more determined. Let us be warned by the experience of America."

Theodore Roosevelt, in "American Ideals," says:

"The organization of a party in our city is really much like that of an army. There is one great *central boss*, assisted by trusted and able lieutenants; these communicate with the different district bosses, whom they alternately bully and assist. The district boss in turn has a number of half-subordinates, half-allies, under him; these latter choose the captains of the election districts, etc., and come into contact with the common heelers. The more stupid and ignorant the common heelers are, and the more implicitly they obey orders, the greater becomes the effectiveness of the machine. An ideal machine has for its officers men of marked force, cunning and unscrupulous, and for its common soldiers men who may be either corrupt or moderately honest, but who must be of low intelligence. This is the reason why such a large proportion of the members of every political machine are recruited from the lower grades of the foreign population."

The eloquent Bourke Cockran, himself a Roman Catholic, in a remarkable speech made in New York City on October 21, 1898, in the interests of the candidacy of Judge Daly, a Roman Catholic, whom Richard Croker, a Roman Catholic, had refused to renominate because he had as judge declined to obey the boss in the matter of political patronage in his court, said:

"When I use the words boss and boss-ship I am not moved by a desire to indulge in personalities or in abusive epithets. The boss-ship is too real, too strong a force in our municipal existence to be disposed of by sneer or reproach. I use the term because no other will convey an adequate idea of the power with which the citizen must grapple if he is to vindicate his liberties in this crisis. All the power, legislative and executive, of this municipality is to-day in the hands of the individual who rules the destinies of the Democratic party, or,

in other words, in the hands of the boss, and there it will remain, whatever may be the outcome of this canvass."

Mr. Cockran knew that the all but omnipotent power of this boss consisted absolutely and solely in the fact that he was the commander under ecclesiastical sanction and support of substantially the solid Roman Catholic vote. Judge Daly was a Roman Catholic, but the election returns demonstrated that the solidarity that made Boss Croker possible was unbroken. Politico-ecclesiasticism could not afford to permit discretionary choice on the part of its following. The precedent might be dangerous. A taste of liberty might cause men to think they were free.

Our great cities are now mostly under the control of unscrupulous bosses who rule through political rings, whose power is lodged in a solid Roman Catholic vote led by a political priesthood. The perfection of this false system finds its illustration in New York City.

Bossism never entered American politics until politico-ecclesiastical Romanism showed it how to move and set its pace. The inventors of the Inquisition were the inventors of bossism as well as of the boycott, and the same principle is involved in both institutions.

Finding that a large vote of Roman Catholics *could* be and *was* massed, political leaders or bosses have claimed that they were compelled to offset this solidarity by similar massing, until the massing has extended to the casting of the votes of delegates in the nominating conventions of both of the dominant political parties. Nominations are predetermined by the bosses and then conventions are permitted to seem to act deliberately. All this had its origin in the practice of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in its control over the sovereignty of the citizen.

A popular fad among all political and social reformers in these late years is to condemn and rail against party measures and bosses and bossism. But is it ignorance, cowardice,

or hypocrisy that influences them to scrupulously avoid any assault upon the one dangerous political machine in America which makes other machines and bosses possible? Whatever the cause of this avoidance may be, the fact makes honest citizens almost have respect for avowed courageous and systematic political wickedness.

In legislation the boss can be dealt with by corporations with greater safety and greater economy than by the ancient methods resorted to by corporations to effect legislation by buying up large numbers of law-makers. Now, the boss owns the legislators, who were nominated by his power and elected by his forces, and it is "nominated in the bond" that they are to enact his will.

We have heard prominent and reputable representatives of great corporations justify their financial dealings with political bosses, on the grounds that all legislative privileges and legislative protection cost money, and that the new method was safer, less corrupting, and more economical for the corporate interests they represented than the old.

The boss system in politics has entered into partnership with the moneyed power, making a "combine" irresistible and omnipotent. And the worst feature of the entire business is, that where great principles and interests are at stake in an election, municipal, State, or national, honest men are compelled to recognize the boss by placing in his hand fabulous sums of money for conducting a campaign.

And all this corruption and iniquity had its origin in the solid vote subject to the command of a politico-ecclesiastical power.

For the protection of their citizens against this imported tyranny many of the States have felt themselves compelled to enact anti-boycotting and anti-blacklisting laws. These two iniquitous immigrants are congenial brothers.

The States having laws prohibiting boycotting in terms are Colorado, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

The States having laws prohibiting blacklisting in terms are Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The following States have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting boycotting: Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

The following States have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting blacklisting: Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, and South Dakota.

In the following States it is unlawful for any employer to exact an agreement, either written or verbal, from an employee not to join or become a member of any labor organization as a condition of employment: California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

The ramifications of the system of bossism in politics reveal a supervision equal to the most rigid military discipline, extending down from the chief to the most thorough possible surveillance and responsibility for the bringing into line the individual voter. The district boss, or leader, is held reponsible for what may be represented by a regiment of soldiers, the regiment being subdivided so thoroughly that the little bosses are only responsible for a limited number of voters, and are therefore excuseless, if they do not give a rigid account of their subjects. All these under-bosses report to their superiors, and their superiors in the general council or committee report to the chief boss, from whom they receive their instructions and orders. When an election is carried and the time for the distribution of spoils has arrived the division is supposed to be based upon mathematical calculations, the chief factor in the problem being the number of

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J. M. King. J. G. Blaine
S. D. Burchard.

MINISTERS' MEETING AT FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, OCTOBER 29, 1884, OF "RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION" NOTORIETY.

voters. This system has reached its perfection in practice in Tammany Hall, in the City of New York, which controls in its ecclesiastical co-partnership substantially a solid Roman Catholic vote. It is easy to see under this system how it is not only possible for one boss to become all but omnipotent, but how bosses representing ostensibly opposing political parties can dicker and trade the offices supposed to be elective to suit their own selfish and unscrupulous purposes. The only possible method of breaking this corrupting power in American politics will be by the inculcation of an intelligent patriotism as a basis of self-respecting assertion of personal independence. When every vote expresses the conscientious conviction of the voter who casts it, and when the voter gives allegiance to only one governmental power, and that the government under which he lives and which grants and protects his rights civil and religious, then will bossism receive its death blow and depart from our history.

TO "RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION."

Perhaps no single incident in the history of American political Presidential campaigns has been more dilated upon and moralized about, or is more pregnant with instruction, than the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" incident of 1884. The facts connected with the incident have never in any single narration been placed in their proper relation.

On the morning of October 29, 1884, about a thousand clergymen of New York and vicinity assembled at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in the City of New York to meet James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. When the list of names of those present is perused it must be admitted that they were not only representative, but that an overwhelming majority of the Protestant ministers of the great center of population were present. They had been invited by a printed, unsigned card sent out by a clergyman, Rev. Dr. McMurdy, who was serving the Republican National

Committee in some capacity. Two or three days previous to the meeting Dr. Spear and Dr. Armitage requested the writer to prepare some resolutions to be presented to the meeting for its action. He did as they requested. When the clergymen were assembled in the parlors of the hotel, Rev. Dr. S. D. Burchard, being the pastor of the longest consecutive service in the city, was chosen Chairman, and Rev. Dr. MacArthur was chosen Secretary. The resolutions which had been prepared were presented and their author moved their adoption. They were seconded in a speech made by Dr. Spear and then adopted. The writer, known to be well acquainted with Mr. Blaine, was appointed to wait upon him in his rooms and request his presence, which he did, presenting him to the chairman and to the assembled ministers. Then Dr. Burchard made the address to Mr. Blaine in which he used the phrase, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Short addresses were made by Dr. Spear of *The Independent*, Dr. MacArthur of Calvary Baptist Church, Rabbi Browne of the Temple Gates of Hope, Dr. Roberts of the Congregational Church, Rev. S. B. Halliday of Plymouth Church, Rev. Mr. Price of the African Church, and Mr. Lawrence of the Friends. Then Mr. Blaine made his address, which in intellectual grasp was perhaps the most remarkable of all his scores of speeches delivered during the campaign. After Dr. Burchard had made his speech, and two or three other brief addresses had been made, Mr. Blaine turned to the writer and said: "That 'Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion' remark of Dr. Burchard is exceedingly unfortunate. I wish you would see Mr. —— [who was editor of a prominent New York daily] and with him get the press reporters to suppress the remark." It was thus kept out of many of the papers. But some of the papers printed the alliteration and emphasized it editorially. The following Sunday circulars giving the famous phrase, and appealing to sectarian prejudice and hate, were extensively distributed at the doors of Roman Catholic

churches, and, as a result, it is claimed that the solid Roman Catholic vote was massed against Blaine. If this is true, then a vote that could be thus, and for that reason, suddenly and without opportunity for argument, alienated from one candidate and massed for another is a peril to the republic.

Dr. Burchard, grand and true man that he was, was crushed under the consciousness of having been, as the papers declared and as he believed, the instrument of injuring the man whom he admired. The writer called upon Dr. Burchard, and tried to get him to write and sign for the papers a letter in substance as follows:

"*Mr. Editor:* In addressing Mr. Blaine on October 29, I used the phrase 'Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion' in characterizing some of our political opponents. I now desire simply to say, that perhaps the remark was inopportune and under the circumstances, it would have been more politic not to have made it. But I also desire to say that while the utterance might have been in timeliness inexpedient, it embodied historical and painful truth, and as an individual citizen I assume the responsibility for its accuracy."

Dr. Burchard was so depressed in feeling at the defeat of Mr. Blaine that he declined thus to place himself on record as believing the truth of what he uttered, but he undoubtedly did believe it.

Mr. Blaine, because of his family connections, was supposed to have a large Roman Catholic following. His magnetic personality and leadership and his broad and genial catholicity had also won to his support some fervid Irish Roman Catholics. The contest in New York State was extremely close, the plurality in the State revealing the fact that a change of six hundred votes would have changed the results of the entire national election, and the vote of that State in the electoral college being necessary to determine the election of President, the issues possessed great import. There were several incidents during the campaign which changed more than

enough votes to neutralize many times Mr. Cleveland's small plurality margin. The dinner on the evening of October 29, 1884, which one of the daily papers illustrated as Belshazzar's feast with most telling effect, at which Mr. Blaine sat down to the feast with many rich men and millionaires, who were expected to contribute the sinews of war for the political contest in the electoral campaign just closing, produced repelling and disgusting results upon laboring men; the change of votes in a single manufacturing establishment in New York City, the proprietor ascertained, was sufficient to have caused defeat. Many Third Party Prohibitionists, who up to this time were favorably disposed toward Mr. Blaine, were alienated by the ostentatious publication of the wine and liquor features of the dinner in question, despite the fact that the guest turned down his glass and did not taste wine. Mr. Blaine expressed to the writer great apprehension in the afternoon before the dinner, and great solicitude afterward, as to its effect upon the minds of the laboring men. He said he had been invited by telegraph to meet some gentlemen at dinner on the date in question, but he had no thought of a largely attended banquet which would make the event conspicuous by the wealth of the guests. Then there was the defection of thousands of voters, as the election returns proved, in the western part of New York State, who acknowledged the leadership of Roscoe Conkling to the extent of being willing to aid him by their suffrage in punishing the man against whom he cherished uncompromising hostility and resentment. Then no one doubts that Beecher's captivating oratory, political change of base, and personal feeling against Mr. Blaine decided more than the six hundred votes necessary to change the issue of the contest. All these historic facts have been incidentally and occasionally referred to, but the famous alliteration keeps haunting editors and politicians and will not down. There must be some reason for the persistent reappearance of this politico-ecclesiastical ghost.

It seems that it can neither be appeased nor banished, but stalks forth from the viewless into the visible on the slightest provocation.

While we would give all praise and credit to a Father Matthew for his attempts to lead his people in paths of sobriety, and to the occasional priests who honestly attempt to stem the awful tide of intemperance about them, they notoriously constitute such rare exceptions among their people as to make them conspicuous.

Rum and Romanism sustain very vital relations, and neither party to the alliance ought to attempt publicly to repudiate the legitimacy of those relations. Where both parties to a close alliance receive mutual benefits neither party ought to make a show of indignation when someone in public speech couples their names. It is neither candid nor chivalrous.

Take out of the treasuries of the Roman Catholic Church the amounts contributed by rumsellers and appropriated from excise funds, and from other taxes of the people, and you can easily see the bottom of the barrel.

Nuns and sisters have systematically collected revenues from the rumsellers, itinerating from saloon to saloon for the purpose.

It is notoriously in evidence that the great majority of the liquor saloons are run by Romanists, and no one would question the fact that they extensively patronize these pauperizing and criminal-breeding institutions, and that while their church conventions and congresses pass "temperance resolutions," the men who compose them are not notorious total abstainers.

Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, eighteen years after his conversion to Romanism, wrote a paper entitled "Protestantism and Infidelity," in which he said:

"The worst-governed cities in the Union are precisely those in which Catholics are the most influential in elections and have the most to do with municipal affairs. We furnish more than our share of the rowdies, the drunkards, and the vicious

population of our large cities. The majority of grog-sellers in the city of New York are Catholics, and the portions of the city where grog-selling, drunkenness, and filth most abound are those chiefly inhabited by Catholics; and we scarcely see the slightest effort made for a reformation." The nominations for office and the elections in most of our large cities are controlled to-day by Roman Catholic saloon keepers.

Father Elliott, in the *Catholic World* (September, 1890), made this honest confession: "The horrible truth is, that in many cities, big and little, we have something like a monopoly of selling liquor, and in not a few something equivalent to a monopoly of getting drunk. I hate to acknowledge it, yet from Catholic domiciles—miscalled homes—in those cities and towns three-fourths of the public paupers creep annually to the almshouse, and more than half the criminals snatched away by police to prison are, by baptism and training, members of our church. Can anyone deny this, or can anyone deny that the identity of nominal Catholics and pauperism existing in our chief centers of population is owing to the drunkenness of Roman Catholics? For twenty years the clergy of this parish have had a hard and uneven fight to keep saloons from the very church doors, because the neighborhood of the Roman Catholic Church is a good stand for the saloon business; and this equally so in nearly every city in America. Who has not burned with shame to run the gauntlet of the saloons lining the way to the Roman Catholic cemetery?" Yet this same Father Elliott, speaking of his recent tour among the non-Catholics of the West, declared: "America will be converted and made a Catholic country."

Father M. F. Foley, of DeLand, Cal., writes in Cardinal Gibbons' own organ (*Catholic Mirror*) lately, this plaintive wail:

"Go into our prisons, our reformatories, our almshouses; go into our great asylums where numbers of children are being reared, in what must necessarily be hot-house atmos-

phere, to face the storms of life. Go into the crowded tenements of our cities, into their lowest dens and dives; see the misery, squalor, reigning there; see the men and women, low and besotted; see the little ones dying as flies in the fetid air, or worse, living to poison the nation's atmosphere; in a word, see degradation in its most repulsive form. In these abodes of crime, of poverty, of misery, you will find thousands of Catholics. Ask what has brought to prison and almshouse, to reformatory and orphanage, to dive and brothel, so many children of the church. Trumpet-toned comes back the answer: 'Drink, drink.'"

The relations of Rum to Romanism, in the face of Roman Catholic testimony, none but the most brazen and unscrupulous will deny.

But how about Rebellion? The assumption is often heard that Romanists were a most important factor, if not the most important factor, in bringing to a successful issue the Civil War for the preservation of the Union.

Dr. William Butler said in 1892: "The attitude of the papacy during our civil war was a source of anxiety to our government and to thoughtful men. Individual exceptions there were undoubtedly, but the general trend of the Roman Church was unfriendly. As if by a subtle instinct, the lowest member discerned that he could have no interest in preventing the power of this nation from being crippled, or its prestige as the great Protestant Republic destroyed. Their vote was generally thrown against the war, as the enemies of our country at home and abroad desired. For a contrast, look at the various Protestant sects of our land, and see how loyally they rallied to the help of our government to the last hour of the conflict. There is a reason for this marked distinction; our downfall would have been the failure of Protestantism at its culminating point."

We have in our possession a facsimile of the letter of Pius IX. to Jefferson Davis, "given at Rome, at the seat of St.

Peter, the 3d day of December, 1860, of Our Pontificate the eighteenth year." The letter begins: "Illustrious and Honorable Sir, Greeting: With all the good will which was fitting, we have recently welcomed the men sent by your Honor to bring to us letters dated the 23d of the month of September last." The Pope then refers to letters he has sent to the Archbishops of New Orleans and of New York, and continues: "And it was very pleasing to us to know that thou, Illustrious and Honorable Sir, and those peoples are animated with the same sentiments of peace and tranquillity which we have inculcated in the above mentioned letters so earnestly addressed to the aforesaid venerable Brothers. . . And from the same most clement Lord of compassions we entreat that He will illuminate your Honor with the light of His Divine grace, and join you to us in perfect charity."

Romanism's relation to the Civil War was not that of either an open foe or a pronounced friend, and few of its following were among the Confederate forces and its numbers were limited in the Southern States at the time of the war. But it gave a divided loyalty and an emasculated service except in notable instances.

A few passages from an approved Roman Catholic history will be pertinent at this point: "In 1861 the great mass of the population lay in the Northern and Western States, those south of Maryland on the east and of the Ohio River on the west, containing only four hundred and sixty-three out of the two thousand two hundred and thirty-five priests.

"A terrible civil war broke out at this time. A fanatical spirit at the North, which from time to time excited hostility to the Church on other occasions, sought the abolition, or at least the restriction of slavery in the South. Numbers of Protestant clergymen took an active part in stirring up a bitter sectional feeling; and when troubles began in regard to the extension of slavery in Kansas, the Protestant pulpits of the East rang with appeals to their flocks. In this matter the

Catholics stood aloof. When the war came no one could accuse them of having done aught to precipitate it. Yet, as we have seen, they were chiefly in the Northern States which invited immigration, while the South discouraged it, and ignorant prejudices against the Church prevailed, as much at the South as at the North."—*Businger and Shea's "Hist. of the Cath. Church," pp. 402–403.*

The assassination conspiracy which resulted in the death of Lincoln and purposed the death of Seward and Grant, in its inception, in its personnel, and in its issues was the work of Jesuitical Romanism.

General Baker, who had charge of the prisoners connected with the Lincoln assassination conspiracy, said in his report: "I mention as an exceptional and remarkable fact, that every conspirator in custody, is, by education, a Catholic."

When John H. Surratt, pursued by justice, fled from the United States, being criminally concealed by priests and bishops in this country and in Canada, the law finally found him, congenially and naturally sheltered under the banner of the Pope as a soldier in the ninth company of Papal Zouaves.

Father Walter, a Washington priest, who heard Mrs. Surratt's last confession, sustained an active and criminally disreputable relation to the assassination conspirators, as was proven by the records of the trial and by his own contributions to the press.

The attitude of Roman Catholic soldiers and others during the war of 1861–65 was not due to any conviction on their part that the Confederates were contending for a principle, but because the Sovereign Pius IX., to whom they owed their first and supreme allegiance, had committed himself and his subjects to Jefferson Davis. There was no principle concerning State Rights or Nationality involved, with them.

The coupling of the Rebellion with Rum and Romanism in 1884 may have had some ground of justification, although the South generally has never had any sympathy with the specious

claims of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism or with the alliance of the Northern Democracy with the saloon or with Rome. The question of negro domination in the South has forced the Southern States into alliances for expediency which have committed them to political doctrines against which they would otherwise revolt.

"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" is a meaningless phrase under the new conditions of nationality.

Manila and Santiago have changed the conditions and literally blotted out the alliterative triumvirate.

Suppose Dr. Burchard had said Rum, Presbyterianism, and Rebellion, or had made the middle word Methodist, Baptist, or Episcopal, would a commotion have been created? No. Why? Because there would have been no truth in any such trinitarian adjustment of words. It was the truth contained in Burchard's statement that made it potent. Why, we again ask, is this one factor entering into the defeat of Blaine always editorially magnified? It is an unconsciously humiliating plea of guilty to the indictment of Rome as a political power.

Admit, as is claimed, that the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" incident turned by Roman Catholic solidarity enough votes to determine the New York State, and, consequently, the national election in 1884; then our contention is established, that there is peril to the republic in such a vote which can be thus solidly and suddenly cast, without debate and without reason. Certainly the country entered upon a period in its history as the result of that election that was filled with suffering and national disaster.

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE NEW WORLD.—POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL TAMMANY ROMANISM.

Anna Ella Carroll, in her book "The Great American Battle," gives the story of the origin and objects of the Tammany

Society, and by what means it was gradually perverted to the purposes of a foreign hierarchy:

"The St. Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was so called from Tammanard, a renowned Delaware chief. It originated immediately after the formation of our present Constitution in 1786, and hence was the first American order in these United States. The cardinal doctrine of its creed was the exclusion of foreigners from all political interference whatever with the affairs of our country, as in manifest conflict with our republican liberty and the American policy. The Sons of the Revolution were the founders of this order, and it was under the teachings of Washington, the leader of those armies which, under God, conducted our nation to victory and glorious freedom, added to their own experience and observation, that they saw the necessity at that early period for a purely national organization to uphold the true principles of American faith and practice, and, in the language of our country's 'Father,' to prevent the evil of the foreign action of 'these men who had no attachment to the country further than interest binds them.' And here, Americans, before the eyes of Washington and under the light of his countenance, this national society had the zealous co-operation of the heroes of the Revolution, his companions in battle, and flourished under its stringent restrictions for ten years previous to his death.

"The sublime idea of deliverance from foreign influence was thus for years advantageously cherished by them. But money-loving, soul-devouring, office-seeking politicians began to join them, and the day of dispensation was at hand. They so multiplied that they actually held the balance of power and compelled the majority to yield to their commands, or would threaten to go over to the minority. They first required one member of the Legislature, which was granted; then two; they were yielded. And then, whatever they wished, and as they pleased. In a meeting of this society the Loco Foco

party had its origin. The foreigners had become so powerful and domineering that the Americans resisted and blew out the lights! The foreigners relighted them by Loco Foco matches, and carried the measure by their votes. This was the fatal moment when Americans went over to Romanism. Subsequent to the formation of the Tammany Society, but of the same epoch in our national history, was the Order of Cincinnati, another strong political society, which made ineligible to membership any American who was not a native-born son of the soil. Washington himself was president-general of that order to the close of his life, as Andrew Jackson had been the leader of the Tammany before the degenerate days."

In 1834 Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, whose invention of the telegraph was perhaps the greatest single contribution to civilization in recent centuries, ran for Mayor of New York City, receiving nine thousand votes. The platform upon which Professor Morse stood in the canvass recognized the dangers of foreign, and especially papal influence upon our republican institutions, and set forth the necessity for the radical amendment of our naturalization laws. The appeal to the citizens of New York exhibited the increased burden of taxation for the maintenance of foreign paupers who make the city their refuge, and exposed "the ambitious arrogance of foreigners in their efforts to control the municipal affairs of the city."

Were Professor Morse living to-day he would not be considered an eligible candidate for Commissioner of Charities in the city of New York.

William M. Tweed came into power January 1, 1869, and went out September 16, 1871. During these nearly three years the Roman Catholic Church received of public moneys $1,395,000, for over one hundred institutions, the most of which had no existence in fact, and which, after Tweed, their partner in theft, was retired from business, disappeared from

the list of "charities." Since that the number of such institutions presenting claims has been smaller, but their demands have been greater. After the rascalities of Tweed had been exposed, such was the gratitude of his Roman Catholic constituents for their share in the spoils of his plunder that they elected him to the State Senate by a tremendous majority.

From 1871 to 1875 the records of the raids of this Tammany Romanism on the municipal treasury have been concealed. When in 1875 the records are again accessible, we find only sixteen Roman Catholic institutions mentioned in the list of claimants on the city treasury. Thus the confession is made that dishonestly, fraudulently, and in partnership with the monumental thief of the century, the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, under the holy name of charity, lied in presenting the claims upon the people's money of one hundred institutions having no existence, and stole hundreds of thousands of dollars, to be used in promoting the interests of a politico-ecclesiastical machine capable of such rascality.

And yet, when a few years have elapsed, we are asked to forget, and practically do forget, inside of a generation of time, the conduct of these precious rascals, and trust their successors in power honestly to administer the affairs of the Greater New York with its greater opportunities for rascality.

These sixteen institutions, from 1875 to 1886, took from the treasury of the city, in addition to eighty per cent. of the excise fund, the sum of $8,052,000. Since this last date it has been practically impossible to secure any extended and detailed data from the books of the treasury department.

The catalogue of the churches and institutions which were partners with William M. Tweed, and which from necessity now in smaller numbers continue in partnership with Tammany and Tweed's successor, is worth perusal and preservation. We possess it as one of our historic treasures.

While the Romanists thus succeeded in getting immense sums of money out of the city treasury under Tweed, and

although, after his downfall, they did not venture to put in their claims for the scores of bogus institutions which shared in Tweed's stealings, they had established a precedent for the large sums given to the institutions having an existence, and they have pressed on from this vantage ground, constantly making higher demands for "sweet charity." They have finally become so thoroughly intrenched, and their forces are so strategically encamped about the vaults holding, in State and municipality, the moneys of the people, that politicians and legislators, members of constitutional conventions and boards of apportionment, boards of charities and office-holders, civil justices and political reformers stand and deliver when the Roman legions wheel into line and demand the keys and the combinations of the public safe.

The eagerly anticipated but painfully disappointing encyclical of Leo XIII. in 1895 compelled an honest and cultured Roman Catholic layman to make an able and indignant protest against its illiberality, which he claimed had nullified the previously uttered loyal sentiments from prominent American Roman Catholics, and which had compelled them to stultify themselves. Among other expressions of conviction the writer says:

"The falsity and erroneous fatuity of the position taken by Leo XIII., however, is pretty clearly demonstrated by recent political events in New York City, events in which the Catholic Church is supposed to have been largely interested. I refer to the exposures made of Tammany corruption by the Lexow Investigating Commission and the subsequent overwhelming defeat at the polls, of the Democratic candidates. It is a well-known fact that the Catholic authorities of New York City have been charged with being in sympathy, if not in league, with the Tammany organization. In fact the situation was such that Tammany and Catholicism were supposed to be identical, and the odium and obloquy attaching to the former were necessarily reflected upon the latter. The dis-

credit and dishonor of the association, of the alleged affiliation were recognized and bitterly deplored by some who believed in a fearless, progressive, and honest policy, and these by word and act sought to demonstrate to the public that to be a Catholic it was not necessary to approve political dishonesty. It is to be hoped that in the future Catholicism will not be confounded with Tammanyism or any other political ism; but the action of the people of New York City and State in their vigorous condemnation of Tammany should suffice to make known to Leo XIII., not only that it would be impolitic to seek a union of church and state or church and political party, but that any attempt at such a union would be bitterly resented and fiercely antagonized by the American people."

Yet Tammany was restored to power in 1898 as the result of its union with the church and of the egotism and Pharisaism of party politicians and professional reformers.

Tammany Hall's influence as a factor in New York and national politics was presented in the *North American Review* for February, 1892; Richard Croker, then and now its chief, being responsible for the article.

"A well-organized political club," says Mr. Croker, "is made for the purpose of aggressive warfare. It must move, and it must always move forward against its enemies. If it makes mistakes, it leaves them behind and goes ahead. If it is encumbered by useless baggage or half-hearted or traitorous camp followers, it cuts them off and goes ahead. While it does not claim to be exempt from error, it does claim to be always aiming at success by proper and lawful methods, and to have the good of the general community always in view as its end of effort. Such an organization has no time or place for apologies or excuses, and to indulge in them would hazard its existence and certainly destroy its usefulness."

The methods of the Tammany organization he presented as follows:

"As one of the members of this organization, I simply do what all its members are ready to do as occasion offers, and that is, to stand by its principles and affirm its record. We assert, to begin with, that its system is admirable in theory and works excellently well in practice. There are now twenty-four Assembly districts in the county, which are represented in an Executive Committee by one member from each district, whose duty it is to oversee all political movements in his district from the sessions of the primaries down to the final counting of the ballots after the election polls are closed. This member of the Executive Committee is a citizen of repute, always a man of ability and good executive training. If he were not, he could not be permitted to take or hold the place. If he goes to sleep or commits overt acts that shock public morality, he is compelled to resign. Such casualties rarely occur, because they are not the natural growth of the system of selection which the organization practices; but when Tammany discovers a diseased growth in her organism, it is a matter of record that she does not hesitate at its extirpation.

"Coincident with the plan that all the Assembly districts shall be thoroughly looked after by experienced leaders who are in close touch with the central committees is the development of the doctrine that the laborer is worthy of his hire; in other words, that good work is worth paying for, and in order that it may be good must be paid for. The affairs of a vast community are to be administered. Skillful men must administer them. These men must be compensated. The principle is precisely the same as that which governs the workings of a railway or a bank, or a factory; and it is an illustration of the operation of sophistries and unsound moralities, so much in vogue among our closet reformers, that any persons who have outgrown the kindergarten should shut their eyes to this obvious truth. Now, since there must be officials, and since these officials must be paid, and well paid, in order to insure able and constant service, why should they not be selected from

the membership of the society that organizes the victories of the dominant party?"

Race and religion unfortunately draw party lines very closely in New York, the Tammany Democratic force being the Irish Roman Catholic vote cast, almost as a unit. This gives dangerous strength to the political and ecclesiastical or the politico-ecclesiastical boss.

Puck said, after the reform victory in 1894, "That the church as a church, was active against the reform movement is beyond any question whatever"; and charged that the head of the hierarchy had "made a disgraceful exhibition of pernicious activity in local politics. The most encouraging and hopeful view of the present situation is that the hand of the church has been pretty clearly shown in a way that ought to arouse the indignant Americanism of every citizen who would see our public-school system kept free from the taint of Romish control." And yet under the reform government Tammany Romanism was coddled and kept in place and power to an extent that, when the next municipal battle came, it had enough of its forces on the inside of the breastworks to make the work of the storming party easy and successful in the face of divided opposition.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TAMMANY MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION CLAIMED FROM THE CATHEDRAL PULPIT.

On Sunday, March 6, 1898, Father Sheedy of Altoona, Pa., delivered a lecture in the Cathedral in New York. The *Tribune* and other papers reported him as saying: "The Catholic Church in this country has put its seal of disapproval on the liquor traffic." He especially condemned the Sunday opening of saloons. He said: "Do not be scared by the chimera of a Puritan Sunday. There is no danger of you ever getting back to that. Cosmopolitan New York never had and never can have any odious blue laws. Give the workingman what he is entitled to—the Lord's Day, a day of rest;

make it a day of joy and gladness. Throw open for him the art galleries, the museums, the public libraries, if you will—and you do well to do so—but keep the door of the saloon tightly shut."

He then claimed that:

"The administration of this proud city of New York *has been intrusted to a party largely composed of Catholic citizens. What will the record be?* Will it help to make this city truly greater in moral and civic virtues? Greater in art, in literature, in patriotism, and in religious observance? Let it prove to the people and to the country at large that the hopes of the coming century are safely centered in the conservative and healing influences of the Catholic Church."

Father Doyle of the Church of the Paulist Fathers, in speaking of Father Sheedy's lecture, said it was the *official statement* from the diocese *made from the Cathedral pulpit against Sunday opening.*

What relation does this "official statement from the diocese made from the Cathedral pulpit against Sunday opening" bear to the other statement made from the same "Cathedral pulpit" by the same mouth, that "the administration of this proud city of New York has been intrusted to a party largely composed of Catholic citizens. *What will the record be?*" It is pertinent in the light of history, and not impertinent, to ask: *What has the record been?* One of the papers closes its account of the meeting with this record: "At the close of the lecture the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given by Archbishop Corrigan." A priest's comment on the Archbishop's part in this temperance meeting was: "His Grace must have been greatly embarrassed when he thought of the sources of his own revenues."

Roman Catholicism thus justly claims to rule New York City. We shall see what kind and character of rule she gives when she has full sway.

Father Malone, made a Regent of the University of the

State of New York by a Republican Legislature, and supposed to be anti-Tammany in political sympathy, recognized in the triumph of Tammany the benefit to Romanism, when, in addressing the younger members of his flock, on December 26, 1897, he said:

"Now that so many of the Tammany Hall leaders who will rule the city are members of the Catholic Church, they should be wise and seek to do good for the public, and not merely to attain their own end. Good service rendered to the public is of more value to the Catholic Church, when accomplished by one of its adherents, than any other moral action which can be presented."

Suppose it were true that the boss, the chief of police, the heads of departments, the keepers of saloons and brothels were, any considerable number of them, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, etc., would not the denominations be held responsible by the public? Would they not deserve to be? Roman Catholicism must be held responsible. We indict politico-ecclesiastical Romanism for the crimes of Tammany, for Tammany's power under Croker, as under Tweed, *is* and *was* only possible because of the solid Roman Catholic vote, and the Church benefits by the returns from this vice and crime in appropriations for her institutions and in contributions for her churches. We indict her because she benefits by the price of vice and could largely stop it if she would. The authorities of the Church claim that the government is Roman Catholic. They claim the power and they must meet the responsibility.

Archbishop Corrigan's jubilee in May, 1898, which rendered unnecessary a Tammany jubilee and which occurred at the same time for which the Tammany municipal jubilee was projected, but for personal reasons postponed, was attended and addressed by men who had been engaged in advocating municipal reform movements which had been rendered impossible by the solid Roman Catholic vote cast for Tammany

and controlled by Croker and Corrigan. This was diverting to the public as a monumental joke, and how the sides of the ecclesiastics and politicians must have ached with glee. Croker's reception at the Democratic Club presented similar felicities of juxtaposition.

The names of Tammany leaders, liquor-dealers, office-holders, and contractors, and the names of the bulk of the contributors to the Corrigan Jubilee Fund could be given in a single list without the necessity of duplicates. Croker's fête at the Democratic Club and Corrigan's Jubilee might have joined forces and saved expense.

An experienced politician on the *Press* recently wrote:

"The Roman Catholic is generally a successful politician. If I had an ambition to go to Congress from any district in this city, the first move in that direction would be to join the Catholic Church, get *en rapport* with Romanism, and then learn Irish."

When the Roman Catholic Church enters politics it must be held responsible for the results of its voting solidarity, and cannot separate its political from its religious responsibility without abdicating its claims to being a religious organization.

Richard Croker is the Roman Emperor of New York, because in the battle at the polls solid Roman legions won a victory under his lead and made his coronation possible.

He literally controls Manhattan, because he owns the men who grant the franchises to corporations, and who levy and collect the taxes, and who make the appropriations and spend the people's money. He makes the nominations for elective offices, including judges, and dictates the appointments of an immense army of office-holders, and all because he is backed by the solid Roman Catholic vote.

Croker said in response to the charges that New York was in October, 1898, "wide open": "If these men know of any violation of the law it is their duty to bring the matter to the attention of the District Attorney, and I am sure vigorous

prosecution will follow." The District Attorney to whom Croker referred citizens for redress was Asa Bird Gardiner, who was elected to office on his own platform consisting of the single plank: "To hell with reform."

That Mr. Croker is considered by his brethren and sisters in the faith as a religious political leader, and that Roman Catholicism and Tammany Hall are considered as religious partners will receive some authentication from the following correspondence which appeared in the *Sunday Union*, December 26, 1897. Mr. Croker was then at Lakewood surrounded by his court, where he was engaged in making the appointments for Mayor-elect Van Wyck, who was soon to take office. This touching correspondence appeared in the *Sunday Union* directly under the pictures of Richard Croker of Tammany Hall and Rev. M. J. Lavelle of the Cathedral:

SISTER MARY DAVID'S LETTER TO MR. CROKER.

"St. Joseph's Hospital, Twelfth Street,
"Long Island City, November 28.

"*Hon. Richard Croker:*

"Dear Sir: I hope you will pardon my intrusion in coming to you at your time of rest, yet I wish to let you know that we prayed most fervently to our Dear Lord and His Blessed Mother for your success; also for your restoration to health, when we heard you were ill. Now as a thanksgiving I wish to ask a little charity towards the erection of our new hospital which is in Greater New York. I enclose my poor wallet which will tell its own 'tale of woe.'

"We are sure you are chosen by our Dear Lord Himself. The day of election was dark and gloomy, but as soon as the victory was won, did not our Dear Lord send His sun to shine? Just at the time Mr. Van Wyck was proclaimed chief of Greater New York, the sun came out in all its splendor to prove that the Lord was with you in this contest and that you had His benediction.

"Thanking you in advance and with the assurance of our prayers and the prayers of our patients, I am,

"Yours most gratefully,
"Sister Mary David,
"Superintendent."

MR. CROKER'S RESPONSE.—CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

"LAKEWOOD, N. J., December 19, 1897.

"DEAR SISTER MARY DAVID:

"I found the enclosed wallet here in Lakewood. Evidently it belongs to you and so I return it. When it came into my possession it was empty, but with it there was a kind letter full of the most beautiful sentiments and fervent wishes. It, therefore, would not be just to restore the wallet in the impoverished condition in which it reached me, and so I have endeavored to show in some degree my appreciation of its companion letter by accompanying it on its return journey with a green check instead of the green-back requested.

"If you and the good Sisters with you, and your patients, will remember me in your prayers I will be forever grateful that the 'thin slim wallet' fell into my hands and was restored to you.

"With great respect,

"Yours very truly,

"RICHARD CROKER."

The editor of the *Union* closes his account of Mr. Croker's "fervent Catholic faith" and "charity" as follows:

"About the first act of Mr. Croker, after his return from the South after restoration to health, was to go to Tammany Hall, and move that $20,000 be given for the relief of the suffering poor. And much good is being done by this pious and generous act of charity."

It would be an interesting study, both in ethics and mathematics, to trace this $20,000, which was so ostentatiously voted by Tammany as a "pious and generous act of charity," to the sources from which it came.

New York is said to be the richest Roman Catholic diocese in the world, and large sums of money are sent from it to the Pope and the Propaganda in Rome. Tammany and the political power of the diocese being partners, the people of the metropolis of all political and religious faiths thus have normal and ready relations with the universal temporal and spiritual Sovereign Pontiff.

Tetzel sold indulgences, Croker sells patronage. Oh, for some patriotic political Luther among the honest Roman Catholics with conviction and courage to nail the bulls of this political Pope on the doors of the Cathedral and on the doors of the hall of Tammany.

As at the corner-stone laying of a Roman Catholic Church in this city in the spring of 1898, the Pope's flag was placed above the Stars and Stripes, so this relation of the two ensigns would have been entirely appropriate at the inauguration of the Mayor of New York on January 1, 1898.

If the Pope lived in New York to-day, he would not count himself a prisoner confined within the narrow limits of his papal palace, for he would possess, under the present municipal government, temporal power, all but absolute, with a restricted spiritual power.

During many years one heroic priest, Rev. Thomas J. Ducey, Rector of St. Leo's Church, has contended against the iniquities of Tammany, and "protested without ceasing against the efforts of Tammany Hall and its leaders to prostitute the foreign-born citizen and the Catholic name." He has also been a most self-sacrificing friend of the poor regardless of their sectarian relations, until his once ample private possessions have been thoroughly depleted. These facts were both distasteful and reproving to the Archbishop, Tammany's best friend in New York. His Grace's tender susceptibilities were so wounded when he saw his friends on the rack of the Lexow investigation, that he could not endure the spectacle of that one priest being present at the investigation, whose political independence was a menace to evil doers and a reproof to him and his politico-ecclesiastical following. The Archbishop wrote a letter to Father Ducey, and received a response which it is to be presumed he keeps among his archives, if he does not count it among his treasures.

Archbishop Corrigan's letter was dated from the "Archbishop's House, No. 452 Madison Avenue, New York,

November 14, 1894." It addressed the rector in the usual way as "Rev. Dear Sir," and opened with a passage substantially, if not literally, worded as follows:

"I have noticed with pain your repeated attendance at the sessions of the Lexow investigating committee.

"An honest Catholic layman would blush to go to such an assemblage as the Lexow investigating committee of his own free will.

"That you, a priest, should have attended such sittings daily, and seemed to glory in so doing, was most disedifying."

Succeeding the last passage came a paragraph to this effect:

"It has been rumored that you attended the sessions of the Lexow committee as a representative of the Holy See. The Cardinal Secretary of State has written to me that there is no truth in this, and has also forwarded to my address a copy of the *Osservatore Romano*, in which he caused it to be officially denied that the Rev. Thomas Ducey or anybody else has received such a commission."

The Archbishop then adds:

"I would not have allowed any other priest of the diocese to exhibit such conduct.

"Now that the elections are over I think it my duty to vindicate the sanctity of the priesthood.

"I hereby give you canonical admonition to abstain in future from going to the sessions of the Lexow committee without permission in writing from me.

"I trust you will be obedient."

His Grace's message (which the writer has seen and read) was signed,

"Very faithfully yours,

"M. A. Corrigan, Abp."

In answer to this interesting document Father Ducey sent the Archbishop the following letter:

"ST. LEO'S RECTORY, No. 18 EAST TWENTY-NINTH STREET,
"NEW YORK, November 17, 1894.

"*Most Reverend M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York.*

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have received a very strange letter which you deemed it necessary to send registered, in order, I presume, that your Excellency might have my receipt for same. I am glad you have my receipt.

"I regret to have received this evidence of your Excellency's want of appreciation of my persistent devotion and sacrifice in the interests of truth, morality, and religion. For years I have felt that you should be, next to the Holy Father now reigning, the greatest factor for good in the whole Catholic world. Unfortunately I am forced to say that here in New York, the greatest power in the world for good and humanity, and the Catholic Church, has been thrown to the winds, and we are now reaping the whirlwind. I am not the only man who believes and thinks that the greatest opportunity Heaven has thus far given to the Catholic Church since the days of our Lord and his apostles for good, has been sacrificed in the city of New York. Had the Church, through churchmen, openly acted with courage in opposing the corruption and corruptors of this great city, the Catholic Church would have glory throughout the world. Now, Dr. Parkhurst has won!

"Thank God, I am able to say that for more than twenty-five years I have, as a Catholic priest, protested without ceasing against the efforts of Tammany Hall and its leaders to prostitute the foreign-born citizen and the Catholic name. Dr. Parkhurst has had many elements to encourage and support him. I, unfortunately, have had no personal help or organized society to encourage me, but I have had the consciousness that I was meriting the blessing of God and Catholic truth and morality. I have been the one voice crying in the wilderness of corruption to make straight the ways of the Lord. I rejoice that Catholic truth has triumphed. If

all the churches and churchmen of every denomination had known their duty, and cried out against the conditions overturned on November 6, God's will would have long since been done on the earth of New York City.

"Now, let me say to your Excellency. I deem it the duty of every good citizen to assist the Lexow committee and its counsel in the effort to purify the city by removing the cesspool of crime and corruption created and fostered by the corrupt managers of Tammany Hall. The defeat of this corrupt power in the city of New York proves the truth of my view. I am pleased to know that I have been a humble factor in bringing about the result of November 6.

"There is nothing in my course 'now that the elections are over,' as you say, that calls for a 'vindication of the sanctity of the priesthood' by you, so far as my conduct is concerned. I certainly have, by my course, up to the day of the election, exerted every power to have honor reflected upon the priesthood. The City and the State of New York and the whole country recognize that I have not failed.

"I do not know in what way I have exposed myself to receive 'canonical admonition,' and I cannot see why I should 'be commanded to abstain in future from going to the sessions of the Lexow Committee without permission in writing' from Your Excellency. I have given my word that I would attend the sessions of this committee to its close, when not prevented by my duties. I know full well that I in no way transcend my rights as a priest by my interest in the Lexow investigation, and the best people of our city think and say that most certainly I am doing good work as a citizen by exerting every power to help the Lexow Committee to give us good government and secure and safeguard public as well as private morality.

"You say that you would not allow 'any other priest of the diocese to exhibit such conduct.' If my conduct is a bad exhibit I regret that you made me an exception.

"I think it is well known to the Apostolic Delegate and to

the Holy Father that I would be the last person in Your Excellency's diocese to place the Holy See in a compromising position. I trust you will be pleased to learn that I have most carefully safeguarded the Holy See in the archdiocese of New York and throughout the country, and I know Your Excellency will be pained to learn that I have in my keeping manuscript evidence from the very highest authority recognizing that here in the city of New York we have had the very front and citadel of organized opposition to the action and wishes of the Holy See.

"I shall be greatly pleased if Your Excellency will inform me under what canonical rules you forbid my presence at any further sessions of the Lexow Committee.

"Very truly yours,

"FATHER DUCEY."

If priests and laymen would follow the example of Father Ducey and assert their independence and sovereignty as citizens, Roman Catholicism would speedily be divorced from politico-ecclesiasticism, and its religious work would command the universal gratitude and commendation of mankind.

When it was first announced that Croker would not allow Judge Joseph F. Daly to be renominated for the Supreme Court the New York *Herald*, owned and edited by a Roman Catholic, said:

"Judge Daly is one of the most prominent and powerful Roman Catholic laymen in the city. He is a warm personal friend of Archbishop Corrigan, and he took a prominent part in the Archbishop's jubilee, as he is accustomed to do in all church affairs. He is president of the Catholic Club and has the support and backing of a majority of the wealthy and influential Catholics in New York City.

"These elements are deeply incensed at the suggestion of his retirement, and are said to be ready to fight for him.

"In other words, there is a threat of a contest at the polls between the Church influence and the organization. In Tam-

many Hall such a contest would almost certainly rend the machine from top to bottom.

"Judge Daly's partisans are saying that Mr. Croker cannot safely ignore the influence of the Church of which he is a member, and that if he persists in retiring Judge Daly the consequences will be disastrous to him."

Here it is again! The strength of Judge Daly's candidacy did not consist in his abilities and impartiality as a judge, but in the facts that he was a "prominent and powerful Roman Catholic," and that he would have "the Church influence." Prominent Roman Catholic priests and laymen have stated to us that the hierarchy took a most decided attitude in the election against Judge Daly and in favor of Croker's Tammany candidates. Not only was Daly's opponent a Romanist, but the ecclesiastical authorities could not afford to divide their vote and court defeat. The returns proved that the Roman Catholic vote was not divided.

One hundred and thirty-five thousand Tammany votes in November, 1896, meant simply the necessity, under instruction, of solidarity as a discipline for the coming successful contest for the control of the money and machinery of the Western Metropolis.

Tammany Hall has no power, unless by either ecclesiastical command or consent it can mass on sectarian grounds substantially the entire Roman Catholic vote.

Newspaper estimates of the political forces working with Tammany Hall take into account Bryanism and Crokerism, and bossism and combinations with the so-called machine politicians of different parties and factions, but steer clear of naming the one force which can mass a sectarian vote, which readily can draw to its conquering legions a host of men who realize that profit and preferment come with majorities, and that the party which enters the canvass with over one hundred thousand votes which cannot be diverted by any argument, is more liable to win than the party in which the slow

process of convincing and counting every individual sovereign must obtain. On this ground alone many who mean to be candid, but who have a natural ambition for preferment in different departments of human endeavor, enter Tammany Hall as their only hope for public advancement.

This enforced solidarity pays but a moiety of the taxes, but determines the policy which levies the taxes upon others.

Croker, in his relations to disobedient or refractory Tammany men, treats them as the hierarchy treats its recalcitrants—sends them into retreat for a period of humiliation and repentance. The experiences of Senator Grady and Senator Cantor and ex-Lieutenant Governor William F. Sheehan and his brother John C. Sheehan, whom Croker left for a little time in charge of his minions while he went to England to look after his horses, furnish illustrations as subjects of politico-ecclesiastical penalties.

The system of terrorism practiced by Tammany Romanism is something almost beyond belief. It makes cowards of otherwise respectable men. Many persons connected with different departments of the municipal government, who have thought it to be their duty to state to us facts concerning iniquities which have been forced upon their attention, have afterward been so intimidated that they have come to us with the most humiliating pleas that the incriminating facts which they have placed in our possession should not be published, because they and their families would be punished and be made to suffer. Honest citizens cannot render honest service for their fellow-citizens without suppressing their convictions, or without becoming *particeps criminis* by ignoring or concealing dishonesty and crimes.

In the Tammany Roman Catholic rule, if an office-holder of their own faith ever asserts his own independence of character and declines to accept the dictation of the boss in making the appointments at his disposal, the screws of the political inquisition are put upon him, and, if he holds an elective

office, when the time comes for a renomination for his office, he is mercilessly dropped, no matter what his merits. A notable illustration of this Spanish boss method in Tammany Romanism is found in the case of Justice Joseph F. Daly of the Supreme Court in New York. Judge Daly was one of the most satisfactory judges in the State, trusted and honored by all honest members of the bar. He was president of the Roman Catholic Club of New York. But he had, when last elected, declined to submit to Croker's dictation in making certain court appointments, and the boss issued the edict of political damnation.

When the reform administration came into office the patronage of the Department of Charities and Corrections as it existed on January 1, 1898—this department having supervision of all criminals, prisoners, workhouses, insane asylums, hospitals, and almshouses—was under the control of the Roman Catholic Church authorities, and the great majority of the employees of these departments were Irish Catholics. In one division of the department where there were in the year 1895 about 90 employees, 2 only were non-Catholic, while two years later in the same division, in 1898, there were about 126 employees, 6 or 7 of whom only were non-Catholic. This condition was made possible by the constant supervision of the departments; so that the authorities of the Church were promptly notified of possible vacancies, and they immediately presented a candidate for the vacant position. In the almshouse during this period, according to the records of the nativity and creed of inmates, there were about 72 per cent. of foreign birth, about 66⅔ per cent. Roman Catholic, and about 56 per cent. Irish-born Roman Catholics.

Because of the honest performance of his duties as he understood them, irrespective of politics or creed, one of the officials of the department under Mayor Strong's administration was subjected to much abuse by anonymous letters and threatening language. Certain statements, letters, and other documents

were placed in the hands of one of the Commissioners charging the official with harshness toward the Roman Catholic employees of his division, the charges being made by one Father Murray, who was in close official relations with Archbishop Corrigan, and prominently identified with the League of the Sacred Heart. The Commissioner and the official thus charged visited the priest at his apartments adjoining the Cathedral, where the matter was discussed. The documents and statements were repudiated by the official, who succeeded in convincing both the priest and the Commissioner that the statements and charges therein contained were untrue. Thus the reform administration had to account for its conduct to the ecclesiastical Tammany head.

But Mayor Strong had repeatedly said he appointed Commissioner O'Bierne to represent the Roman Catholics in the Board of Charities, and the Commissioner loyally reported to his master on Madison Avenue, and not at the City Hall.

The Convent of Mercy at East Eighty-first Street supplies most of the attendants, nurses, and helpers to the institutions on Randall's Island. The recommendations of the Mother Superior of this institution are the basis upon which most of these appointments are made. These recommendations usually have a cross at the top marked with a pen thus, ×, and this is meant to signify that the bearer is a Roman Catholic and that the appointment is greatly desired. Recommendations not having such mark are not thought to be worthy of serious consideration.

Among the inmates of the Almshouse and Hospital for the Incurable supported by the city were found many well-to-do persons, who were members of Roman Catholic families, and some of them were parents or relatives of influential Tammany office-holders; others boasted of their membership in Tammany Hall committees, while one had formerly been the official architect for the department. Another boasted that he was a member of the Divver Club, and as he was most migratory in

his habits, having been admitted and readmitted a great number of times during the past nineteen years in the Almshouse, it was evident that he was there to arrange the matter of securing lodging places for the inmates outside about election time, so that they could be voted for Tammany.

The newspaper and other reports show that great numbers of this class of inmates were discharged and readmission refused them during the reform administration, thus effecting considerable saving to the city.

One inmate claimed to be the wife of a prominent city official high in the councils of Tammany.

Under the previous Tammany administration the first question put to an applicant for position was: "Are you a Roman Catholic?"

It was repeatedly stated by one of the officers connected with the workhouse that anyone who was not a Roman Catholic, or anyone who voted for Strong, was a traitor and should have no place on the Islands.

When Tammany was restored to power in 1898 John W. Keller was appointed Commissioner of Charities by Croker, despite the fact that Thomas J. Mulry, connected with the Roman Catholic Protectory, with many Catholic Charities, and with the St. Vincent de Paul Society, was a prominent candidate for appointment to that position, indorsed by the Church authorities.

When Croker declined to appoint Mulry then the Church authorities made a great effort to secure his appointment on the State Board of Charities. Not able to secure this appointment of a Roman Catholic Democrat by a Republican Governor, a feast was held in the City of New York, at which a Roman Catholic Republican was discovered and his appointment was secured.

When Tammany came into power in 1898 it found a company of self-sacrificing Protestant women, giving time and money and kindly unsectarian Christian ministrations for the

benefit of the unfortunate prisoners in the Tombs City Prison. The new Tammany Roman Catholic warden immediately excluded these women from the women's ward of the prison, requiring them to hold all their communications and intercourse with these poor creatures through the bars of the prison doors. The warden, however, always admitted to the women's ward all women visitors dressed in the garb of the Sisters of Charity.

We are informed by an official that Mr. McCartney, the Commissioner of Street Cleaning, issued a verbal order that on pay day in his department, Sisters of Charity only are to be permitted to be present to collect money from the men when they are paid off.

Just before elections—municipal, State, and national—are to take place the tramps and worthless wretches are gathered in from the benches of City Hall Park and Madison and Washington Squares, and from the almshouses and other Tammany hotels, and given lodgings at cheap places until after election, and then they return to their country-seats, with the noble consciousness of having done their duty as sovereigns in placing the property of the taxpayers in the hands of Tammany.

Romanists use the courts to keep their institutions of charity and correction filled and then make their demands upon State and municipal treasuries for the money to support them, and they have uniformly secured it under the political control of both parties, because of the fear of their solid voting power.

Preceding the State election in New York State in the autumn of 1898 men were appointed as workmen and placed on the pay-roll between August 1 and October 16, who were pensioners on the Department of Charities in the City of New York and who were inmates of the almshouses and other institutions in this department. The salary of these men was fixed at sixty dollars a year and upward, and

they were registered as voters, but continued to be inmates of the institutions. The law prescribes that an inmate of these institutions supported either wholly or in part by the State neither gains nor loses a residence. These men by law were obliged to work if they were able, while they were supported by the State, but then, if the law was complied with, they could not vote.

Forty-two men registered from the Municipal Lodging House, where men can only lodge at most for three nights, when they are sent to some charitable or penal institution. Ninety men illegally registered from Bellevue Hospital.

Many of the city magistrates, appointed under a reform administration, were afraid in this election of 1898 to perform their duties and help enforce the election laws when illegally registered men were brought before them, because they feared Tammany might carry the State, and in that case they would be legislated out of office.

While Tammany papers and politicians assault monopolies and combinations of capital for the purpose of breeding discontent among their following, expecting that this discontent will prove a cohesive power to hold them together, the leaders profit from street-railroad, gas, and contract monopolies. Many Tammany office-holders, taking advance information from their chiefs, invested their money, supposedly secured by the sweat of their brows in the service of the city, in Manhattan and Metropolitan Railway stocks in 1898, when the war scare of February 24 annihilated their investments. Like other speculators and investors they would have commanded public sympathy, but for the fact that the city treasury was still accessible.

The New York *Journal*, January 21, 1899, says:

"The Tammany Hall clique embraces Richard Croker, John F. Carroll, 'Ed' Kearney, John D. Crimmins, John Scannell, 'Tim' Sullivan, 'Tom' Dunn, and 'Jimmy' Martin. These men are known to have made in the aggre-

gate over five million dollars out of their operations in Manhattan, Metropolitan, the lighting companies, the Brooklyn trolleys, and compressed air—all the stocks affected by municipal action."

The *Evening Telegram* in July, 1898, fairly stated the facts concerning the importance and control of the Police Department:

"The Board is still firmly in the grasp of Tammany, while the appointment of Devery as Chief puts the force under Tammany control as completely as it was in the halcyon days of the Wigwam.

"Could anything signalize more conspicuously the return of the braves to their old hunting grounds than the evolution of the new Chief from the captain pursued by Parkhurst, prosecuted by the Society for the Prevention of Vice, hunted by the Lexow detectives, denounced by the Roosevelt reformers, widely charged with police dereliction, and after all rewarded for his loyalty to Tammany and devotion to Croker by elevation to the very head of the force?

"In no other branch of the municipal service does control mean so much. On it depends whether the police force shall be corrupt and inefficient or honest and efficient, whether servility to politicians or loyalty to the public shall prevail, whether crime shall be protected or punished—in short, whether New York shall be an orderly, well-policed metropolis or a city in which full license is given to the worst elements."

In the police department under Tammany decent and true men, and there are hundreds of them, are humiliatingly used to suit the political vagaries and necessities of their masters. They must be blind to law-breaking as a rule, and then, when protected vice gets so unblushing as to become a public scandal, or an election places a Governor and Legislature in power that may curb, expose, and punish iniquity, they are compelled to violently suppress practices which they

have before protected, and drag to prison characters who supposed themselves privileged as the constituents of a boss whom they had helped enthrone in power. Tammany makes the police force a political machine. While Colonel Waring put "a man instead of a voter behind every broom," Tammany aims to put a voter instead of a man behind every policeman's club and street-cleaner's broom. The Tammany boss and district leaders control the police department both in its discipline and appointments, and is therefore responsible for its derelictions and demoralization.

Tammany, on return to power, was not content until every Roman Catholic Tammany police officer smirched by the Lexow investigation had been returned to place and promotion. Proven rascality in office seemed to be a sure title to reward. She also punished the officers who under oath had told the truth about her iniquities.

As late as January 16, 1899, Hon. Frank Moss, former President of the Police Board and a man whose ability and fairness decent citizens respect, in a letter to Governor Roosevelt, said:

"*Respected Sir:* It is generally known that the police department of our city is in a deplorable situation, and that the city itself is in an outrageous condition of immorality. Some of those who are powerful in the affairs of the department are openly and conspicuously interested in law-breaking enterprises, the morale and discipline of the force are steadily retrograding, and those members of it who have been conspicuous for decency are discriminated against most severely.

"The notorious officers now controlling it do not conceal the fact that they are making it serve the purposes of the Tammany organization. In my judgment the condition grows worse steadily."

A party without a single moral or political principle is embodied in Tammany. It is simply and unblushingly a conspiracy for plunder and office, and its solidarity is maintained by

the cohesive power of ecclesiastical domination over faith, morals, and political affiliations.

It demoralizes men of otherwise high character in the legal and other professions who have honorable ambitions for promotion, by obliging them to be affiliated with the lowest and most disreputable political elements and submit to the arbitrary despotism of an imperious boss as the price of their promotion.

In October, 1898, after Tammany had been in power about ten months, and just preceding a State election, there appeared in *Harper's Weekly* an article by Franklin Matthews, entitled "*Wide-open New York. What renewed Croker government means, and what is to be expected.*" The facts stated by the writer were so patent, and the people throughout the State so thoroughly believed them, that they had a very important, if not a decisive effect in defeating the Croker State ticket, despite the fact that he held his forces together in the city with marvelous solidarity—a solidarity only possible when ecclesiastical and political power are in alliance. The indictment drawn up by Mr. Matthews was simply terrific, not only against Tammanyism as an institution, but against individual offenders against law and decency. The chief individual offenders named were Roman Catholics. The article closes thus:

"This is what Tammany has done in ten months. Around and through and over and under its administration runs a branching trail of vice, corruption, filth, and extortion. The trail leads straight up to Tammany Hall, as straight and as unerringly as the magnetic needle points toward the pole. There is no other place for it to go. Along its course the money-chariot, bearing tribute, rolls. It leaves in its wake a debauched police force, and hundreds, yes, thousands of young lives—men and women—the 'come-ons' in vice, the fresh supply without which the system of plunder could not exist. What cares Tammany for police discipline, what cares Tam-

many for the lives that are being ruined and the thousands that are yet to be ruined, so long as blood-money and tribute roll in for distribution in political work or for personal enrichment?

"Tammany has set its eyes on the plunder of the State capital. There are saloons all over the State. State gambling privileges should be worth something. Votes are to be controlled by contracts, and money is to be gathered in by scores of ways."

On January 18, 1899, Father Doyle of the Paulist Fathers, in a temperance sermon to men, said:

"There is not a doubt that the saloon as it exists here and now in this city is responsible in a great measure for the destruction of civic honor as well as for the debasement of home and virtue. Whatever the reason may be, I know that never has such a viciousness grouped itself about the saloons before as now surrounds them in this city.

"The vilest places are flourishing right under the eyes of the police, and if they do not know of them it is because they are so derelict in their duty as to overlook what ordinary citizens see without half trying. Not a hundred miles from where I stand there are criminal violations of the laws and debaucheries which I dare not name in this sacred place, which a vigilant official might easily suppress."

The dives are under perfect control—that is, they pay their regular tribute for protection and thus become a systematic part of the Roman Catholic government.

The Church authorities never repudiate receipts from these disreputable sources, but gladly absorb them and grant pardon and indulgence to the wretches who contribute of their ill-gotten gains.

The *Tribune* of December 19, 1898, speaking of the Board of Aldermen under the present Tammany Roman combination government, says:

"There are a good many amusing things about the govern-

ment of the city of New York, but they are only amusing if one can forget the side of them that is exasperating. The taxpayer is the man least likely to appreciate the humor of the municipal administration.

"The Board of Aldermen has always been an interesting body for a variety of reasons, but it has seldom been so amusing as it is at present. The very large proportion of Tammany members is responsible for this circumstance. Tammany office-holders do not intend to be amusing, and therefore they are. They are amusing, in the first place, in appearance. Most of them are Irish. A good many of them are German. Here are some of their names: Byrne, Geagan, Dooley, Keegan, McGrath, Dunn, Hennessy, Geiser, Roddy, Keahon, Schneider, Cronin, Gaffney, McEneaney, Flinn, McKeever. These be the rulers of the American metropolis. If the visitor to the City Hall could forget where he was he might easily be induced to believe that he was attending a brewers' convention or a meeting of the Universal Barkeepers' Association. There is a profusion of eighteen-inch necks, five-foot waists, Bowery mustaches, and crimson noses. There is, however, such a conglomeration of various sorts of English as can rarely be heard in any one place.

"Parliamentary procedure in the Board of Aldermen is a thing to roar at one moment and shed tears over the next. Tammany rides roughshod over anything that's anti-Tammany. 'To hell with reform!' was Tammany's campaign slogan, and now that the victors are in the full enjoyment of the spoils, the reformers are consigned along with reform."

Again, on February 2, 1899, in an article on the Tammany New York City administration, the New York *Tribune* says:

"In every department of the city government places have been made for Tammany adherents who are entirely unfit for public office and have been appointed to places with large salaries solely for political reasons. The number of employees

has been increased for no other purpose than to create salaries for loafers who are useful in carrying Tammany primaries and keeping the district leaders in power. The increased burden to the city by such appointments and by wholly unnecessary increases of salaries will amount this year to about one million dollars."

After the heads of departments in the New York City government had been appointed and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment held its meetings to provide for the expenditures in the different departments, so thoroughly were these men aware that they were the creatures of a boss that they permitted themselves to be insulted and abused by the boss-owned Mayor, who scolded like a virago at almost every meeting of the Board, and pronounced judgment before votes were taken, and no slave ventured to make a protest because he knew that the slave-driver's tongue wagged at the will of the master who created and controlled him.

Tammany's attack on the schools is a part of the politico-ecclesiastical Romanist programme to discredit them and thus give excuse for the extension and support at the public expense of parochial schools. Mayors Grace and Gilroy attempted to place, and largely succeeded in placing, the public schools under Roman Catholic control for sectarian and political purposes. One of Mayor Van Wyck's chief inspirations for the exhibition of his irritable and unmanly temper has been the improved condition of the public schools under his predecessor, and his inability to secure Albany legislation to enable him to Romanize them. His first opportunities for appointment of School Commissioners have been used to place men over the schools who are subservient to Rome, and who are reactionary in their views and methods.

Public sentiment goaded the Mayor until he hysterically made a great show of friendliness for the public schools, and even posed as an expert in their management, not, however, until the time arrived when he was able under the law to

change the composition and character of the Board of School Commissioners.

An eminent citizen of the borough of Brooklyn, New York City, on January 27, 1899, wrote as follows:

"About June 1 Mayor Van Wyck will name fifteen members of the Board of Education for Brooklyn. Of the fifteen named last June *eleven* were Romanists. He turned out long experienced and able members in order to make place for the eleven Romanists. There was a howl of indignation, but of course it amounted to nothing, as his appointments were made. He may be planning for the same end in his next appointments. Can anything be done to avert this calamity? Our teachers are being appointed largely from the Romish Church, and the aggression of that church is unceasing."

On December 30, 1898, School Commissioner Jacob W. Mack was reported in the daily papers as saying, concerning the reappointment of two former Roman Catholic Commissioners:

"The destiny of the schools in a vital measure depends on the new members who are to come in. If they are such men as Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Moriarty I would not care to make a prediction as to the future. These two members have proved most offensive, even in the short time they have been connected with the Board since their appointment. They were put in only for political purposes and ends, and they are doing that for which they were appointed."

When interviewed concerning the indignant response of Commissioners O'Brien and Moriarty to his strictures, Mr. Mack replied:

"I meant all I said. I think the fate of the schools is very dubious if such ignorant, illiterate men as Mr. Moriarty are to have the conduct of them. There was one error in the way I was quoted. I said that these men who had been reappointed by the Mayor had, when in the Board before,

been its most offensive element, not that they had proved offensive now, as they had not yet had time.

"The Mayor has shown what he wants. He has announced publicly, privately, and in the press that what he would choose to do is to take all the Board members and throw them out. Then he would give a system of the three 'R's.' These he has given us already in Moriarty and O'Brien, whose names contain the traditional 'three R's.' That is enough for the Mayor, as it is as much as he knows."

The reference of Mr. Mack to the classical Roman alliteration of "R. R. R." would indicate that his experience in the Board of Education had convinced him that the classics of the present New York school system were dictated by modern and not ancient Rome.

That some cultured and candid Roman Catholics are humiliated by the dominance of Crokerism, while they seem to be unwilling to recognize the sole source of its power, is proven by the fact that Mr. John Brisben Walker, editor and proprietor of the *Cosmopolitan*, himself a Roman Catholic, on November 19, 1898, issued through the press of New York City an appeal summoning "Democrats" to rise and overthrow Richard Croker. The appeal says:

"Notwithstanding the protest by the votes of dissatisfied Democrats at the late election, there is no sign of weakening in the power of Richard Croker. The immense sums which are being extracted from the community on various pretenses give him an *unlimited corruption fund* and enable him to grasp the levers of his political machinery with a hold from which no power within the organization can remove him.

"I have hesitated long before being willing to enter personally upon the arduous struggle which a conflict with Crokerism involves. But there must be a beginning. Someone must initiate opposition to usurpation.

"To enter upon the task of pulling down Crokerism means a long fight. Success will not come in a day or a month.

The work will be resolutely carried on until, in the opportune moment, Democracy will be rescued from its worst foes.

"Given over absolutely to Crokerism, the City and State of New York will eventually be bankrupted. Reputable business men are to-day being forced to *submit to levies*, direct or indirect, in order to carry on *their affairs, without obnoxious interference.* The poor, through the medium of rents and injury to the business under which they are now receiving employment, will equally become the victims of such a system.

"Men who have at heart the good of their communities; who seek to protect themselves and their fellow-citizens against aggression; who desire the advancement of the cause of labor; who would have the courts elevated beyond the dangers of prostitution, must pause now and consider in what direction Crokerism is carrying them. If they believe with the ideas here advanced, they owe it to themselves to give active support to this movement for a return to the true ideals of Democracy."

No man has ever ventured to suggest that Mayor Van Wyck had anything to say about the men he was to appoint to the large number of lucrative offices within the gift of the Mayor of Greater New York. Soon after the municipal election of 1897 Mr. Croker made his headquarters at Lakewood, N. J. Office-seekers by the hundred made their pilgrimage to this politico-ecclesiastical-Roman-Catholic-Tammany Mecca, and the Mayor-elect presented himself at Croker's hotel; his Honor being apparently delighted at this subservient humiliation in the presence of that conclave of patriots. Whenever Croker spent a Sunday at Lakewood the papers advertised the fact that he and the men whom he afterward appointed to office attended the Roman Catholic Church, while the Mayor-elect Van Wyck, in the interests of religious toleration, attended the Episcopal Church, and thus proved the unsectarian character of an absolutely Roman Catholic administration about to be inaugurated.

Here Croker on week-days and Sundays tyrannically doled out the offices at his own sweet will, and the press never so much as hinted at Van Wyck having anything to say concerning the distribution of political spoils. We are informed that he was not even permitted to reward ex-Mayor Grant, who conducted his campaign, by appointing a single man to an office of his nomination. For the confidential office of private secretary to the Mayor, Croker selected a man trained in the school of the Jesuits.

Usually when Croker has appointed a man to office who is not a Romanist, and this number is very small, he has placed by his side a Jesuit sentinel in the person of a secretary or assistant.

When Tammany had been installed a few months in power, on April 23, 1898, Croker went back to England, but he considerately left the Mayor and the officers of the metropolis in charge of a Roman Catholic triumvirate consisting of John F. Carroll, Daniel F. McMahon, and John Whalen.

While Mr. Croker was in England his representatives in New York declined to say anything on political matters. When he returned to New York on July 29, 1898, he was met as usual at the steamship landing by his faithful satraps. He went to the Savoy Hotel, where Mayor Van Wyck and the other creatures of his power were awaiting his arrival, that they might report the condition of the different departments of his undisputed domain and take his orders. No dictator in any land or in any period of history has ever wielded more absolute power over his subjects than this man wields over his Roman Catholic following and the men who for place and political ends have surrendered their destinies to his sovereignty, while most of the intelligent and respectable tax-paying part of the citizenship are the victims of his papal temporal rule.

Croker and his Roman following prating about reform in State and national affairs and seeking to control them in the

interests of reform, with the iniquitous administration of municipal affairs in New York City—which are absolutely under their control—"wide open" to the inspection of the world, presents an audacious spectacle amounting to the sublime.

In the report of an interview with Croker which appeared in the papers of October 15, 1898, he said:

"Tammany Hall never asks the religion of a man it considers fitted for office. Every attempt in this country to put religion into politics has failed. Judge Daly will find that in his case there will be another failure."

The public knew that Croker was both a bruiser and a theologian, but this utterance will establish his reputation as a humorist.

In October, 1898, Croker issued the following proclamation:

"I wish to announce now, once and forever, that as long as I am alive I shall not retire from the leadership of Tammany Hall. Please announce this for me in the words that I have used. The fact that Mr. Carroll has resigned his court clerkship means that he is to aid me very materially in conducting the affairs of Tammany Hall."

What a relief this proclamation brought to the citizens of this proud metropolis of the Western World!

The government of New York City being concededly Tammany and Roman Catholic, and the political strength of each being the political strength of the other, the political and ecclesiastical chiefs being respectively the heads of these two institutions, the combination must legitimately be counted as representing the most perfect specimen of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism which the United States has exhibited to the world. Little Tammanys and similar combinations can be found at many centers of population, but New York is the proud possessor of the richest monopoly and trust resulting from a politico-ecclesiastical combination which the world can show since the Middle Ages.

Politico-ecclesiastical Tammany Romanism in New York City has an ecclesiastical head, a political head, and a figurehead. The ecclesiastical head and the figurehead, to secure unity in action from trinity of persons, speak *ex cathedra* through the will of the political head. The political head is Richard Croker. The important facts in this conspicuous and powerful man's career are stated as follows:

Born in County Cork, Ireland, fifty-five years ago. Came to America when three years of age. His education was secured by three years' attendance upon the public schools. His youth was spent among the disreputable and dangerous classes, of which by physical prowess he became a recognized leader. When twenty-one years of age he began his political career, like his illustrious predecessor Tweed, by joining the Volunteer Fire Department. He held a position of court officer under Judge Barnard. When twenty-five years of age he became an alderman.

Mr. Croker's early political activity is referred to in the New York *Tribune* of October 13, 1868:

"New York City was fast emptied of many of her roughs yesterday. Sunday evening and yesterday their ugly countenances were seen congregating around the Camden and Amboy Railroad depot, all bound for Philadelphia. These roughs and bullies are the repeaters who intend to swell the Democratic vote in Philadelphia to-day, providing they are not apprehended. They have been recruited in almost every ward in the city, and each delegation is headed by a prominent 'striker,' who is to receive the lion's share of the funds. . . Among them were members of the 'Pudding Gang from the Swamps' in the Fourth Ward; the 'Dead Rabbits Crowd,' from the Five Points and Mulberry Street, in the Sixth Ward; the 'Old White Ghost Runners,' from the Tenth Ward; the 'Old Rock Rangers' vacated the Fourteenth Ward, and a large number of 'Mackerelites,' 'Hookites,' 'Fungtown and Bungtown Rangers,' and

a number of other organized bands of roughs left this classic locality, and last, but not least, were one hundred and fifty Metropolitan Bandits, under the notorious Dick Croker, all well armed and spoiling for a fight. They hail from the Twenty-first Ward. Fully five thousand of the most hardened desperadoes of this city are now in Philadelphia."

Editorially the *Tribune* said on the same date: "The 'roughs' of this city and Baltimore have swarmed to Philadelphia by thousands." This contest was a preliminary skirmish to defeat the election of General Grant on the ensuing November 3.

Mr. Croker held for a time the office of superintendent of markets.

The New York *Times* of September 8, 1871, contains the following historic statement:

"On last Tuesday, September 5, about 8.45 P. M., ex-Alderman Richard Croker, of the Twenty-first Ward, who is the leader of the St. Patrick's Alliance (Dick Connolly's secret organization in that ward), with the assistance of another individual, who can be identified by parties who were present, assaulted a man named James Moore with a slung-shot, knocking him down and then kicking him, at the corner of Third Avenue and Thirty-first Street. The ex-alderman is now holding a sinecure position under Dick Connolly, and is occasionally appointed as a commissioner on street openings. He is also the individual who put in a bid for Washington Market (it is supposed) as a blind for 'Slippery Dick.'"

His closest political preceptors when he was being schooled for leadership were Richard B. Connolly and Henry W. Genet. He was baptized and received into the Roman Catholic Church by Father Edward McGlynn. He was in succession coroner, marshal, fire commissioner, and city chamberlain. A dispatch received at the Police Headquarters on the morning of November 4, 1874, stated:

"At 7.40 A. M. an altercation took place at Second Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street between Richard Croker, John Sheridan, Henry Hickey, James O'Brien, and John McKenna. McKenna was shot in right side of head; fatal wound; taken to Bellevue."

The Coroner's inquest was a sham. McKenna died, Croker was tried for murder, when the jury disagreed and was discharged.

John Kelly as Tweed's successor sustained a relation to Croker, who has become his successor, in Croker's connection with the McKenna murder, which was utterly in defiance of all the forms and processes of justice, as the newspaper and court records of the time show.

The New York *Times*, November 17, 1874, said:

"Anything more outrageous than the way in which this notorious ruffian, Croker, has been taken in hand and protected by Kelly it would be difficult to imagine."

At forty-three years of age he was constituted boss of Tammany Hall. He has become rich since he has been in the political business. He has become a celebrated turfman in the Old World and the New. He is princely in the prodigality of his expensive living. He has become the greatest single political power in the Empire State, if not in the nation. He can compel the obedience of Tammany's Congressmen, State Senators, and Assemblymen in the performance of their legislative duties. He orders an assault upon corporate interests in New York City, and Mayor, heads of departments, and Municipal Assembly all obediently fall into line in what he religiously styles a "holy war," and what the people believe to be a crusade "for revenue only." Statesmen do him reverence and obey his behests, and office-seekers and politicians are his slaves. Decent men who have political ambitions despise his personality and hate themselves while they fawn at the foot of his throne. What constitutes the power of this man with such a training and such a history?

Robert A. Van Wyck. *Richard Croker.*

Michael Augustine Corrigan.

John F. Carroll *Hugh McLaughlin.*

THE RULERS OF GREATER NEW YORK.

All intelligent men know, but few are willing to state what they know. Rob this uncrowned despot of his solid Roman Catholic following, and he would fall to his proper level of obscurity.

At the dawn of the year of our Lord, 1899, we indict the politico-ecclesiastical Romanism of New York for the crimes of Tammany, because Tammany was put in power by its solid vote, is held in power by its support, and it profits without protest from Tammany's rascalities and ill-gotten gains.

We make the following points in our indictment:

(1) The absolute and unquestioned ruler of Tammany Hall, Richard Croker, is an honored and trusted Roman Catholic, a true son of the Church, who is praised for his liberal and religious character by the press of his Church and publicly assured that he is prayed for at the altars where he worships.

(2) Mr. Croker's trusted lieutenants—the general committeemen, district leaders, and immense following—are chiefly Roman Catholics, the exceptions constituting only a small fraction.

(3) The city of New York is now ruled by a Tammany Administration with its municipal council and its executive departments almost absolutely in the hands of Roman Catholics nominated or appointed by Mr. Croker; the few office-holders who are not Roman Catholics being subservient in their responsibility to their creator.

(4) The Tammany President of Police Commissioners is a Roman Catholic, and he has restored to place and power the Roman Catholic officers who were disgraced by the exposure of their crimes by the Lexow investigation, which exposure Archbishop Corrigan attempted to prohibit Father Ducey —an honest and open priestly enemy of Tammany—from witnessing.

(5) The Chief of Police is a Roman Catholic. He has been restored to power by Mr. Croker "to repeat the in-

famous practices which had tarnished his previous career," as the Governor of the State said in a message to the legislature. Considering his official position and incident responsibilities, only one of two conclusions can be drawn concerning the status of this Chief of Police: he is either an imbecile and personally irresponsible while his sponsors are solely responsible, or he and his sponsors are partners in the most amazing catalogue of iniquities which ever disgraced a civilized municipality. Romanism through the manipulations of its monastic orders in Manila never excelled in the completeness of its degrading work the Roman Catholic Police Department of New York City, in the rapidity with which it has degraded the metropolis of this civilized nation.

(6) The chief offenders against the laws which Roman Catholic officials not only decline to enforce, but, on the contrary, extend protection to their violators, are themselves Roman Catholics.

(7) The reform administration made great progress in putting the public-school system on a creditable basis, but restored Rome-ruled Tammany arrested the work of the schools by stopping the erection of necessary buildings, and refused sufficient money even for heating and ventilating. And when the first opportunity to turn out efficient School Commissioners came, the most disreputable and inefficient Roman Catholic Commissioners under a former Tammany rule were reappointed, to begin the work of restoring the school system condemned by the hierarchy to the control of sectarians, who insist upon ruling the system where they cannot ruin it.

(8) The politico-ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in New York City know these facts and have it in their power to change the wicked and criminal conditions or to discipline the leaders, but that would alienate their Roman Catholic political following, which constitutes their chief strength.

The politico-ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Cath-

olic Church in New York City, declining to stop these iniquities permitted and committed by their members, must stand both indicted and convicted before the bar of decent public opinion of participation in gambling, drunkard-making, sale of virtue, debauching children, brazen prostitution, violation of official oaths, protection of crimes, and sapping the foundations of civil society.

The population of the city of New York, which is now under the absolute rule of politico-ecclesiastical Tammany Romanism, is 3,350,000. This is larger than the population of the thirteen original colonies at the time of the beginning of the republic. It is larger than any one of the forty-five States except Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio. It is three-fourths as large as the present population of Ireland. It is more than two-thirds as large as the entire number of people in Spain who can read and write.

While Croker was making the appointments for Mayor Van Wyck, preceding and at the time of the inauguration of the restored Tammany régime, the wholesale character of his work seemed to stupefy the public sense into silence, but when early in 1899 on account of the death of Mr. Peters, President of the Borough of Manhattan, a single important office was to be filled, the public anxiety was somewhat aroused as to the successorship, and many names were canvassed for the place. On January 5 the members of the Council assembled with Mayor Van Wyck in the chair. Croker's representative arose and nominated James J. Coogan and he was unanimously elected. But for the charter requirements, there was no occasion for the assembling of the Council.

One year after Tammany was restored to power on January 11, 1899, the New York *Tribune* said:

"The evolution of our city government makes progress. The Municipal Assembly no longer pretends to be responsible to the people. Mr. Croker openly tells the Tammany district

bosses to tell their Councilmen and Aldermen what to do. They do not attend meetings because they are public officers, but because Mr. Croker tells them to attend, and when they fail to attend he lectures them like school children. Mr. Van Wyck is Mayor, but Mr. Croker is the government."

Such absolute power as is here recorded is a menace to republican government and an affront to decency among citizens. Archbishop Corrigan could call a halt on this tyrant by a single edict, but he does not propose to dissolve the politico-ecclesiastical partnership. Again we repeat, Croker's absolutism rests alone upon his control of the solid Roman Catholic vote. How long will the citizens of the goodly city submit to this tyrannical personal rule?

Yet in the face of all this New Yorkers are proud of New York, but not proud of the facts. The legislation of the State Capitol in Albany, while often bad, has nevertheless hedged about property, the courts, and the schools in the metropolis with such safeguards that there is a limit to the power of its imported Roman rulers and masters for spoliation. These subjects of a foreign monarch are constantly crying out for larger "home-rule" for the city, but the citizens of character have reason to be thankful that the "hayseed" or suburban members of the law-making body of the State are still in the majority, and that most of these are of American origin and instincts, or are thorough Americans by choice and adoption.

Inspired with civic pride, why do not the thinking and patriotic people of New York control its administrative, financial, educational, and civic interests? Because they are not willing to be informed of the perils and are not organized for results, and all reform movements heretofore have, from stubbornness or from cowardice, refused to recognize the one insuperable barrier to reform.

While we speak plain things concerning political Romanism because we believe its power over the individual citizen is

baleful, and its power over the State is perilous, we make no assault upon the religious faith of the Roman Catholic. We appeal to him as a man and citizen to assert in political action his freedom of conscience, and not surrender it to the political dictation of another under the guise of religion. It is not religion, for religion is the relation which responsible man sustains to his God. The man capable of exercising judgment must be anchored by faith to a principle which commends itself to his enlightened and unfettered conscience. We beg of him to become a free man by asserting his personal political independence and thus prove his right politically to be counted a free man.

TO THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

The honor has been reserved by Providence for the great republic to put an end to politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in its perfected form as represented by Spain on the Western Hemisphere. This power must now be told to keep its hands off the institutions that have made us strong enough to do this work for humanity.

Future historians who will write upon the Spanish-American War of 1898 will depend largely for their data upon the records preserved in State papers, Congressional debates, and in accounts published in the daily press and other periodicals of that period. It is now too early, and we are too near the enactment of the events, to expect a standard authentic and philosophical history soon to appear. But it will prove interesting, instructive, and profitable to pass in review in chronological order the recorded events while one chapter of this wonderful American history was being enacted. We made history so rapidly in 1898 that we are liable to appreciate inadequately some of its most pregnant chapters. The chronological record of the Spanish-American War needs to be read in the light of the facts of our origin as a nation, in the light of what our American institutions are and what they cost.

The relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the Spanish-American War as a war of civilizations has especial interest for the American citizen, because of the claims of the Papacy over the faith, morals, and political action of all its subjects in all lands. Many of those subjects being American citizens and many others being Spanish citizens, the American people were interested to know what the attitude of the Sovereign Pontiff would be in a controversy in which his subjects were found on both sides. The American people were interested to know if the Pope would recognize the conditions of absolute separation of church and state in a nation which would not permit interference on the part of any domestic or foreign politico-ecclesiastical power in either its national or international affairs, or if he, in the assertion of his temporal and spiritual power, would seek to obtrude his advice or inject his personality into our national concerns.

The chronological record of the war shows both the attempt and the measure of success of the Pope's efforts to write a chapter in the history of a republic whose origin and progress have been the marvel and admiration of the world because it has stood for everything in both civil and religious liberty which the Papacy has condemned.

The historic fact cannot be concealed that the Spanish-American war was a war between Rome and Washington; between the papal power and republican power; between ecclesiasticism and liberty; between the bondage of superstition and the freedom of truth. It was the severest blow to the arrogant pretensions of political ecclesiasticism which has been struck in a century of time. It took a heavy burden from the shoulders of Christian civilization as it crosses the line into the twentieth century.

The Vatican was true to its unbroken historic record of advertising itself whenever an international crisis arises. Attempts of the Pope at mediation were especially impertinent because of the character of the civilization which confronted

us, for which Romanism was responsible. Not only were the American people averse to receiving any more politics from Rome than they had on hand, but the Pope's overtures were illogical, for he is either a temporal sovereign or he is not. If he is, he would, like any other foreign ruler, be excluded from meddling in our affairs by the Monroe Doctrine, concerning which we are so tenacious. If he is not, he has no more right to propose to the President to act as the arbiter of differences between this and any other nation than has the head of the Church of England or of the Greek Church, or a conspicuous Israelite.

Here is an historical sandwich not adapted to all appetites. On April 13, 1898, the House of Representatives in Washington passed Cuban intervention resolutions.

"LONDON, April 15, 1898. A dispatch from the Central News from Madrid says that Cardinal Rampolla has advised Prime Minister Sagasta to abandon Cuba on condition of the establishment there of a Roman Catholic republic."

On April 16, 1898, joint resolutions were passed by Congress authorizing the President to continue using the army and navy of the United States to force the withdrawal of the Spaniards from Cuba.

As a last resort it is stated by Harold Frederic (New York *Times*, April 24, 1898), "on what I believe to be quite accurate authority," that "in order to save that wretched point of 'honor,' about which Spaniards haggle so much, they should be induced to hand over Cuba to the Father of Catholic Christendom." In what relation would this have placed the United States toward the one remaining prop of Spanish civilization? In the interest of the permanent settlement of the republic's relation to politico-ecclesiastical Romanism it is almost to be regretted that Spain did not hand over Cuba to Leo XIII.

Frederic R. Coudert, an eminent Roman Catholic lawyer, according to newspaper reports, thinks we ought to have done

what damage we could at Manila and then have left the Philippines to their fate, which simply meant to re-enforce the cruel domination of ecclesiasticism.

Father Walworth and other loyal American priests disapproved of the Pope's attempted interference between the United States and Spain, but their loyalty was not extensively advertised by the press.

During the anxious days preceding the declaration of war, the movements and acts of Archbishop Ireland, Cardinal Gibbons, Legate Martinelli, and the Pope were constantly recorded by the press. The news of the declaration of an armistice by Spain in response to the Pope's intervention came first to these papal representatives and not to the Spanish Minister. Nothing was said about the movements of the chief men of other denominations. The intelligently patriotic action of a body of Protestant clergymen, enunciating the principles involved in the controversy, was immediately branded by the Roman Catholic papers and their defenders as injecting the sectarian question into the controversy. And the discussions in these papers and the headings of the articles were, almost without exception, glaring falsehoods.

On May 10, 1898, there appeared in the papers the letter from the Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States to the clergy and laity of the country. Let it be noted that while the public was discussing the attitude of the Roman Church on the war with Spain, and was having serious grounds for asserting that its sympathy was with Spain, and while public attention was being called to isolated cases of asserted loyalty, and while Martinelli and Ireland as the Pope's representatives were seeking to inject him as an arbitrator into the controversy, and while the Latin nations of the Old World were expressing their unconcealed sympathy with Spain, and threats of intervention were being made, no word comes from the authorities of the Roman Church in America defining her position. But when Commodore Dewey

had crushed the Spanish fleet at Manila, silenced the forts and had the city and the island at America's feet, and when the Roman Catholic priests and nuns at Cavité had exhibited a treachery unsurpassed in history by even Spanish character, and when the attention of the whole world was drawn to the fact that the representatives of the Church of Rome were taking active part with Spain, then came this tardy manifesto accommodating itself to the painful necessities of the case, instead of putting the Roman Church on record as loyally sustaining the government in the initial stages of the controversy with Spain, when it would have possessed some virtue and some force.

The address recognized no principle involved in the war. It opens with the statement that: "The events that have succeeded the blowing up of the battleship *Maine* and the sacrifice of 266 innocent victims, the patriotic seamen of the United States, have culminated in a war between Spain and our own beloved country." It then proceeds to state that in view of the fact that war has been declared: "We, the members of the Catholic Church, are true Americans, and as such are loyal to our country and our flag and obedient to the highest decrees and the supreme authority of the nation." Loyalty to country and flag is inane unless that country and that flag stand for something in every contest. It is to be regretted that there was not one American among those prelates, who could have suggested that religious leaders, in addressing millions of their adherents concerning their duty as citizens in time of war, ought to say something about the principles involved which demanded their loyalty.

The address never referred to the fact that the war with Spain was caused by the cruelty and misgovernment of Spain in Cuba, and that the United States was engaged in the work of breaking the clutch of Spain upon the people it had plundered and enslaved for centuries.

The Philippine Islands became Spanish colonies in 1569,

having been discovered by Magellan in 1521. Characteristic cruelty was exercised in reducing to subjection the native populations.

The people have purposely been kept in ignorance and in poverty that they might be the more easily controlled by their masters. They have been taxed to an extent that has rendered thrift impossible, and the penalties for delinquency have been so cruel that manhood has been crushed and womanhood has been degraded. Here, as everywhere, the religious orders of Romanism have done the dastardly, diabolical work of Spain for over three hundred years.

In an interview on September 18, 1898, Archbishop Nozaleda de Villa, of the Philippine Islands, said:

"I earnestly hope the islands will not remain Spanish, because the rebels are now so strong that such a course would inevitably cause appalling bloodshed. The reconquest of the natives is impossible until after years of the most cruel warfare."

He also expressed the hope that the islands would not become absolutely independent, because it was certain that dissensions would occur which would result in incessant strife, and a lapse into barbarism and the natural indolence of a tropical race. The only hope, the Archbishop declared, was that a strong Western Power would intervene now. Delay was dangerous, because the people are intoxicated, vainglorious, and restless. He said it was undeniable that the religious orders must go, because the whole people had determined to abolish them now that they were able to render their retention impossible. He laid the chief blame upon the Dominicans, Augustines, and Franciscan Recoletans, the richest orders, and next upon the Benedictines and Capuchins, which are of less importance. The Jesuits, the Archbishop says, are comparatively blameless. He added that the rival orders quarrel among themselves, intrigue, act unworthily and slander their opponents, thus increasing their general disfavor.

The oppressions resulting from the union of church and state, in the Philippines and in Cuba and Porto Rico, constitute the chief grievance of the oppressed people against Spain. Monastic orders in the Philippines hold a very large proportion of the most valuable lands, which are exempt from taxation and are the source of enormous revenue. The unrighteous conditions have never been surpassed in countries which have been compelled for the safety of the nation to expel these orders and confiscate their property. Spain and Rome have made pleas for the protection of the lives and property of these precious scoundrels. No authorities representing the United States would dare, unless they courted the contempt of the American people, which would mean their political annihilation, to support an ecclesiasticism which has been the source of all the woe of our new wards and forced this nation to go to war. Absolute separation of church and state with impartial and just treatment of all the citizens of the new lands we rule, with guarantees for civil and religious liberty, are the fundamental conditions of peace if peace is to be permanent, and if this nation is to be justified before God and man in breaking the power of Spain over her colonies.

The intensely religious character of the solicitude for peace on the part of the Vatican is revealed in its anxiety about its investments in Spanish bonds and in property in the Spanish colonies! The love of peace and good will among men, so ardently advocated by the Pope's patriotic representatives in Washington during the early stages of the Cuban controversy, is now seen to have had a financial basis.

Leo XIII., "Prisoner of the Vatican," wanted peace of course. He loved America and American institutions. When he looked upon his dear people in Cuba, and saw that their shackles, forged by his most loyal children of Spain, were about to be broken by the republic he loved so well, and realized that this republic would not pay the bills contracted by Spain in forging those shackles, his emotions were mixed; and

from his lonely imprisonment he could comfort them with the words of St. Paul: "Would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."

Paul also sent a message to the Philippians which is now appropriate for the Pope to send to the religious orders of the Church in those islands: "Inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defense and confirmation of the gospel, ye are all partakers of my grace."

In the close of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, written from Rome by Tychicus and Onesimus, he says: "Remember my bonds." Leo XIII. in the summer of 1898 had his Tychicus in Washington to whom he must have sent from Rome a dispatch in Paul's language, which seems to have been interpreted literally.

The landed estates of the religious orders in our new possessions must pay taxes, like other property-holders.

The United States can no more guarantee the investments of the Vatican in Spanish bonds than it can guarantee its investments in stocks and bonds in the Metropolitan Traction Company in New York City.

However much well-meaning people may deprecate the very prevalent idea that the war was a religious war, certainly many Romanist prelates held that idea—among them the Pope himself. Here is a dispatch showing how the Archbishop of Manila regarded it:

"PARIS, May 18, 1898.—*El Comercio* of Madrid publishes a long pastoral letter by the Archbishop of Manila, addressed to the faithful of his diocese. In substance it says:

"'Dark days broke when the North American squadron entered swiftly our brilliant bay, and despite the heroism of our sailors destroyed the Spanish ships and succeeded in hoisting the flag of the enemy on the blessed soil of our country.

"'Do not forget that in their anger they intend to crush our

rights; that the stranger tries to subject us to the yoke of the *heretic;* tries to *break down our religion* and drag us from the holy family of the Catholic Church.

"'He is an insatiable merchant who tries to make a fortune from the ruin of Spain. Her possessions are tied with fraternal ties. Sons of the metropolis and colonies, very soon you will see an insuperable wall between you and your masters. For you there will be no more public offices or employment by the Government. The administration of this country will not be such as under Spain.

"'You will soon be joined in a sort of civil republic on the low level of pariahs, to be exploited like miserable colonists reduced to a condition of slavery, beasts and machines, and miserably fed. They soon will become the masters of the fruits and treasures of your estates.

"'But that will not be the worst. Your temples will soon be in ruins; your *chapels converted into Protestant Churches,* where will not be the throne of God, the God of the Eucharist, not the holy image of the Virgin Mary. Your faithful ministers will disappear.

"'What will become of your delicate sons and daughters after their parents are gone and their lot is cast in a Protestant nation? There will be strange customs of culture and education, and a propaganda full of vices and errors.

"'Poor Filipinos, unfortunate in this life and in the life eternal!

"'Fortunately, the roar of the enemy's cannon cries the alarm which has awakened you to a sense of present danger as one man. I know you are preparing to defend your country. You must all have recourse to arms and prayers; arms, because the Spanish population, though attenuated and wounded, shows its patriotism when defending its religion; prayer, because victory always is given by God to those who have *justice on their side.* God will send his angels and saints to be with us, and to fight on our side.

"'To us the holy inspiration comes to dedicate the Philippine Archipelago to the holy heart of Jesus. When free of this trouble you will celebrate annually the 7th of June as a festival.

"'The Governor General, who is a firm Christian and a prudent patriot and military chief, joins my prayers to *invoke the intercession of the patron saints.*'"

Leo XIII. was sorry he had not died before, when he heard of Dewey's victory over the Spanish at Manila. The report was that four hundred were killed and wounded. We heard nothing of his consuming desire to die while his dear Spanish children were killing and starving two hundred and fifty thousand innocent people, mostly Roman Catholics, in Cuba, where women and children, and old men and women, were the victims.

A desperate effort has been made by the Romanists in this and in other lands to shift the blame for the cruel and tyrannical condition of affairs in the Philippines to the shoulders of the religious orders. This cannot be allowed, as the papal powers have absolute control over the orders, and benefiting by the successes of these orders these powers cannot evade the responsibility for conduct which furnishes specimens of ingenious wickedness beyond the capacity of common secular sinners.

We indict politico-ecclesiastical Romanism as the criminal responsible for the condition of things in Cuba which brought on the war, and as the greedy ingrate which sought through Archbishop Ireland and the Pope to profit by the results of the war in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, by making the United States Government a partner with the Papacy in holding the properties of the Church secured by cruelty and theft; and all under the guise of religious liberty.

While Great Britain has been showing such friendliness to the United States in the time when her friendship is vital in its import, and for the first time in human history the con-

quering Anglo-Saxon civilization of the world has presented an undivided front to the cowering and retreating remnant of Latin civilization, the only discordant note has sounded from the lips of members of that section of our Irish citizens who, while they are under the dominion of Rome, so largely rule us in the interests of Rome.

Romanists oppose any Anglo-American alliance on the ground that the present generation of English-speaking people is not pure Anglo-Saxon. Admit it, but we insist upon recognizing the fact that Anglo-Saxon civilization is the bond that holds the English-speaking peoples together, while politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is the bond that holds Latin civilization together, although there is little of the pure Latin race left in the world.

Another blow at the papal power resulting from the Spanish-American war is found in the fact that the government and people of the United States are ignoring the power of the Irish Roman Catholic protest against an alliance in sympathy and in purpose if not in a written treaty with Great Britain. The attitude of Irish Roman Catholic orators and editors in opposition to the growing friendly feeling between England and America has been hysterically violent.

In accord with historical precedents, the perplexing question which nations have to meet in adjusting the conditions of peace between nations which have been at war on account of conflicting civilizations is the relation of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to the causes which have produced the war and to the conditions which exist afterward. The brazen audacity with which this power, under conditions which ought to make it a suppliant penitent, makes its demands for protection, seems to stupefy the sense of justice and right in rulers and statesmen, and frequently forces them into partnership with conscienceless tyranny and cruelty. This American republic is based upon a very simple and equitable theory of the relation of church and state, of entire separation

of church and state, of absolute equality of all religious organizations before the law, with special privileges for none. And yet in the face of this conceded American principle, when, as the result of war, new colonies come under American rule, this persistent papal power comes to the front and makes the demand that its cruel machinery shall have special protection.

The only claim the Pope had to act as meditator between the United States and Spain was that he represented Spain's type of civilization. He has had some recent experience in the arbitration business.

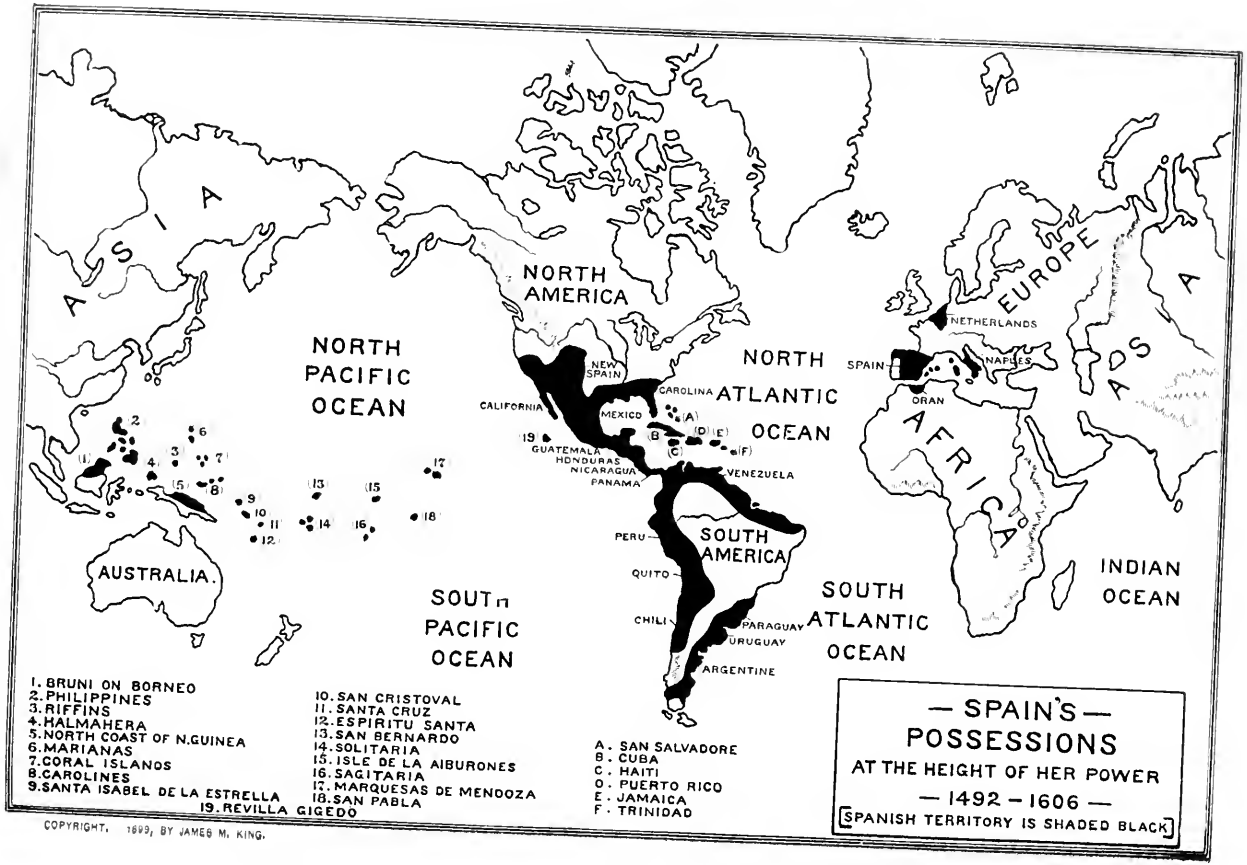
In 1885 Leo XIII. undertook the arbitration of the differences between Spain and Germany concerning the occupation of the Caroline Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The result is thus recorded in Dr. O'Reilly's "Life of Leo XIII.":

"In less than a month, on October 22, Cardinal Jacobini sent to the cabinets of Madrid and Berlin the Pope's decision, which consisted in four points on which both governments were to agree, the fact of Spain's ancient discovery of the Carolines and of their occupation by her being laid down as one ground for conciliation, and the liberty of Germans in the Archipelago to occupy land, develop agriculture, cultivate industry and commerce on a footing of equality with Spanish subjects being also guaranteed, together with a naval station for Germany, and perfect freedom of navigation throughout the Archipelago.

"Thus Spanish sovereignty and German interests were safeguarded by the terms proposed from the Vatican. It was an admirable decision; it gave satisfaction in both countries to governments and peoples, and all danger of war was averted."

This historic incident may throw some light on what might have resulted had the same Pope's overtures to arbitrate in our Spanish-American differences been accepted.

In the relations of the republic to the peoples of the islands which have recently come either under our control or pro-



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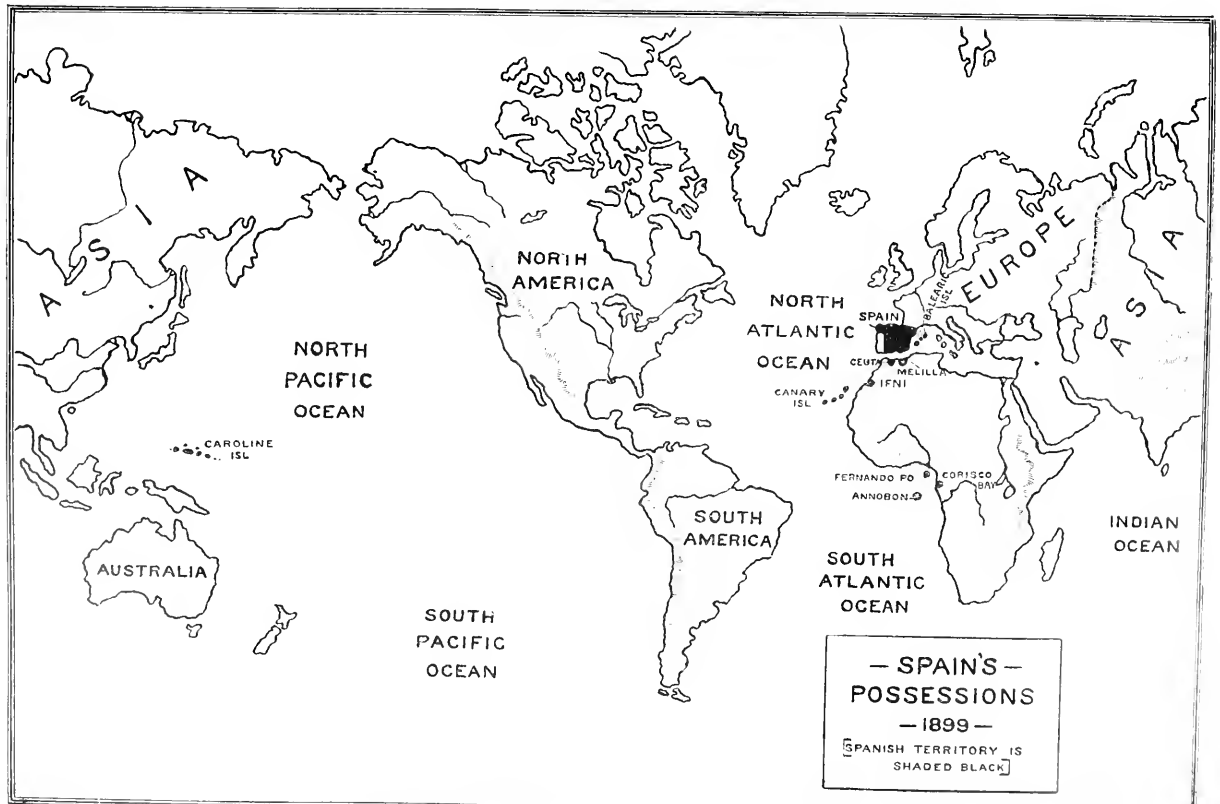

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tection, if we are to benefit them or preserve our own national character, they must adjust and accommodate themselves to our institutions, but we must not adjust our institutions to any features of their mediævalism, however thoroughly they may be intrenched, or however they may be wrenched or even uprooted by the readjustment. It is not our mission to travel back through the centuries and meet an inferior civilization and by concessions induce it to learn a new lesson, but to flood it with our better light, and when its iniquities are thus revealed, compel them to be promptly forsaken by entering upon the better way.

Sending a Roman priest of the Paulist order with General Merritt to the Philippines, as the reports say: "To reassure the islanders that their religion will not be interfered with by the Americans," must be looked upon by the decent opinion of the civilized world as a disgusting piece of truckling to political Romanism on the part of some public functionary. The priests, monks, and nuns have been the chief, cruel, tyrannical, and treacherous offenders in the Philippines, and are mainly responsible for the festering rottenness in the civil government. Admiral Dewey and General Merritt were the men to teach the Pauline doctrines to these miscreants. At the time this Paulist priest was shipped to Manila representatives of the missionary societies of the principal Protestant denominations in the United States had conferred and determined to send some missionaries to the Philippines to represent the Christian civilization which has made the Stars and Stripes and Dewey what they stand for. Why should not our government promptly furnish free transportation for some of these men, who will tell the poor victims of superstition and cruelty what the Cross of Christ means in America?

The Jesuits are always a peril, in whatever capacity they serve the state. Every one of their number admitted as chaplain, officer, or priest in army and navy is, from the very character of his vows to his order, liable to be guilty of

treachery against the government whenever opportunity presents. It is to be assumed that they seek these places to promote their own ends, and not the good of free government or the liberties of man, as they do not believe in either. Universal history ought to have taught our government to decline in both war and peace the services of these foes to human liberty. It has been an interesting study in the science of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism for the American people to watch its conspicuous representatives during the preliminaries to the controversy between the United States and Spain. How they have been embarrassed by the changing conditions! A blow at Spain was a blow at politico-ecclesiasticism in American politics, hence the anxiety of the Pope and his representatives here. Such is its universal solidarity that a blow struck anywhere vibrates through the whole system.

The nations where the Pope has influence either criticised us or preserved a self-interested neutrality toward us during our controversy with Spain. Still when Spain appealed for aid to Mexico and the South American republics, Austria, France, and Italy, they all rejected the appeal. It was the last and most desperate struggle of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to maintain its hold on its remnant of civil government in the Western Hemisphere; but not one of the South American states took the part of their mother country (Spain), in her controversy with the United States. How significant! The mother had been so cruel that her children, despite the bond of a common religion, despised her when the day of her punishment arrived.

Despite mutterings of Roman Catholic sympathy with Spain, when the President needed fifty million dollars as a peace measure to provide for war, if necessary, and the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote placed it at his discretionary use, Representative Fitzgerald of Massachusetts, in the debate on this measure, found it necessary to assert the

loyalty of Roman Catholics. No representative of any other denomination felt bound to take the oath of allegiance for his people.

When the appointment of the Peace Commission was under consideration, on August 18, 1898, the following news item appeared in the daily papers:

"As the Roman Catholic Church is interested in the future of the *Philippine Islands*, as well as Cuba, many distinguished members of the Church have been in Washington to see whether a member of the Church would be appointed on the Commission. Archbishop Ireland has been here for several days, and has had interviews with the Cabinet officers, as well as prominent Senators."

Here was this persistent papal lobbyist again at his work with a Republican administration, in the interests of that notoriously vilest type of Romanism intrenched in the Philippines and in Cuba. Why should a Roman Catholic, as such, have been placed on the Peace Commission, unless it was to try and perpetuate under American rule the barbarism which Romanism had practiced under Spanish rule? The proposition was an insult to the sense of fairness of the average American, who would naturally be appointed, and an audacious intrigue in the interests of the papal power.

Many of the American people now understand, and it is time politicians understood, that this Prelate Ireland is one of the most dangerous, if not the most dangerous, of the representatives of the papal power in this country, because many public men, politicians, and other citizens accept his ardent utterances concerning his loyalty to American institutions as honest and unreserved. But we have seen that on the relations of Romanism to Protestantism, to the future of the republic, to the schools, to party politics and party platforms, to sectarian appropriations, to international affairs and to legislation, his attitude is one of abject loyalty first to Rome. His fluency of speech, his courtly personality, and his chame-

leon power of adaptation make him dangerous. It is time that politicians and American citizens generally made a study of this unique, instructive, and persistently conspicuous personality now permitted by Rome to be its representative in shaping the policy of the party in American politics with which it casts few votes, but from which it secures many offices.

A news item from Washington, August 20, 1898, says: "Archbishop Ireland was at the White House to-day, his second visit this week. Subsequently he saw Secretary Gage at the Treasury Department. He said that his call was a purely personal one, to pay his respects to the President. As he remained some time, however, gossip had it that his visit had some relation to the selection of members of the Peace Commission. His interest in it, aside from that of any citizen, is as a representative of the Catholic Church, which is deeply concerned over the settlement of the war, not only as it relates to the religious orders that are so prominent in the Philippines, but as a holder of sixty million dollars of the bonds of Spain, secured by the Cuban revenue. These bonds, it is said, were given to the Vatican in exchange for church lands in Cuba and the Philippines, and some provision for the payment of these bonds would be a great relief to the Church. It is not believed by anyone here, however, that Congress would approve a proposition that the United States should pay the debt, or any part of it, incurred by Spain in prosecuting the war to prevent Cuba from securing her independence."

This Government has no duty call to protect the interests of the Pope in bonds issued to help Spain to perpetuate her diabolical rule in Cuba and the Philippines.

It will not avail to say that the purpose of Romanism in America is different from its purpose in other parts of the world, because it is not true. It has one all-comprehensive purpose concerning all nations and peoples. Therefore, as a system, it must be held responsible for the fruits of its seed-

sowing in the Philippines and in Cuba as thoroughly as for the claimed moderation of its enforced comparatively civilized tilling of republican American soil. But even here the Roman tares are so troublesome that the scanty wheat sown is neither fruitful nor nourishing. Let it surrender its absurd claims to universality of dominion and adapt itself to any civilized and democratic environment, and we will then consider its merits concretely.

Loyalty to our institutions in time of peace is as important as proffered military service in time of war. The main issue, even in war, cannot be obscured by citing individual or collective instances of loyalty.

Tardily avowed neutrality did not atone for repeated acts and assurances of sympathy for Spain as against the United States. The war was the hardest blow ever struck at politico-ecclesiastical Romanism, and with it the light dawned and a better day appeared for humanity.

All credit is accorded to the men in army, navy, and civil life who patriotically give their first loyalty to this country and to their fellow-citizens. May their number multiply! It is the system we assail which, in its political operations, humiliates these noble men by causing them to be singled out for their loyalty and independence, instead of taking their loyalty and independence for granted.

METHODS: TO MAKE CONDESCENDING CONCESSIONS TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

Roman Catholic authorities, in accommodating their mediæval civilization to American institutions, always take the attitude of making concessions as though they were conferring a favor, instead of loyally adapting themselves to the institutions which constitute our essential character and make our country attractive to the oppressed of all nations, by guaranteeing civil and religious liberty and equal rights to all, and special privileges to none. We are not asking toleration from

any effete civilization, but ungrudging loyalty from those who seek the benefits of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. We are not apologizing to Rome for giving her adherents refuge from her own bondage, poverty, and persecution beyond the seas.

They are antagonistic to American institutions unless these institutions are accommodated to their ecclesiastical conceptions of sectarian loyalty. It is claimed that there are Liberals and Bourbons among the American Romanists; some being called Liberals because they profess loyalty to our institutions. This is claimed as a virtue for which they expect praise. What does this imply? That such is their general attitude that loyalty constitutes the exception. Our institutions must be accommodated to their mediæval conceptions if they are to avoid conflicting with Latin civilization. Why not the reverse?

This enforced hypocrisy ought to stop, both in the interests of American self-respect and in the interests of Romanists who would be Americans without apology if they were left to pursue the bent of their own honest natures.

Zola says of his hero priest: "He had beheld the real Rome, the ancient city of pride and domination, where the papacy can never be complete without the temporal power. It was only in appearance that she could make concessions, and the time would even arrive when her concessions would cease, in the presence of the impossibility of going any further without committing suicide."

The following quotations are from a sermon on "The Church and the Age," delivered by Archbishop Ireland, at Baltimore, October 18, 1893, at the Jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons:

"The Church created by Christ for all ages lives in every age and puts on the dress of everyone. We find, consequently, in her outward belongings, the variable and the contingent. The Church, at one time imperialistic in her political alliances, was at another feudalistic, but she never

committed herself in principle to imperialism or feudalism. She spoke Greek in Athens, and Latin in Rome, and her sons wore the chlamys or the toga, but she was never an institution confined to Greece or Italy. Her scientific knowledge at different epochs was scant as that of those epochs; her social legislation and customs, as theirs, were rude and tentative. Two or three centuries ago she was courtly and aristocratic under the temporal sway of the Fifth Charles of Spain, or the Fourteenth Louis of France, but this again was a passing phase in her existence, and she may be at other times as democratic in her bearings as the most earnest democracy would expect. Her canon law, which is the expression of her adaptability to circumstances, received the impress at one time of the Justinian code, at another that of the capitularies of Charlemagne, at another that of the Hapsburg or Bourbon edicts, but she was never mummified in Justinian or Bourbon molds, and her canon law may be as American as it was Roman, and as much the reflection of the twentieth century as it ever was of the Middle Ages."

It is no title to nobility in America that a man consents to give evidences of loyalty to our institutions. If he makes any qualification or mental reservation concerning his loyalty, if he can only give a partial or conditional allegiance, he ought to be required to emigrate and return to the service of the sovereign to whom he is loyal. Personal honesty and the safety of the Republic both require this.

If not chargeable with offenses against American institutions, why so prompt to give individual instances of loyalty? The citations prove that they are exceptions, otherwise they would not be named. Where all are concededly loyal, discriminating individual citations are not only absurd, but insulting to the unnamed. Here is a startling illustration of the fact that exceptions prove the rule.

Political Romanism is always obliged to assert its loyalty to civil institutions because its history is such as to put it

under the ban of suspicion, and this assertion is in the nature of a concession to its environment which it would change were it within its power.

It seems to be necessary to swear frequently to its condescending loyalty lest the people might doubt its existence.

A loyalty which requires frequent assertion and oaths of allegiance is always open to suspicion as to its genuineness. Genuine loyalty proves its genuineness by acts and not by asseverations. Genuine loyalty is taken for granted among genuine Americans.

The prelates of Romanism try to accommodate themselves on school and other questions sufficiently to disarm public wrath and retain their power over politicians and party leaders, but, as we have seen, they do not in any essential particulars change in either principle or purpose.

We are obliged, as we have elsewhere seen, to have expurgated editions of school books, histories, encyclopedias, and of the Bible and Constitution of the United States to accommodate our institutions to Romanism.

The Archbishop of New York in his condescending reference to the flag at his jubilee on May 5, 1898, gave no statement as to its meaning, but he told us what it must not mean when he supported the Bishop of Brooklyn in banishing the flag from his church.

An eminent writer on historic subjects says: "Up to a recent time nothing was heard about the love of the Roman Catholic priesthood for American principles and institutions. There was not a word of approval for our laws and liberties. There was instead, however, an unremitting stream of abuse, vilification, and opposition, most unjustifiable and unpatriotic. In the light of Papal history let the meaning of all this be read. Rome has done the same thing before in France. When she tells us she most loves us, we have most reason to stand guard."

The period in our history has arrived when we must, with-

out apology, uncompromisingly insist that politico-ecclesiastical Romanism, if it continues to exist under the protection of our laws, must accommodate itself to our institutions and not persist in warping them to fit its deformed civilization and repudiated claims.

CONCERTED ACTION AS ROMANISTS: PROMOTING ISOLATION AND SOLIDARITY, AND OBSTRUCTING ASSIMILATION IN CITIZENSHIP.

We will appropriately open the discussion of the methods of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in enjoining and requiring its followers—in their civic and other associations with their fellow-citizens—to think and act *as* Romanists, by summoning three witnesses: first, the Sovereign Roman Pontiff; second, an honest Roman Catholic thinker; and, third, an honest American patriot.

Leo XIII., in his Encyclical of 1895, puts a premium on the isolation of his people *as* Romanists. He says:

"Unless forced by necessity to do otherwise, Catholics ought to prefer to associate with Catholics, a course which will be very conducive to the safeguarding of their faith. As presidents of societies thus formed among themselves, it would be well to appoint either priests or upright laymen of weight and character, guided by whose counsel they should endeavor peacefully to adopt and carry into effect such measures as may seem most advantageous to their interests."

Dr. Brownson (Roman Catholic), in his *Review*, said:

"The Church has here a foreign aspect, and has no root in the life of the nation. The Church brings here foreign manners, tastes, habits, a foreign civilization, and a faith and worship, with foreign believers and worshipers, and whatever we may say, or whatever may be the case hereafter, the Catholic people in this country are as distinct from the American people, in all except their political and social rights, as the people of France, Italy, Spain, England, Germany, or Ireland. As yet it is idle to pretend that both are

one people, living one common national life. It is no such thing. When the priest refers his people to their ancestors, he refers not to our American ancestors, but to an ancestry of some foreign nationality, and Catholics themselves distinguish non Catholics as *Americans*, as in Ireland they call themselves *Irish*, and Protestants *Sassenagh* or Saxons. They intrinsically feel that they are not Americans in the sense non-Catholics are. The fact, disguise it as we will, is that, though for the most part American citizens, Catholics in this country, speaking in general terms, are a foreign people, think, feel, speak, and act as a foreign population."

Theodore Roosevelt, in his book, "American Ideals and other Essays," says:

"The third sense in which the word 'Americanism' may be employed is with reference to the Americanizing of the newcomers to our shores. We must Americanize them in every way—in speech, in political ideas and principles, and in their way of looking at the relation between church and state. We welcome the German or the Irishman who becomes an American. We have no use for the German or the Irishman *who remains such.* We do not wish German-Americans and Irish-Americans who figure *as such* in our social and political life. We want only Americans, and, provided they are such, we do not care whether they are of native or of Irish or of German ancestry. We have no room in any healthy American community for a German-American vote or an Irish-American vote, and it is contemptible demagogy to put planks into any party platform with the purpose of catching such a vote."

When Theodore Roosevelt was a member of the New York State Legislature, he tells us in his published essays that:

"I sat for an entire session beside a very intelligent member from Northern New York before I discovered that he was an Irishman. All his views of legislation, even upon such subjects as free schools and the impropriety of making appro-

priations from the treasury for the support of sectarian institutions, were practically similar to those of his Protestant-American neighbors, though he was himself a Catholic. Now a German or an Irishman from one of the great cities would have retained most of his national peculiarities."

While Mr. Roosevelt's honest attitude is undoubtedly in harmony with American thought and purpose, one of the inconsistent infelicities of political expediency, enforced by political Romanism, appeared in his gubernational campaign, of which the papers on October 10, 1898, made the following record:

"About forty prominent Irishmen, including many of the Roman Catholic clergy, met at the Hoffman House on Monday night and formed the Irish-American Union to help the Republican party. Patrick Egan, ex-Minister to Chili, presided, and Daniel J. Naughton of Manhattan, and M. J. Hogan of Brooklyn acted as secretaries. Yesterday the new organization secured rooms in the Sturtevant House. The Union intends to make a thorough canvass of Irish societies throughout the State, and there will be at least one great meeting at which Colonel Roosevelt, John T. McDonough, and other leaders will speak. 'I think,' said Mr. Egan yesterday, 'that Colonel Roosevelt will receive more Irish votes in New York than any candidate since James G. Blaine. He is a thorough American, like Blaine.'"

Why cannot Roman Catholic priests when they act as chaplains in the army or navy, or in charitable, reformatory, or penal institutions, being Christians, so conduct their general services as to be acceptable to all the persons to whom they minister who believe in Christianity? Why persistently put to the front the Roman instead of the religious features of their Christianity? Why not exalt the fundamental teachings of the Scriptures which all Christians accept instead of magnifying the man-made parts of religious ceremonials?

The introduction of Roman Catholic speakers, whenever

they consent to appear with their fellow-citizens on humanitarian or reform platforms, is generally performed in a truckling manner by Protestant presiding officers, making sycophants of men otherwise gentlemen, and thus putting a premium on the fact of isolation.

During Archbishop Corrigan's Jubilee in 1898, between five and six thousand parochial school children presented an address to the Archbishop. This was intended to accentuate the attempt of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism to isolate the rising generation of youth and separate them as Romanists from the rising generation of Americans of which they ought to be a homogeneous part. Where were the scores of thousands of Roman Catholic public-school children of the city of New York on this occasion? The Cathedral could not have held them. They were preparing for the race of life with equal opportunities with other American youth, and becoming a part of our homogeneous citizenship. Thanks to the Archbishop for accentuating this religious discrimination against boys and girls whose parents desire to make Americans of them!

The ostentatious exhibition which Chaplain Chidwick of the *Maine* has made of himself, advertising his church connections on all occasions, giving brass crosses to the families of the dead sailors, his picture being sold at the laying of the corner stone of a Roman Catholic Church in New York labeled "the hero of the *Maine*," his frequent visits to New York with the advertisement that he was to celebrate mass at such an hour, were all in striking contrast with the conduct of the efficient but commendably modest chaplains of most of the other warships of the United States Navy. However creditable this priest's services as chaplain may have been, the historic relations of Romanism to the entire Cuban business of which the destruction of the *Maine* was an incident, were such that the modest performance of his duties would have been more becoming than the persistent advertising of his personality.

We were told that we must not speak the truth about

Roman Catholic political interference with our civil institutions in the midst of war because nothing must be done to alienate Romanist citizens from the support of our national cause. Is their loyalty of this stamp? We must not say that it was a war between Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations, although it is historic truth, because expediency requires the suppression of the truth in order to nurture a sensitive loyalty.

If a Roman Catholic becomes conspicuous for service to this country in the army or navy or in civil life it is trumpeted through the press and elsewhere that he *is* a Roman Catholic, and capital is sought to be made out of it, although frequently distasteful to the subject of it.

Every Roman Catholic who enters the army as an American patriot deserves credit, aids his country and his church as a religious institution, and strikes a telling blow at politico-ecclesiasticism. As a soldier loses his identity as a part of any other organization when he becomes an American soldier, so a citizen ought to lose his identity as a member of any other governmental organization when he becomes a member of the army of American citizens.

Romanism has had phenomenal success in securing public money and political offices. It is the most persistent lobbyist in American political history. It has been audacious and intimidating in its demands. The opportunities afforded by popular government have stimulated its rapacity. It is understood that when it asks or demands political favors it has votes to give or withhold in return for concessions or refusals. This is in harmony with the accepted Romanist doctrine. Its adherents are *first Romanists*, and afterward, citizens.

The Roman Catholics are the only class of our citizens who, when any of their number are elected or appointed to office, consider the office a personal possession to be used in the interest of their church and its members, making profession of their faith the basis of appointment to positions under them.

They have a perfect right to their ratio of representation in all public offices, if they can secure it because of fitness and loyal Americanism.

In making up a party ticket at a political convention the rule is that when a Romanist is nominated he is nominated because he is a Romanist.

The presence of Roman Catholics in educational, deliberative, legislative, and patriotic or other bodies is always a restraint upon the patriotic sentiment based upon the recognition of the origin and sources of our liberties and civilization, because these were born in contest and protest against the cruelties and oppression of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism.

Always isolating themselves from their fellow-citizens on matters pertaining to the public weal, they become the disturbers of harmony. If there is a school controversy in any community they are at the bottom of it. They are not allowed to fuse, as that would lead to individual thinking and that would destroy solidarity and promote individual patriotism. This must not be allowed. They must first be recognized, not as citizens and patriots, but *as* Romanists.

During the Spanish-American war, when many Roman Catholic organizations were assuring the President of their loyalty, and were dilating upon the virtue of patriotism, it was not only a good omen, but a good time to detach themselves permanently from the power of politico-ecclesiasticism and with loyalty to their country and to their religion become loyal American citizens, and many of them have given proof that they did thus detach themselves. Otherwise, their previous politico-ecclesiastical masters will use their patriotism the more thoroughly to assert their power over political parties and leaders.

Whenever a prominent Roman Catholic takes an attitude in harmony with the generally accepted views concerning the character, the purpose, and the protection of American institutions he is immediately assaulted by Roman Catholic editors

and speakers apparently for the only reason that he has not acted *as* a Roman Catholic in the performance of his public duties or in the expression of his opinion. When the venerated ex-Chief Judge Charles P. Daly in New York City expressed publicly his conviction that the State Constitution ought to be amended so that it would provide for and thoroughly protect the public-school system, and that it ought also so to be amended as to prohibit sectarian appropriations, he was assaulted in arguments before Committees of the Constitutional Convention by paid Romanist lawyers representing the interests of Romanism, as being not only not a representative Roman Catholic but as presenting views unworthy of consideration, because he was in his dotage; and these assaults were made by men who, so far as personal character was concerned, were not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes.

When Judge Joseph McKenna as Attorney General of the United States decided that the Secretary of War had no power to grant permission for the erection of a Roman Catholic chapel at West Point without legislative action, although legal authorities with perfect unanimity approved the decision of the Attorney General, because the decision interfered with the purposes of Romanism in the matter in question, Roman Catholic editors, priests, and lawyers assaulted the Judge on no other ground than that he had not rendered a decision, despite the legal features of the case, *as* a Roman Catholic.

Just in proportion as a Roman Catholic is detached from the political claims of the ecclesiasticism of his church does he become a patriot and more firmly attached to the religious claims of his church.

Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, O., wrote in 1873: "Nationalities must be subordinate to religion, and we must learn that we are Catholics first, and citizens next. God is above man, and the church above the state."

To keep up their isolation and separation they insist that everything is sectarian that is not Roman Catholic.

When their neglected and criminal classes enter State and undenominational institutions they insist upon isolation *as* Romanists and demand their own chaplains.

Henry J. Raymond wrote in a pungent editorial forty years ago in the New York *Times*, sentiments which would illuminate with truth the editorial columns of any modern daily paper: "Their duty is to become Americans, to study the institutions of the country, to fit themselves for the discharge of the duties which American citizenship imposes. If they had done this more generally; if they had acted here more uniformly as Americans and not as Irishmen; if they had been less clannish, less anxious to perpetuate here their foreign habits and feelings, and more ready to adapt their conduct to their new relations, they would have given no occasion for the political movements which are now so rife and so strong against them."

Protestants often contribute to patriotic movements if the fact is not to be published, but great pains are taken by Roman Catholics to publish the names of Protestant subscribers to their funds. When from religious or political considerations a person of prominence joins the Roman Catholic Church it is extensively advertised. Father Young, in his "Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared," gives a muster roll of prominent Protestant political and other sinners who have in late years become Roman Catholic saints. It is an impressive list for St. Peter.

Romanism attempts to prohibit the parades of Orangemen and other celebrations that recall the oppression and persecution by Romanism on the other side of the ocean, but insists upon its right to parade the streets of our cities and flaunt its foreign banners in the faces of our people, and even demands that Roman flags shall fly from governmental buildings on days which celebrate historic incidents in which American

citizens not only have no interest, but which recall facts that tell of obstacles placed in the way of securing the civil and religious liberties which we now enjoy. They might with as good reason protest against the celebration of the victories of Manila and Santiago !

We hail with delight the many evidences that individual Roman Catholics are asserting their manhood and are acting in political matters as responsible men and individual American citizens, and are declining to be counted among the number whose political volitions and judgments are subject to the mandate and delivery of another. Our protest is not against any man's religion, which ought to constitute his relations to his God and thus determine his relations to his neighbor, but against any religious leader or leaders using ecclesiastical power to dictate a man's civic and political action, and putting him to disadvantage in his relations to his fellow-citizens by offensively pushing to the front the fact that he is acting first *as* a Roman Catholic and then *as* an American citizen.

While the breaking away from the mass of Irish Roman Catholic voters of any considerable number of voters to act independently and assert their individual sovereignty is a hopeful omen and ought to be encouraged, it is a misfortune to have them do it *as* Romanists and to continue the solidarity based on race and religion in their new political relations, which has made the condition from which they are trying to emancipate themselves a social menace and a political peril.

Politicians and office-seekers must not only treat Irish Romanists *as* Americans, but they must treat American Americans *as* Americans. Let political pattings on the head be gently approving in both cases and not a pat for the Irish-American and a blow for the native American. Let all be treated *as* Americans.

The American republic has a right to expect that, sharing equal privileges and responsibilities under our institutions with all others, Roman Catholics will stop this unreasonable

and disloyal isolation and become assimilated as Americans like other nationalities, sectarians, and religionists.

The policy of concentrating the Roman Catholics in cities and also in definite localities of sparsely populated States and Territories was openly announced a few years since. Rome always works on a well-devised plan for political conquest. In no State and in but one Territory are the Romanist populations in an actual majority, but in several, by intrigue and solidarity, they hold the balance of power.

For enhancing political power they resort to every device and put forth every effort to keep their people from assimilating with their fellow-citizens. If this course is necessary to preserve their people for their church, what a lamentable confession it is that Romanism and republicanism are necessarily antagonistic, and that loyalty to the one must mean disloyalty to the other.

So long as party lines in the United States are sharply drawn between the Republicans and Democrats, the solid Roman Catholic vote of about 12½ per cent. of the entire vote of 13,000,000 holds the balance of power and can determine a national election by judiciously transferring even one-fourth of its strength solidly to either political party. The independent vote in the country is estimated at two per cent. of the entire vote, which just about represents the amount of the average popular majority in a national election. Does not this state of facts demonstrate the peril of the possible transfer without argument of even a small fraction of the aggregate vote from one side to another at the dictation of a single will?

In a political campaign we hear about the boss massing the German vote, and the Irish vote, and the Italian vote. The only massing of the representatives of these different nationalities which can always be made effective is that based upon the cohesive power of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism.

What a criminal farce the sacred and responsible privilege of suffrage becomes in the hands of these legions, which are

subject to the dictation of a political priest and can be delivered in the mass by a politico-ecclesiastical boss! The spectacle is humiliating and its effects are staggering to hopes for the perpetuity of free institutions, while this aspect of affairs is not transformed.

The political necessities of subjection and solidarity in voting force compel strenuous and persistent efforts to keep their force in isolation, and this logically requires every effort to keep them away from companionships not dominated by the machine. This means separation from their fellow-citizens, lest they should learn to think and act for themselves. All this is antagonistic to the American theory and hostile to homogeneity of citizenship.

How regrettable it is that while there are such shining examples of patriotism among Roman Catholic American citizens, the common pride of the nation, in the military, naval, and civil service, and while there are thousands of the rank and file equally patriotic, politico-ecclesiastical Romanism seeks to pervert these very names and persons to its political uses, by rating them in the common solidarity which it seeks by its system to control in molding our institutions according to its pattern.

In his letter to the Pope published in the New York *Herald*, February 26, 1893, Archbishop Ireland objects to the policy of isolation advocated by certain of his coreligionists in the United States, and makes the following remarkable statement:

"So long as this unnatural separation continues the transition of the sons of immigrants from one side to the other will always be effected in a violent manner and very often will be accompanied by the loss of their faith. Consequently the influence of the Catholic Church upon the public in general has, up to the present time, remained very slight and the number of converts very few; it has always been regarded with suspicion and as a menace. And this is why, when a young, ambitious Catholic has wished to make himself a name either

in the political or social world, he has invariably separated himself, at least in the public eye, from all connection and sympathy with the suspected foreigner.

"No Catholic can present himself for election to a high political position without having previously broken with the Catholic body and declared himself without reserve in harmony with American institutions. Thus it is that to-day not a few of those Catholics who occupy high political positions in the United States have abandoned the practice of their religion."

If the Archbishop's practice, and the practice of his church, had conformed to what he states to be the facts and to the corrective theory which he bases upon these facts, multitudes of Roman Catholics would have re-enforced the hosts who are unconditionally loyal to their country *as* Americans.

But this same Archbishop said in his address before the Baltimore Congress of Roman Catholic laymen:

"Go to your homes with the enthusiasm that you have shown here; spread it in every State in the Union, and say there is a new departure among Catholics in the United States. Tell them there is a new mission open for laymen. The long expected day has come when Catholic Bishops, priests, and laymen rise up and say, *Henceforth we will act as one man* in accordance with our religion."

The platform of the laymen gave this response to the Archbishop's heated appeal:

"We demand, in the name of humanity and justice, that this freedom [of the Holy See] be scrupulously respected by *all* secular governments. We protest against the assumption by any such government of a right to affect the interests or control the actions of our Holy Father by *any form of legislation*, or other public act to which *his full approbation* has not been previously given, and we pledge Leo XIII., the worthy Pontiff to whose hands Almighty God has committed the helm of Peter's bark amid the tempests of this stormy age, the loyal

sympathy and unstinted aid of all his spiritual children in vindicating that perfect liberty which he justly claims as his sacred and inalienable right."

In harmony with the above injunctions and instructions, the always orthodox *Catholic World* says:

"In performing their duties as citizens, electors, and public officers, Catholics are always, and under all circumstances, to act simply *as* Catholics."

In the critical political contest of the autumn of 1898 as important issues were at stake as the American electors were ever called to pass upon. The financial credit of the nation was still in the balance, as one of the political parties had, in its platform in every State, either definitely pronounced for free silver or sought to evade the issue. The United States Peace Commissioners in Paris were facing the Spanish Peace Commissioners at the most critical juncture of their negotiations. Sagasta was avowedly procrastinating in the hope that our Congressional elections would prove that the American people were opposed to reaping the legitimate harvest of their successful war with Spain. The intrenching of the United States in her new and commanding place among the nations of the earth was at stake. At this crisis in the history of the republic and of civilization, the Roman Catholic religious press and the political press under its domination gave "aid and comfort to the enemy," by disloyally magnifying the imperfections of the business management of the war, by ignoring the magnificent results of the war and the principles involved, and by seeking to heap ridicule upon the most prominent characters taking part in the contest, from the President down, by disgraceful cartoons. The results of the elections for Congressmen and for members of legislatures, in States where United States Senators were to be elected, show that, at the centers of population, where the Roman Catholic vote is massed, almost without exception the elections resulted in an assault upon the financial credit of the country.

in a vote of condemnation of the administration of President McKinley, and in extending comfort to Spain. But the American people as a whole neutralized and crushed the enemy within our gates.

Whenever a regiment of soldiers of the National Guard or regular army is invited to attend any church service as a regiment, decent propriety would seem to demand that, in case they wear their uniforms, they should also bear their flag. Here we record an interesting historic incident occurring on the eve of our war with Spain:

Lieutenant Colonel Duffy, temporary commanding officer of the Sixty-ninth New York National Guard Regiment, issued an order in which he said:

"In acceptance of invitation from the Most Reverend Archbishop Corrigan, the regiment will parade in fatigue uniform, overcoats, and white gloves, on Thursday, March 17, 1898, and proceed to St. Patrick's Cathedral, to assist at pontifical mass."

It is the custom, established by years of usage, for the Sixty-ninth to attend divine service on St. Patrick's day, and the practice has never caused any comment, because the organization has always been, until recently, an exclusively Irish command. But the church parade attracted observation at this time because of the decree of the Holy Office, which was published recently, *forbidding the use of "National, State, or other emblems of purely secular organizations in any service of the church*, whether at the obsequies of officials of standing or celebrations where flags are necessary." The decree was issued in consequence of the controversy which resulted from the order, issued by Bishop McDonnell of Brooklyn, directing the removal of a flag with which a Catholic church was decorated. A prominent Catholic paper defended the action of Bishop McDonnell, and in order to show that his action was approved by the Vatican, the Holy Office issued the decree that only blessed banners may be used in

the church. The banners which may be used must be emblems of an organization the status of which is fully approved by the Bishop, and the society must be under the Bishop's jurisdiction, and must depend on his authority. The banner must also bear a religious mark. The dispatch in which the decree was reported said:

"The decree admits that the American flag is one which should be to all Americans an emblem of freedom, but that it can never be considered as a fitting decoration for the house of God."

Would not a regiment of soldiers consenting to appear in uniform without their flag, under any circumstances, *as* Romanists instead of *as* American soldiers, be embarrassed in the presence of the Spaniards, to determine whether they were fighting *as* Americans or *as* Romanists?

On the 30th of January, 1899, the members of the "gallant Sixty-ninth" regiment of New York National Guard were weclomed as the "returning braves," and were reviewed at the City Hall by Mayor Van Wyck and the Roman Catholic Commissioners and heads of City Departments, and at the Archiepiscopal palace by "Archbishop Corrigan with several priests of the Cathedral. . . When they broke ranks, they were not slow to make complaints against the acts of their superior officers while the regiment was in camp in the South," where the said regiment had made a most disreputable record for unmilitary and disorderly conduct. What did this demonstration over the Sixty-ninth by certain newspapers and by the municipal government mean? Simply to impress upon the public the fact that this was a Roman Catholic regiment which both marched and voted mechanically.

It matters not how high the official political position a Roman Catholic may hold, he still recognizes that his first loyalty is due to the Pope. Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Roman Catholic Premier of the Canadian Government, where two millions of the total population of five millions are Roman

Catholics, delivered an address in May, 1898, in which he admitted that he had signed a memorial to the Pope against the interference of bishops and priests in the Canadian elections. The address establishes two facts: first, that ecclesiastics dictated to the voters, and second, the Premier recognizes the authority of the Pope over himself and over the bishops and priests, and through them over the voters; thus subjecting the civil government, from Premier to voter, to the will of the Pope. Sir Wilfred Laurier said:

"But when it came to this, that electors, poor men, farmers, laborers, and so on, were ordered to violate their own consciences; when they were told from the pulpit that they could not exercise the right of suffrage as they saw fit to do; when they were told that it was a grievous sin to vote for one party or the other—I care not at this moment which—what was I to do? Was I to allow these things to go on? Sir, as a dutiful Roman Catholic, I thought it my duty, and the duty of those who were associated with me—not in the Government, not in Parliament, but in many walks of social life—to appeal to the head of the church, to declare that we are not inferior to any other class of men; that we could exercise our civil and political rights just as our countrymen of the Protestant persuasion could; that the privilege they had, we had."

An illustration of the narrowness and bigotry that politico-ecclesiastical Romanism introduces into the associations of men, even in the face of death and grief, is found in the experience of Bishop FitzGerald of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest Protestant body in America, who was present in Havana and at the Palace on the day of burial of the victims of the destruction of the *Maine*. General Lee cordially welcomed him. Captain Sigsbee said to him that "his presence was providential." He could not stay, because of the sailing of his ship, to attend the services at the cemetery. He could have taken part, however, in the services at the Palace.

The following statement by Captain Sigsbee appears in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1898:

"Appreciating the sentiments of the relatives of those who were lost, I previously asked Chaplain Chidwick if some arrangement could not be made whereby prayers might be read over the Protestant dead by a Protestant clergyman or by myself. He had referred the question to the Bishop, who had politely negatived the proposition. I did not like this, because I desired to do everything in my power to comfort the families and friends of the deceased men; therefore, when I was presented to the Bishop, I renewed my request, with a statement of the difficulties of the case. The Bishop was very kind, but had to regret his inability to concede the point. I was much disturbed; in fact, I was indignant, for my mood in the presence of those coffins was one requiring great effort at self-repression; therefore I remarked to Dr. Congosto that if I had been fully prepared for a refusal I should probably not have felt free to accept the offer of the Spanish authorities to take charge of the funeral ceremonies —that I should have preferred to take them under my own charge, in such a way that I could have given to each creed freedom to bury its dead after its own forms. In this I was doubtless lacking in tact. Nevertheless, I was sincere. My position was so difficult that I felt that I could speak plainly to Dr. Congosto, who, as I have already said, had lived in the United States. In my opinion, the Bishop of Havana and Chaplain Chidwick were quite acceptable to officiate at the grave of any Christian; but this was not a matter for my consideration alone; others were to be considered."

Undoubtedly a large proportion of the dead sailors were from Protestant families. Anyway, they were the defenders of a Christian and not of a sectarian nation. Rome ought to have been broad enough, or at least politic enough, to recognize that our Christian civilization tolerates all forms of religious faith, including Roman Catholicism.

The latest phase of this matter will be seen in the following from the New York *Herald* of January 31, 1899:

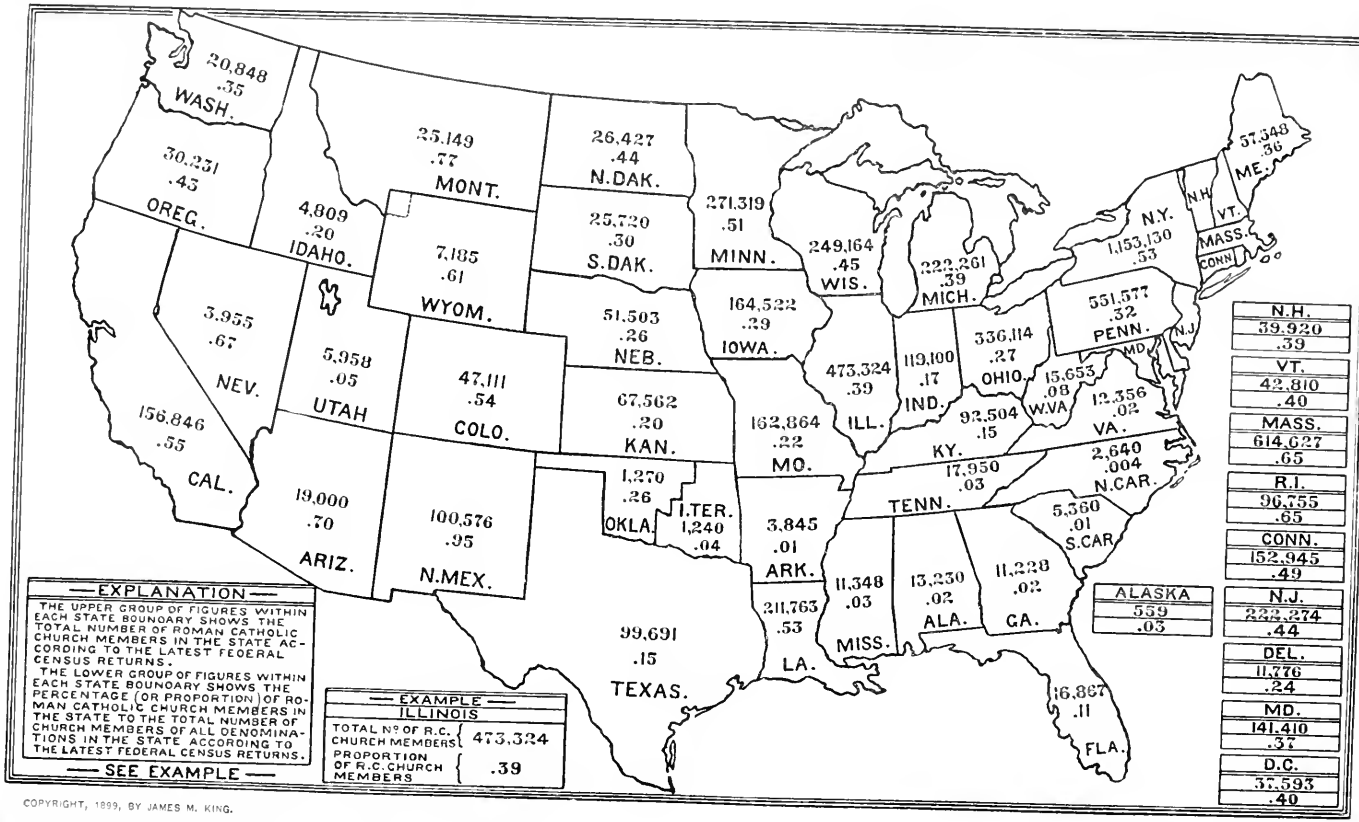
"HAVANA, Monday.—Bishop Santander has served notice that no Protestant clergyman can take active part in the ceremonies over the graves of the *Maine's* dead, who are buried in the Cristobal Colon Cemetery. The women who are arranging the ceremonies for February 15 had planned that both Catholic and Protestant prayers should be said. The Bishop's decision has thrown them into confusion, and while most of them are inclined to accept the decision without protest, some are so bitter that they would appeal to the President to enforce what they call their rights.

"I found Bishop Santander this afternoon boiling over with wrath at what he considers an outrage and insult committed by General Wilson and Colonel Brown in Matanzas Province. Speaking of February 15, he said:

"'The Colon Cemetery has been blessed according to the Catholic ritual. I can no more permit a Protestant ceremony there than I could allow one in the Catholic Church. Many of those who died when the *Maine* was destroyed were Catholics. It would offend their memory to permit a Protestant ceremony, and none can take place within the cemetery.

"'I know,' the Bishop said, 'that similar action is contemplated in Havana; a resolution to that effect having been prepared for introduction at the next meeting of the Ayuntamiento. The cemeteries were built with our money and the title belongs to the Church. I have protested to General Brooke and will carry the protest to Washington and Rome, if necessary. This profanation of sacred soil cannot be.'"

Humanity, toleration, liberty of conscience, decency on the part of the papal rulers in the Old and New Worlds would have given them justly the dominion of the entire world



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MAP SHOWING ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN EACH STATE AND PROPORTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH MEMBERS TO ALL OTHER DENOMINATIONS COMBINED.

to-day, but they preferred in the past, and prefer to-day, the subjection of conscience to human bondage for political purposes rather than liberty of conscience which asserts the rights of man as man.

American Romanists must honestly recognize historic facts as they enjoy our civil and religious liberty, and not seek to intrench here the ecclesiastical bondage under which they suffered beyond the seas. They have perfect political equality and religious liberty here; let them be loyally satisfied.

Full credit and praise we would give for their religious work, but they shall not be allowed to cry religious persecution when their injustices are exposed, to cover up political moves.

We will be told by the ignorant commentator and the cloistered scholar, and the compromising citizen and the unscrupulous politician, that we are alarmists. We are also told that Rome loses great numbers of adherents through the power of our free schools and free institutions, and by the detaching power of our independent national spirit, and that thus naturally these matters will adjust themselves, and that therefore there is *no peril.*

No peril! to the coming citizenship and to the republic under such educational influences, when loyalty to republican institutions is the only security for the perpetuation of liberty, and when we are boldly confronted by a power that has for centuries proved to be a politico-ecclesiastical conspirator against the liberties of mankind?

No peril! to multitudes of American youth, when the changeless Jesuits control the Pope, and teach that he is infallible, and that he has the absolute right to demand the obedience of all citizens and civil powers?

No peril! when a Roman archbishop announces that he and his brethren hold the *balance of power* in Canada, and through it have controlled the elections, and asserts that, by a

similar use of the *balance of power*, Presidential elections will be decided in this republic?

No peril! when in national elections the States are so evenly balanced that a command from a Roman Pope or Roman American Cardinal Prince can order Roman legions, the subjects of a foreign ruler, in sufficient numbers to march to the polls and determine one way or the other the most momentous issues?

No peril! when members of constitutional conventions and the people's legislators in nation and State are cajoled or terrorized into action opposed to their convictions by corrupt politico-ecclesiastical combinations and lobbies, and when nominating and platform-making conventions of the great national political parties can be induced, either by the influence of political representatives of a religious sect, or by the blandishments of a single priestly political wire-puller, to barter the assertion of righteous principle for an *ignis fatuus* of undeliverable votes?

No peril! when an honestly and truthfully spoken alliteration, in which the word Romanism appears in its legitimate place in a clerical Presbyterian sandwich, can determine who shall be the President of the great republic?

No peril! when in many of the States and municipalities this foreign political power has such domination that, for the support of its schools and other institutions where youth are trained, its sleepless and greedy managers thrust their arms elbow-deep into the public treasuries?

No peril! when "political damnation" is openly threatened by this power against citizens who dare oppose its un-American demands and aggressions?

No peril! when Jesuit teachers say, "a slave state in the church," in ears that are not permitted to hear the American doctrine of "a free church in a free state"?

No peril! when the secular press seems to be largely under Jesuitical censorship, and is, because of political considera-

tions, afraid to warn the people of dangers from a power that has enslaved the intellect and conscience of man in every land?

No peril! when American citizens are summoned to Rome to answer for the crime of loyalty to American institutions?

No peril! when the papal dictator of over nine millions of our population declares that "all Catholic teachers should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of States and legislation to be modeled on the principles of the Church," and that "all Catholic writers and journalists should never for an instant lose sight of this prescription"?

No peril! when conscienceless politicians by the thousand in this republic are ready to barter away the fundamental principles of republican liberties for any office, from alderman to President?

No peril! when already throughout the land millions of dollars are annually paid from public funds for sectarian purposes and sectarian teaching, furnishing the beginnings of a courtship designed to end in the marriage of the church and state, and the church in question teaching disloyalty to the state it would wed?

No peril will menace American institutions when all citizens who enjoy our civil and religious liberties in theory and practice conduct themselves *as* Americans.

DECLINE: IN NUMBERS AND IN POLITICAL POWER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

The march of the papal power in recent history toward annihilation has presented a most magnificent spectacle to the world's advancing civilization. Its defeat on every field of contest has been marked by the progress of civil and religious liberty and the rights of man. Napoleon III. bolstered the throne of the temporal power of Pius IX. with French bayonets, and placed the Austrian Maximilian on a throne in Mexico with a French army and the Pope's blessing to sup-

port him. Napoleon III. strangled the republic in France and became Emperor with the Pope's approval and blessing. Maximilian, deserted by Napoleon III. in Mexico, was executed by the struggling and outraged people, and widowed Carlotta wandered, a royal maniac, from court to court in Europe.

Three chapters of modern history in which the papal power had vital interests, and in which it was made to stagger toward its final overthrow, had their genesis at Sedan: the overthrow of imperialism in France; the exodus and destruction of the temporal power of the Pope; and the creation and consolidation of the German Empire. The countrymen of Luther, knocking at the gates of Paris, completed the work begun by Luther at Worms. Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and made it the capital of United Italy, and completed the work for Italy which was initiated at Sedan. Thiers and the Republic in France freed the Gauls from ecclesiastical bondage. Juarez had already annihilated the hideous papal iniquities in Mexico. Then the nations rested for a period, impatiently listening to the piteous pleadings from the prisoner of the Vatican for the restoration of his temporal power, while the ignorant faithful, who forgot the age in which they were living, clinging to the mummeries of a mediæval civilization, poured their "Peter's pence" into the treasury of the man whom they claim to be St. Peter's successor and God's vicegerent on the earth.

Two nations still remained faithful to the Pope: Austria, now torn with internal dissensions, and his beloved Spain. Spain's continued arrogance and cruelty toward her colonial possessions, and the revival of the spirit of religious liberty among the nations, by its widely diffused light made her darkness visible and her murders of the innocent unbearable.

Then the God of nations summoned the people who knew what absolute civil and religious liberty mean to make and write some concluding chapters in the history of that nation,

the prop of whose persecutions and iniquities for four centuries has been the papal power, and in ninety days America wrote Manila, Santiago, and Porto Rico with all their pregnant import.

R. W. Thompson, in "Footprints of the Jesuits," p. 456, says:

"In former times there were powerful governments subject to the dominion of the Popes, but all these have passed away—not a single one is left. Protestant governments have risen out of the ruins of some, and are now rising out of those of others of them, and all these are happy, prosperous, and progressive; while the Pope himself, with the vast multitude of his allies assisting him, is devoting all the power given him by the Church to persuade them to retrace their steps and return to the retrogressive period of the Middle Ages."

At the time of the discovery of America there were eighty millions of Roman Catholics in Europe. There was no other religion bearing the name of Christ. Romanism ruled the temporal as well as the spiritual powers. It recognized no such right as individual liberty and no such obligation as individual responsibility. Prerogative made privilege impossible.

The Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX., issued in 1864 against what his Holiness styled errors, has been appropriately designated as "The Pope's bull against civilization." Almost every item in the indictment against so-called errors called a halt to the advancing forces of civilization. But the forces seem either to have repudiated or misunderstood the orders, as they have proceeded systematically to do all of the things prohibited, and the Papacy has moved in a path filled with thorns, while the nations and the institutions founded by the Pope have met disaster, and papal condemnation has been the harbinger of prosperity. He blessed Napoleon III., and he lost his throne and the temporal power of the Pope

was also lost. He cursed Victor Emmanuel, and Rome and the Pope were both made prisoners, and the citizens of the conquered city indorsed the conquest by a virtually unanimous vote. He blessed Austria, and the defeat at Sadowa ensued. He blessed Maximilian, and Mexico killed him and wiped out the property and power of the Church of Rome on her soil. He cursed France, and she reared a republic on the ruins of a Roman Catholic empire. He cursed Venezuela, and a Catholic President repudiated the Vatican. He warned the Catholic nations with Encyclical and Syllabus, and Chili, the Argentine Republic, and other South American states, with France, Italy, and Mexico, met the warning with adverse legislation. He cursed Catholic Brazil, and she expelled the Jesuits and declared separation of church and state. He blessed Spain, and she lost most of her colonies. He has from time to time said some apparently tolerant thing about the American republic, but in the light of history the American people have ground for praying that he will at least preserve a strict neutrality concerning our destiny.

Political Romanism must continue to decline in power in this country for the same reason that political Mormonism declined, because it attempts with unyielding persistency to antagonize the spirit and letter of our Constitution, to destroy the molding force of our educational system, and to force upon the citizen a perverted loyalty.

The Roman Catholics controlled the polls in New Mexico and they voted against a State Constitution which provided for popular education, and this fact defeated the admission of New Mexico into the Union.

Our free institutions constitute a detaching power. It is a confession of the irreconcilable relations between Roman Catholicism and free institutions when their children must be kept in parochial schools or be lost to them. We are glad to have them share in the benefits of our republican civilization,

but we will not permit them to reconstruct it on mediæval lines.

The late Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore declared, in 1870, that if the public schools were rigidly maintained in this country, and the public funds were withheld from parochial schools, and compulsory attendance laws were enforced, that Roman Catholicism would lose most of her people in one or two generations, unless she honestly adapted herself to the changed conditions.

It is claimed by Roman Catholic authorities that if they had held their children in the Church they ought to have at present twenty-five millions of the population, but they have less than ten millions. Why? Their exercise of ecclesiastical political power is breaking their hold upon the generation born under free institutions.

Father Young parades in his book a catalogue of prominent American Protestant converts to Romanism. He did not have room for the list of those who have left Romanism.

It is a notable fact that, while relatively their numbers decrease, their political activity and demands enormously increase.

During the last two decades, since Jesuitism has again become the dominating factor in the Roman Catholic Church, there has unquestionably been a revival on political and social lines while there has been a decline in numerical strength. In Germany it has made great advances in politics and in literature. In Great Britain it has wrought great doctrinal changes within the Church of England. In the United States it has successfully sought to enhance its political power and social prestige, and while unsuccessfully seeking to control the primary education of its youth, at public expense, has made some progress in providing for higher education. Despite all this, while the hierarchy has increased the number of believers has diminished. Dr. Stuckenberg declares that in all Catholic lands Roman Catholicism is losing its hold; in Germany and

Austria the conditions remain unaltered; in England the increase does not keep pace with the growth of the population, while in the United States the increase of Protestantism is nearly double that of Roman Catholicism.

The *Protestant Alliance* (London, Eng.), for October, 1898, contains a valuable article on the "Numerical Strength of Romanism." After giving the various estimates, ranging from one hundred and thirty million to three hundred million, from official Roman Catholic sources, of the numbers of Romanists in the world, the article concludes thus:

"A glance at the years and various estimates will show that the priests of the 'infallible' Church are hopelessly at sea and completely at variance with each other. We sincerely hope 'infallibility' does not extend to such a matter as statistics.

"I have consulted several reliable statistical works, and have a grand total of about two hundred and three million. I sent some of the above Roman Catholic estimates (including those of his friend Dr. Döllinger and of Cardinal Manning) to Mr. Gladstone, asking for his opinion on the matter. This was his reply: 'Dear Sir.—So far as I can judge, the estimate of two hundred million may not be far wrong, but I suppose it to be certain that now—owing in great part to the increase of the Slav and English-speaking races, and the falling away in France—the Roman Catholics are a minority of the total number of Christians.'

"The allusion to the 'falling away' will be better understood when I state that at the 1881 census no less than seven million six hundred and eighty-four thousand nine hundred and six persons returned themselves on the paper as believing in no religion! These millions of unbelievers, however, are included by Rome in the two hundred or three hundred millions of her children. Mr. Gladstone's postcard was printed in the *Daily News* of August 31, 1897.

"In America, since the Declaration of Independence, seven

hundred thousand Americans only have joined the Church 'out of which there is no salvation.' My authority is the *Catholic Times* of 22d of September, 1893. The fact is, Romanism is in a deplorable state, both at home and abroad. It gathers into its bosom all sorts of people. 'The Church' (to quote Cardinal Gibbons, 'Faith of our Fathers,' 1879 edition, p. 43), 'walking in the footsteps of her divine Spouse, never repudiates *sinners*, nor cuts them off from her fold, no matter how grievous or notorious may be their moral delinquencies.' Just so! and Protestant rate-payers have to pay for the vice and drunkenness of the '*sinners*.'

"I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

"A. Le Lievre,

"Secretary Protestant Press Agency."

While the progress of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism in any direction is sufficient to cause all friends of civil and religious liberty to put forth every effort to check its progress, yet it is not enough to make them faithless and hopeless in contending against it.

Look at the condition of affairs in Rome itself. There are about 47,000 voters in the city, and in any contest between the Clericals and Liberals, the Clericals cannot muster over 8000 votes. Out of 1300 students in the University, only 120 belong to the Clerical party, and the proportion of anti-Clericals in the other universities is still larger.

An article in the *Methodist Times* of London, edited by Hugh Price Hughes, said in 1898:

"We have frequently added that one of the greatest delusions of our time is the notion that the Roman Catholic Church is prospering, and especially that it is making rapid strides in Great Britain and the United States. The actual fact is that the Roman Catholic Church, alone of Christian Churches, is declining all over the world."

In discussing Romanism in England the editor says: "If the Irish and continental Romanists returned to their own

countries, Romanism in England would disappear," proving that immigration, as in this country, is almost the sole source of their re-enforcements. The editor concluded thus:

"How is it that an immense delusion to the contrary is widely spread in England and America? It is due to one simple cause. Romanists, to their great credit, hang together and act together. At all elections they vote in solid blocks in the interests of their own communion and in obedience to the Pope. We have been taught by terrible experience that a Protestant mob cannot successfully overcome a clerical army, even if the army is much smaller than the mob. When Protestants have learned to be as loyal to Christ as Romanists are to the Pope, the unnatural victories of Romanism will end forever."

Concerning the sovereignty of races the following figures are interesting: One hundred and forty million are ruled by representatives of the Greek Church, 240,000,000 by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and 520,000,000 by representatives of the Protestant Church. Spanish is spoken by 42,000,000, French by 51,000,000, Russian by 75,000,000, and English by 130,000,000.

In a paper read at the Catholic Congress, Columbian Exposition, Chicago, September, 1893, Miss M. T. Elder of New Orleans, said to be a niece of Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, made the following statements:

"Why is it that the greatest men of our nation are non-Catholic? It is because the vast majority of these great men are from sturdy rural stock, and the rural stock of the United States are solidly, stanchly Protestant. Let us not whine about prejudice and intolerance, anti-popery and secret societies. Let us tell the truth to ourselves. Our inferior position, and it certainly is inferior, is owing almost wholly to ourselves. The great men of this nation have been, are, and will continue to be Protestant. I speak not of wealth, but of brain, of energy, of action, of heart. The great philanthro-

pists, the great orators, the great writers, thinkers, leaders, scientists, inventors, teachers of our land, have been Protestants. What surprises me is the way we have of eulogizing ourselves—of talking buncombe and spread-eagle and of giving taffy all round. I am sorry to say that I cannot well join in this enlivening pastime. When I see how largely Catholicity is represented among our hoodlum element, I feel in no spread-eagle mood. When I note how few Catholics are engaged honestly in tilling the honest soil and how many Catholics are engaged in the liquor traffic, I cannot talk buncombe to anybody. When I observe the increasing power and ascendency of the Jews, when I see the superior vigor, originality, and opportuneness of Protestant lay charity over similar attempts on our part, and when I observe the immense success and influence of secret societies, even here in this most Catholic city of the Union, I have no heart for taffy-giving. When I reflect that out of the seventy millions of the nation we number only nine millions, and that out of that nine millions so large a proportion is made up of poor factory hands, poor mill and shop and mine and railroad employees, poor Government clerks, I still fail to find material for buncombe, or spread-eagle, or taffy-giving."

Some despondent citizens hold, or seem to hold, that the battle is already lost; that "the foreign colony," as Dr. Brownson called it, sent to convert or subject us, has for fifty years been quietly pursuing the way to successful conquest; that it has undermined the press, and cajoled the people, and organized a political force on the principles of Ignatius Loyola, with which to demand of politicians what it likes, and to govern or betray at pleasure whichever party it might join. One asks: Have they not secured the control of caucuses and conventions by the most corrupt practices, dickering first with one party and then with another, until they control the great metropolis of New York, multiplying the offices and enlarging the salaries of the city, saddled as it is with enormous debts

for the plunder gathered by men like Tweed and his associates who were elected by the Romish vote? Does not Father Hecker boast that their wealth in the United States increased from nine millions in 1850 to sixty millions in 1870? That while in the same period the wealth of the country, under the stimulus of American institutions, American skill, and American industry, had increased by eighty-six per cent., the wealth of the Roman Catholic Church under the management of foreign ecclesiasticism, the manipulations of party managers and conventions, municipal councils, and State legislatures, with threats and promises based upon the Romish vote, had increased by one hundred and twenty-eight per cent.?

It was not, we are truly told, the unusual wealth or superior thrift of the lay members of the Roman Church which enabled its clerical orders and charitable and reformatory institutions to accumulate this enormous overplus of wealth. It is simply that the taxpayer has been despoiled under pretense of law, and by every form of taxation and imposition.

Father Hecker makes the following astounding statement: "The defense of the Church and the salvation of the soul were ordinarily secured at the expense necessarily of those virtues which properly go to make up the strength of Catholic manhood." In this way he accounts for the fact that "fifty million Protestants have generally had a controlling influence for a long period over two hundred million Catholics in directing the movements and destinies of nations."

More than fifteen millions of people in this country to-day who by heredity should be Roman Catholics are lost to that Church as the result of breathing the free and tolerant American air and of contact with American republican institutions.

The matter of relative numbers must be the determining factor in this country in making any adequate estimate of the advance or decline in the political power of any particular politico-ecclesiastical organization, because we are a voting people.

Years.....	1776	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1878
Archbishops.....	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	6	7	11
Bishops.....	..	1	2	5	6	9	16	27	42	57
Dioceses	..	1	1	5	6	11	16	27	43	60
Apostolic Vicariates	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	8
Priests.....	25	34	50	70	150	232	482	1800	2235	5650
Churches	..	..	..	80	110	230	454	1100	2385	5720
Stations and Chapels...	..	..	..	..	..	..	358	505	1128	1800
Ecclesiastical institutions.....	..	..	1	2	3	9	13	29	30	33
Colleges	..	..	2	3	5	6	9	17	34	77
Female academies..	..	..	1	3	..	20	47	91	212	525
Catholic population	25,000	30,000	100,000	150,000	300,000	600,000	1,500,000	3,500,000	4,500,000	7,000,000
Total population...	3,000,000	3,200,000	5,300,000	7,200,000	9,600,000	13,000,000	17,000,000	23,200,000	31,500,000	40,000,000
Fractional part of whole population	$\frac{1}{120}$	$\frac{1}{107}$	$\frac{1}{53}$	$\frac{1}{48}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{1}{11}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{5}$

Father Hecker writes: "We give below [above] a table to show the gradual increase of the Catholic Church, so far as the data were attainable, from the time of the Declaration of Independence to the year 1878, inclusive. As for the number of Catholics, we have taken what may be considered an average estimate:

"Admitting, then, all that has been said as true, it may be added that, as the faith of the greater part of Catholics who come here from abroad rests on a traditional and historical basis almost exclusively; conceding that this traditional faith will be firm enough to keep its hold upon the immigrants and retain them in the fold of the Church until death—granting all this, the question starts up forcibly here: But will not the Catholic faith, under the influence of republicanism, lose its hold in one or two, or at most in three, generations on their children?"—"*The Catholic Church in the United States*," *by Rev. I. T. Hecker, pp. 18–22.*

Twenty years after Father Hecker's statistical statement of 1878, we give, from Hoffmann's "Catholic Directory" for 1898, the claim of Romanism concerning the Roman Catholic population in this country, which is 9,856,622. A fair estimate of the population of the United States in 1898 is 70,000,000. This gives the Roman Catholics less than one-seventh, or about the same ratio they sustained in 1850. The fact, then, is patent that, in forty-eight years, Romanism has relatively made no progress, but has most startlingly declined.

Dr. Dorchester, a philosopher and an able statistician, says: "Romanism has passed the period of her most rapid increase in the United States, and must henceforth relatively decline."

From his book "Christianity in the United States" we make the following extracts:

"From 1790 to June 30, 1894, 17,654,400 immigrants landed in the United States. Of these, according to wise estimates, three-fifths, or 10,592,640, were originally Roman Catholics, which is nearly two millions more than all the

Roman Catholics in the United States at the present time, as given in their Year Books, not to speak of growth by natural increase. That the Roman Catholic Church has grown very largely in the United States is unquestionable, and it is likely to grow more; for everything grows in this country. But the gains have been almost entirely by immigration and its losses have been greater than its gains. By its own acknowledgment it has lost millions here.

"In the following table three leading points of comparison are placed side by side. But inasmuch as the Roman Catholic population, as given in their Year Books, comprises their entire adherents, the adherents of the evangelical churches are put in the same form, multiplying the communicants by three and a half.

Year.	Churches.		Clergy.		Church Population.	
	Roman Catholic.	Evangelical.	Roman Catholic Priests.	Evangelical Ministers.	Roman Catholic.	Evangelical.
1800	——	3,030	50	2,051	100,000	1,277,052
1850	1,245	43,072	1,302	25,655	1,614,000	12,354,958
1870	3,912	70,148	3,966	47,609	4,600,000	23,356,886
1880	5,856	97,090	6,402	69,879	6,367,330	35,230,870
1890	7,631	151,172	8,778	107,235	8,579,966	48,382,663

Year.	Inhabitants to one Church.		Inhabitants to one Clergyman.		Percentage of the Whole Population.	
	Roman Catholic.	Evangelical.	Roman Catholic Priests.	Evangelical Ministers.	Roman Catholic.	Evangelical.
1800	——	1,751	106,118	2,001	1.8	24.0
1850	18,627	538	17,812	900	6.9	53.2
1870	9,866	549	9,722	809	11.9	60.5
1880	8,564	516	7,834	718	12.6	70.5
1890	8,600	414	7,134	583	13.7	77.3

"In the foregoing exhibit the growth of the Roman Catholic Church, both actually and relatively, is seen to be very large from 1800 to 1870. From 1850 to 1870, the period of

the large Irish emigration, were the years of its greatest growth."

Romanism, as the legitimate result of its exercise of politico-ecclesiastical power over its members in a free land, loses its own children in the first and second generations born in America.

The numerical strength of Roman Catholicism in the United States is almost entirely recruited from two sources: Catholic immigration and the acquisition of territory previously inhabited by Catholics; the accessions by conversion from among the native populations are insignificant in numbers.

The Irish constitute the chief part of the Romanists in America, and they amount to less than one-eighth of the population.

Statistics of Roman Catholicism compared with Protestantism in the United States show the great disparity in numbers, and yet the Romanists hold the balance of power and cause the taxes for reformatory and penal institutions. Perhaps this fact explains the "rapid strides" referred to by the Pope in the following record:

On December 11, 1898, the New York *Journal* printed an interview of its correspondent, Philippe Tonelli, with Leo XIII., in which the Pope is reported to have said: "What suffering my being endured in the face of the conflict of two nations that I love—one for its fidelity through the centuries, the other for its virile youth and for the hope of seeing it enter entire into the bosom of the Catholic Church. It is marching into it with rapid strides."

In regard to Catholic losses the Providence *Visitor* (R. C.) said in January, 1898: "In the city of Chicago, with its present population of 1,700,000, it is estimated that there are 500,000 Catholics. Of this number not more than 200,000 can be called practical Catholics. In this estimate we include infants and others incapable of observing the requirements of the Church. The remaining 300,000 men and women may

virtually be regarded as dead to the Church. A similar condition prevails in all our large cities.

"The Catholic population in the archdiocese of New York was given as 800,000 for the year 1891. Only 825,000 are now reported by Catholic journals for 1897. Probably 25,000 Italian immigrants have settled in the archdiocese since 1891. What became of the natural increase? What of the other immigrants? What of the converts? With the exception of seven or eight dioceses, the increase, where there was any, may be considered natural. Where then did the missing New York Catholics go, some of whom may have obtained spirituous drinks from the 'Catholic Club, 120 Central Park West.' They have not gone to the archdiocese of Baltimore, where an annual excess of 6000 baptisms over funerals ought to show an increase of 24,000 instead of a total increase of 5000 in four years. They have not gone to the dioceses of Albany and Syracuse, which had no increase in many years. They have not gone to Cincinnati, which has less Catholic population than two years ago; nor to Louisville, Peoria, and Denver, which have no more Catholic souls now than four years ago; nor to San Francisco, which has 5000 Catholic souls less than four years ago."

Rev. George Zurcher, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Buffalo, N. Y., was the author of "Monks and their Decline," a pamphlet from which the foregoing statements are taken. The Sacred Congregation on September 1, 1898, proscribed this pamphlet, and Father Zurcher made his "submission." Thus the pamphlet and the priest were both crushed. Father Zurcher maintained that in the present system of civilization and enlightenment the orders of monks had outlived their usefulness and should be disbanded by the Church. Spain's decadence and that of the Latin countries he attributed to the influence and power of the monks, and he suggested that the United States should suppress all the orders if it hoped to preserve law and order in its new Spanish

possessions. Of course a priest who has the temerity to state such patriotic and unpalatable truths ought to be silenced by a system which has the exclusive right to do the thinking for all men.

The three Roman Catholic United States Senators who had made themselves offensive by their opposition to safe American legislation, and who had opposed the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty and all measures designed to nurture the growing friendly relations between America and Great Britain, were relegated to private life in the elections of 1898, by the great Commonwealths of New York, New Jersey, and California, which they had misrepresented all too long, and whose original election to the Senate (notably in the cases of two of them), was never based upon intellectual ability or upon any hint that they were statesmen, but solely upon the ground that they were Roman Catholics, with the political power of their Church back of their demands for place, which demands their party was afraid to ignore.

The same patriotic sentiment which retired Senator Murphy in New York State vetoed the extension of Boss Croker's ambition to control the State, despite the fact that the Roman legions continued to present an unbroken front under his lead in New York City, while the rejected Judge Daly, President of the Roman Catholic Club of New York City, in his judiciary candidacy was hardly able to detach enough Romanists from Croker to make a respectable body guard.

There are multiplied indications that within the pale of Romanism there is an increasing number of honest and intelligent men who are about ready to assert their rights as sovereigns, and demand political independence from ecclesiastical domination.

We must recognize and help to cultivate the loyal and honest Americanism of the Roman Catholics who educate their children in the public schools, who breathe the free air of the republic and appreciate its distinctive institutions, who

permit and seek assimilation with the American character, who care little for the politico-ecclesiastical pretensions of the hierarchy and resent its interference with their political rights, and who at the same time rigidly adhere to the religious faith of Catholicism. This class of Roman Catholics is rapidly increasing in this land. They have adopted the motto of one of the most eminent of their number, when he said: "I take my religion, but not my politics, from Rome."

The Roman Catholics at present in combination with strict party adherents outvote the friends of honest government in most centers of population, but there are hopeful omens that the time is not far distant when loyal American citizens among their number will join with other American citizens of all religious and political faiths and vote *as* Americans for honest principles and honest administration of public affairs, without dictation from any foreign or domestic power.

PART V.

POWERS TO PROTECT AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

CONSTITUTIONAL INTRENCHMENT OF AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE ORGANIC LAWS OF THE NATION AND OF THE STATES.

The American Republic is a constitutional government, therefore, whenever principles are to be defended, and institutions made permanent, they must be intrenched in the organic law of the land. Most of the principles essential to the safety and development of the republic were embodied in the original Constitution of the United States. Several amendments were adopted in our early history to meet certain defects soon discovered. Other amendments were made necessary by the Civil War which effected the abolition of slavery. Only fifteen amendments thus far have been incorporated in the national Constitution. During the last decade the National League for the Protection of American Institutions has been concededly the most important practical force in America in effecting legislative action and in advocating changes in the organic laws of the States and of the nation for the protection of our distinctive institutions. This organization has been conservatively aggressive, and has enlisted in its work the best patriotic elements of all political and religious faiths. We propose to give something of a chronological summary of the work of the League, as indicating the character and progress of the work in patriotic protective lines. The hearty co-operation of all patriotic secular and religious organizations is most gratefully acknowledged by the members of the League.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

The organization styled "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions" was the outcome from a convention composed of patriotic men from different parts of the country, assembled at Saratoga Springs in the month of August, 1889. It was incorporated December 24, 1889, pursuant to the Act of the Legislature of the State of New York entitled, "An Act for the Incorporation of Societies or Clubs for certain lawful purposes," passed May 21, 1875.

The incorporators and first Board of Managers were the following-named gentlemen:

John Jay,
George S. Baker,
Clinton B. Fisk,
John D. Slayback,
Churchill H. Cutting,
William Fellowes Morgan,
Charles E. Whitehead,
Peter A. Welch,
A. J. D. Wedermeyer,
James McKeen,
James M. King,
Peter Donald,
Warner Van Norden,
H. H. Boyesen,
James M. Montgomery,
William H. Parsons,
Constant A. Andrews,
Alexander E. Orr,
Manuel A. Kursheedt,
F. P. Bellamy.

The first President of the League was the late John Jay, who served for three years. He was succeeded by William H. Parsons, the present President. The late William Strong was Vice President until 1894, when he was succeeded by the present Vice President, Dorman B. Eaton. James M. King, General Secretary, William Fellowes Morgan, Treasurer, and John McLellan, Office Secretary, have held their respective offices from the beginning of the organization. The original Law Committee was composed as follows: Wm. Allen Butler, Dorman B. Eaton, Cephas Brainerd, Henry E. Howland, and Stephen A. Walker. This Committee has had but one change in its composition, which occurred as the result of the de-

cease of Mr. Walker, who was succeeded by Wheeler H. Peckham.

The objects of the League, as set forth in Article II. of its Constitution, are as follows:

"The objects of the League are to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common-school system and other American Institutions, and to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds."

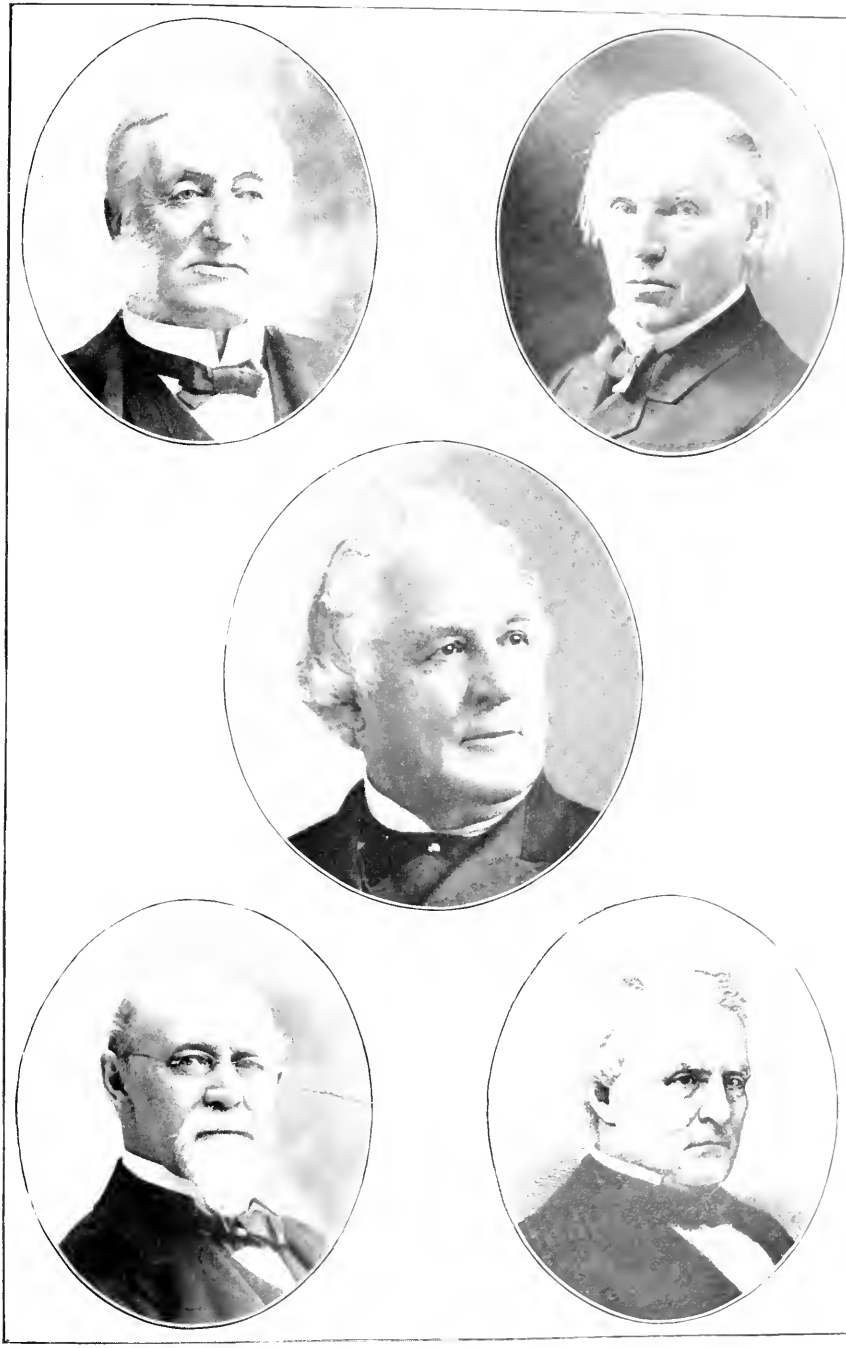
On April 22, 1890, the Board of Managers of the League adopted the following proposed form of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prepared and submitted by the Law Committee of the League:

PROPOSED FORM OF THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

"No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding, by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

On the date above mentioned the managers of the League adopted a "Statement of Purposes and Principles," and active measures were taken for corresponding with United States Senators, State superintendents of education, college presidents, lawyers, jurists, and others interested in educational and patriotic work throughout the country.

The League had previously taken a helpful part in furthering the confirmation by the United States Senate of the nominations of General T. J. Morgan as Commissioner of Indian affairs, and of Dr. Daniel Dorchester as Superintendent of Indian Schools.



Wm. H. Parsons. *John Jay.* *Dorman B. Eaton.*

James M. King. *Wm. Strong.*

FORMER AND PRESENT EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

On May 28, 1890, the American Baptist Home Mission Society in annual session at Chicago, Ill., by unanimous vote took the following action :

"*Resolved*, That this body heartily approves the object of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, and regards its action as timely and as providing a safeguard against very grave existing abuses, and yet graver possible dangers. This body approves of the proposed Amendment to the national Constitution and urges that Congress take the needful steps for its adoption."

On June 17, 1890, the National Convention of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics assembled at Chicago, adopted in full the proposed form of Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and the statement of purpose and principles of the National League.

During the summer of 1890, the National League issued its document Number Two, giving "reasons and suggestions for the formation of auxiliary leagues and local organizations," and took its first active steps in opposition to sectarian appropriations by the National Government for Indian Education, by petition and personal work in the United States Senate against three items of increased appropriation. The Senate Committee in response to the protest struck out the objectionable items and inserted a clause placing all Indian schools, and the expenditure of appropriations for the same, under the supervision of the Interior Department. The Senate by its vote restored the items, but the passage of the supervisory clause was secured.

Prior to the election held in New York State in November, 1890, the League prepared and submitted to the candidates of all parties for the various offices questions touching the protection of American Institutions, and especially of the public school and of the elective franchise.

These questions elicited general reply, and the answers were almost uniformly favorable, and in many instances cor-

dial in their indorsement of the work and principles of the League.

In November, 1890, the League presented a memorial to Hon. Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, bringing to his consideration the proposed Sixteenth Amendment, and requesting executive commendation in his Annual Message to Congress.

In the prosecution of its labor for the prevention of sectarian appropriations of public funds the League in December, 1890, took an important step.

An appeal was mailed to all officers and managers of missionary boards connected with the various religious bodies receiving Government aid for the support of Indian education, appealing to their patriotism and asking them to withdraw their applications for Congressional grants, and to refuse hereafter to accept such grants.

Responses were received from all the bodies addressed, and, with the single exception of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, the justice of the position taken by the National League was admitted by all, and the desire expressed that the partnership between the religious denominations and the National Government might speedily terminate.

Conferences of different American patriotic orders meeting in May and June, 1890, indorsed the purposes and principles of the National League, as did also on February 24, 1891, the National Council of Patriotic Organizations in the United States, representing over ninety American Orders and more than a million and a half of active members.

During the second session of the Fifty-first Congress the National League vigorously opposed, by petition and personal appeal, a proposed increase in the appropriations for sectarian education among the Indians amounting to $125,000.

The final issue in the educational features of this appropriation bill was very satisfactory to the friends of the educational policy of the Indian Bureau. Instead of $125,000 advance

for sectarian schools, as the House amendment proposed, there was a decrease from the previous year's appropriations for contract schools of $20,000, and an advance for general school purposes under the control of the Indian Bureau of $200,000, the entire sum for contract schools being fixed at $535,000 against $555,000 for the previous year. The Government schools were well cared for, the *status quo* was preserved, and a halt was called on the matter of sectarian appropriations, and Congress and the country were informed of the embarrassments and dangers incident to the partnership between the General Government and the numerous churches in the work of Indian education. The following important compulsory education clause was embodied in the bill:

"The Commissioner of Indian affairs, subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to make and enforce by proper means, such rules and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."

Early in July, 1891, the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs felt compelled by the arrogant attitude assumed toward the Indian Department by the Bureau of Catholic Missions, to sever the relations existing between the Department and that Bureau by declining to enter into contracts with it for the education of Indian children. Extraordinary pressure was at once brought to bear by the Bureau upon the President and Secretary of the Interior, to compel the Commissioner to recede from his position.

The managers of the National League promptly determined that the Commissioner ought to be sustained in his policy of limiting the extension of the contract schools and fostering the establishment of Government schools among the Indians.

The League furnished the press throughout the entire country with documents, giving the facts in relation to the

controversy; and sent letters of similar import to hundreds of influential citizens in every State.

These efforts so strengthened the hands of the National Executive that the Commissioner was fully sustained and his policy received the emphatic indorsement of the Government.

The managers of the National League on March 5, 1891, took action looking to the amendment or defeat of a bill introduced into both Houses of the Legislature of the State of New York, entitled "An Act with reference to the payment of moneys to incorporated institutions, societies and associations," otherwise known as the "Freedom of Worship Bill."

The League contested the passage of measures of this kind through many years. The character and result of the contest will be found recorded elsewhere in this volume.

During the summer of 1891 the League conducted an extensive correspondence with a view to securing local secretaries in leading cities in all the States, with very satisfactory results.

United States Senators and Representatives were also communicated with and documents furnished them, preparatory to the introduction of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment.

Blank forms of memorial and petition to the United States Senate and House of Representatives, for the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment, were prepared and scores of thousands of them, with letters of instruction and return postal cards, were mailed to the local secretaries, adherents of the League, and clergymen throughout the entire country.

A compilation was made of the constitutional provisions of the various States concerning sectarian appropriations and the public-schools funds, which was published, with other valuable information.

During the year 1891, as a direct result of correspondence and suggestions from the office of the National League, the principles advocated by the League were incorporated in the new Constitution of the State of Kentucky and the Con-

stitution of the proposed new State of Arizona. Strong prohibitions against sectarian appropriations, and against any diversion of the school funds, were also inserted in the new Constitution of Mississippi and in the Constitution of the recently admitted States of Montana, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Wyoming, and Washington.

At the annual meeting of the League plans were adopted for the presentation of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Fifty-second Congress.

On January 10, 1892, the New York *Independent* published a valuable symposium on the proposed Sixteenth Amendment, consisting of articles contributed, in response to requests from the General Secretary, by a number of able and influential adherents of the League. This symposium elicited extended notice from the religious and secular press.

It was the expressed desire and purpose of the Board of Managers that the introduction of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment into Congress should be effected in such a manner as should hold it free from party bias and disarm all partisan prejudices.

On Monday, January 18, 1892, the Amendment was presented in the House of Representatives by Mr. Springer, was twice read, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

On the same day Senator O. H. Platt presented the Amendment in the United States Senate, where it was read, ordered to be printed as a document, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

April 12, 1892, was the date fixed upon for the hearings on the Amendment, and on that day, the General Secretary of the League and Hon. Wm. Allen Butler, chairman of the Law Committee, accompanied by several members of the Washing Branch League, appeared before the House Committee on the Judiciary, nine of the fifteen members of the Committee being present.

The arguments presented for the Amendment were list-

ened to with great courtesy and attention. Many questions were asked by various members of the Committee, and at the close of the hearing the chairman informed the representatives of the League that he would have the arguments printed for the use of the Committee. On the same day the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary gave audience to the League's representatives, and in the course of an extended conversation gratifying interest was shown.

Early in the spring of 1892 the League took measures for securing action from the national conferences and assemblies of the various religious denominations, concerning the proposed Sixteenth Amendment and the granting of sectarian appropriations by the National Government for Indian education.

Memorials substantially uniform in tenor were prepared and presented to each of these legislative bodies, and the highly gratifying results which were obtained are here given in chronological order.

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Omaha, Neb., on May 9, 1892, favorable and unanimous action was taken.

Harmonious action with the foregoing was taken by the General Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having the Indian Mission work in charge, at their annual meeting in Grand Rapids, Mich., on October 28, 1892.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in Annual Session at Portland, Ore., on May 23, 24, unanimously adopted a special committee report condemning sectarian appropriations of public money and approving the League's proposed Amendment to the United States Constitution with an important addition, making it apply to Congress as well as to the States, in the words: "*Neither Congress nor any State* shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion," etc.

The League has accepted this change as a wise one.

On May 26, 1892, the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, in quadrennial session at Westminster, Md., adopted the Amendment and appealed to Congress for its passage.

The Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Home Mission Society held in Philadelphia, Pa., on May 27, 1892, adopted a memorial to Congress in favor of the Amendment.

On May 30, 1892, the American Baptist Publication Society, in session in Philadelphia, Pa., took similar unanimous action.

On May 31, 1892, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, convened at Allegheny, Pa., unanimously adopted the Amendment and made its appeal to Congress for its passage.

The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States in triennial session at Minneapolis, Minn., on October 17, 1892, adopted the Amendment and entered its protest against sectarian appropriations for Indian education.

The American Missionary Association, at its Annual Meeting in Hartford, Conn., on October 27, 1892, supplemented the action of the National Council.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, sitting in triennial session, as the Board of Missions, at Baltimore, Md., on October 19, 1892, indorsed the Amendment. In accordance with this action the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in New York City, on December 13, 1892, withdrew from the receipt of national money for its work among the Indians.

It may be instructive here to note that the seven great Protestant denominations included in the foregoing enumeration, and which have, by the action of their highest executive councils, indorsed the principles advocated and the work undertaken by the National League, constitute a representa-

tion, by adherence, of not less than one-third of the entire population of the United States.

A large number of organizations, patriotic, religious, and secular, representing varied constituencies, took similar approving action. The Republican National Convention was held in Minneapolis, Minn., June 7, 1892, and a memorial was presented and copies were placed in the hands of each delegate.

The action secured was not as satisfactory as was hoped for, owing to the injection into the discussions of the Committee of the vexed school question in the State of Wisconsin.

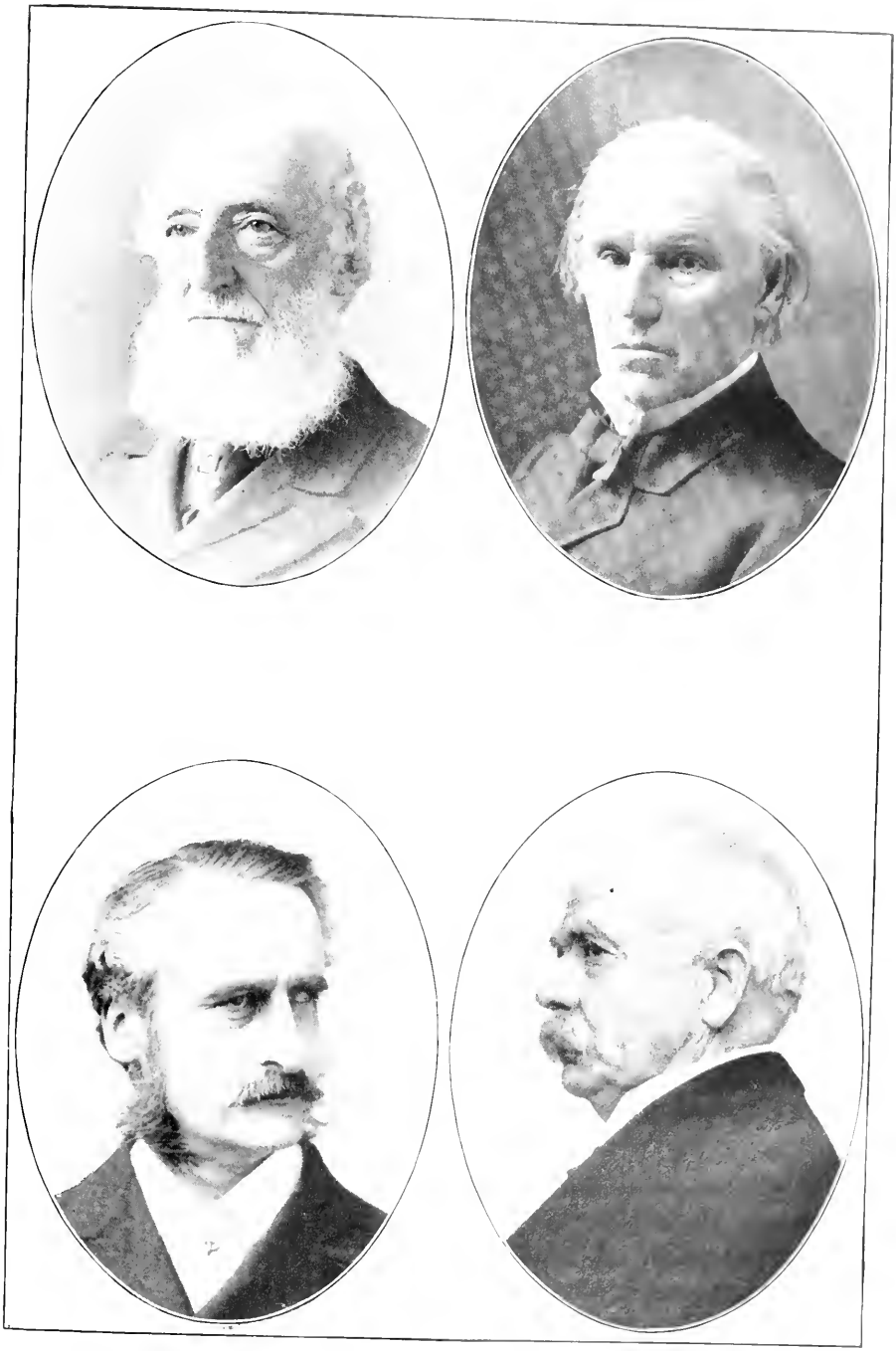
The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, Ill., on June 21, 1892. A memorial similar in tenor to that presented to the Republican Convention was presented to the Democratic National Committee, and to each delegate. The declaration of the Democratic platform was as little satisfactory in definiteness as the Republican platform.

At the Annual Session of the Grand Orange Lodge of the United States, held in Allegheny, Pa., on June 14–16, 1892, the principles and purposes of the League were indorsed.

During the summer of 1892 exhaustive inquiries were made for the purpose of ascertaining all the facts concerning the experiments at Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., looking to a partnership between the public and parochial schools. The results were embodied in a document which was largely circulated.

On December 14, 1892, in Portland, Me., the Maine League for the Protection of American Institutions perfected its organization by the election of a Board of Managers, and at once entered upon an active campaign for securing such an amendment to the State Constitution (which is entirely without safeguard of that nature) as would in the future prevent appropriations for sectarian purposes.

The result of this contest will be noted in its appropriate place, later on.



William Allen Butler.
Wheeler H. Peckham.

Dorman B. Eaton.
Henry E. Howland.

MEMBERS OF THE LAW COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

In pursuance of its purpose of appealing to the highest authorities of the churches receiving Government appropriations for Indian education, the League on November 17, 1892, addressed the Conference of Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, then in session in New York City.

The receipt of the communication was acknowledged by Cardinal Gibbons without argument or statement. Ascertaining that there was a higher power in Romanism than the Archbishops, and with the same end in view, a communication was addressed on December 29, 1892, to Archbishop Satolli, the representative, in the United States, of Pope Leo XIII., and its receipt was recognized by him without comment.

The Indian Appropriation Bill for 1893 being under consideration during the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, a petition was prepared and addressed to the Appropriation Committees of both Houses, with explanatory documents.

This petition was re-enforced by many letters to Hon. W. S. Holman, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, sent by prominent citizens.

So crowded, however, was the business of this final session that no discussion was possible, and no legislation could be secured in the direction indicated in the petition.

The managers of the League determined to secure a series of sermons or addresses on subjects connected with the work of the League with a view to their subsequent publication in whole or in part.

In pursuance of this purpose a circular letter was mailed early in January, 1893, to a selected list of prominent clergymen in the larger cities of every State.

This request was largely responded to, and many valuable papers were contributed.

On February 2, 1893, an important organization of patriotic women was formed, with headquarters in Boston, which became auxiliary to the League.

On March 6, 1893, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, the evident purpose of which was to secure a division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines. The League at once prepared and circulated throughout the State of New Jersey an effective protest.

This undisguised assault upon the American free common school proved abortive.

As previously noted, the Maine Branch of the National League conducted the efforts to secure an act of the Legislature submitting a Constitutional Amendment to the voters of the State, with great energy and promise of success.

Petitions in favor of the Amendment were presented from every section of the State, signed by a remarkable body of representative citizens of all parties.

The result in favor of the Amendment in the House of Representatives, on March 28, was the overwhelming vote of 92 to 12.

The issue of the contest was defeat in the Senate, where, on the succeeding day, the vote stood 11 to 11.

This struggle in Maine emphasizes in an especial manner the unsectarian character of the work of the National League. The chief aggressors in this State, demanding sectarian appropriations for educational purposes, are the authorities of Protestant institutions.

The Constitution of Maine is perhaps the most defective in this regard of any of the forty-five States, and a victory here, which is inevitable at another session of the Legislature, will be a victory for the nation.

In April, 1893, a letter was mailed by the National League to all its local secretaries, and to superintendents of education and prominent adherents in every State, asking detailed particulars concerning the character and sources of support of the public-school system and concerning efforts at compromise between parochial and public schools.

Responses to these inquiries were received from a large pro-

portion of the States, and furnished information of interest and value to the work.

Satisfactory arrangements were made for the distribution of the documents of the League and for securing signatures to the appeal to Congress for the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment, at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.

Desirable space was secured in the Women's Building, and with the co-operation of the Loyal Women of American Liberty, an attendant was engaged and the space properly fitted up for the purpose in view. A special document was prepared for distribution and cards for autograph signatures furnished in large quantities.

Provision having been made by the Legislature of the State of New York for the election of delegates, in November, 1893, to a convention for the revision of the State Constitution, the managers of the League determined to take active measures for securing the incorporation of the principles advocated by the League in the new Constitution.

With this in view, printed request was made of all candidates for election as delegates to the Constitutional Convention, for their opinion in reference to questions touching the protection of American institutions, and especially of the separation of church and state and of religious liberty.

In addition to mailing a copy of the request to each candidate, a circular letter was prepared and sent with a copy of the questions and a tabulated statement of sectarian appropriations in the City of New York, to a large number of prominent citizens, requesting their co-operation in securing responses from delegates.

The questions aroused considerable interest, and but few adverse responses were received.

The League was represented at a conference held in Chicago, on October 24, of the representatives of the different American patriotic orders.

The Sixteenth Amendment and the principles of the National League were indorsed, and steps were taken to call a National Convention of the various American patriotic orders and organizations to crystallize patriotic sentiment, to adopt a common platform of principles, and to unify action on the three lines of present agreement, viz.: the defense of the integrity of the funds and of the character of the American free public-school system, the perpetuation of the separation of church and state by the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, and the wise and safe restriction of immigration.

During the month of October, 1893, a symposium, contemporaneously conducted in over sixty religious journals, discussed the separation of church and state. Documents and data from these offices were sent to all of these journals, and were printed wholly or in part by most of them.

On November 19, 1893, the New York *Sunday Democrat* started a bold movement for the division of the public-school funds on sectarian lines, and simultaneously a move of the same character was made in Baltimore, both of Roman Catholic origin, and to which we have referred at length elsewhere. The League took an important part in frustrating this movement.

In January, 1894, a document was issued, being a petition to the Fifty-third Congress against the Government making further appropriations for sectarian Indian education, and in favor of a definite policy providing for the education of all Indian children in government schools.

In the month of January, 1894, the Law Committee of the League prepared, and the Managers of the League approved, a proposed form of Amendment for submission to the forthcoming New York State Constitutional Convention.

During February, 1894, much preliminary work was done in preparation for the Convention which was to begin its sessions in May, and hearty expressions of approval were received

from a large number of the most eminent lawyers and other citizens of the State of the proposed Amendment to the State Constitution.

In March the League issued a document which was an address to the citizens of the State of New York, in support of the League's proposed form of Amendment to the State Constitution. Statistics were secured and tabulated, concerning the use of the school funds for the support of sectarian schools in the chief cities of the State, and everything possible was done to render the work effective.

Early in June the League presented to the Convention the autograph petitions of about forty thousand citizens of standing and reputation, representing every Senate district in the State, and many thousands additional were sent directly to the Convention through the district delegates.

Certified memorials in favor of the Amendment passed through the League's office and were laid before the Convention, from conventions, assemblies, and conferences of the various Protestant religious bodies, and from many secular organizations, representing a membership of about 650,000 and a constituency of about 2,500,000. It is safe to say that through the work of the League the expressed convictions of not less than 3,000,000 of the population of the State reached the Convention in authoritative form.

Two hearings were given the League before the joint committees on education, charities, and powers and duties of the Legislature; the first on June 6, and the second hearing on July 11. The opposition to the Amendment came exclusively from Roman Catholic and Hebrew sources.

The result finally achieved, in view of the character and methods of the opposition, was a most decisive victory for the principles advocated by the League.

At the general election held in New York State on November 6, 1894, the revised Constitution, containing the articles on charities and education, was adopted by the people by a

majority of 83,295 votes, the total vote being 410,697 for the Constitution, and 327,402 against.

A conference was held in Washington, D. C., on August 28, 29, 1894, of delegates from the different American patriotic orders. The sessions of the conference were full of interest, and the final action accepted the principles of the League.

These principles, accompanied with the proposed form of Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, together with a series of questions based thereon, were prepared for presentation to every candidate for election to Congress, asking his acceptance or rejection in writing of the principles embodied.

At the meeting of the Board of Managers, held on January 10, 1895, the attention of the Board was called to the necessity of securing legislation in harmony with the new Constitution of New York State and with the Compulsory Attendance Law; to provide for more adequate accommodation for children in the public schools of the larger cities of the State.

With a view to the formulation of a proper school census bill, extensive inquiry was made from the office of the League concerning the working of school census laws in various States, much valuable information was obtained, and a bill was prepared for submission to the New York State Legislature. The bill, as prepared, was passed by the Legislature, and became a law on May 7.

The hearty unanimity of opinion among the members of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the decided action taken at its January meeting in 1895 in opposition to the further continuance of sectarian grants by the National Government for Indian education, were in interesting contrast with the previous attitude of these same members concerning the line of policy steadfastly advocated by the League.

The Secretary of the Interior also, in his annual report to

Congress, with a view to carrying out the announced policy of the Government, recommended that the appropriations to contract Indian schools be reduced twenty per cent. each year for five years, and that corresponding provision be made for the education of Indian children in government schools.

On January 18, 1895, the League secured the introduction in the House of Representatives in the form of a joint resolution of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, as amended by the League's Law Committee, and approved by the Board of Managers. Document Number Twenty-six, being a compilation of extracts showing "the attitude of the press toward the principles and work of the League," was issued early in February and given wide circulation.

In March a convention composed of representatives of different American patriotic orders was held in New York City. A temperate and safe platform was adopted, upon which all patriotic citizens ought to be able to stand.

The final outcome of the contest in the Fifty-third Congress, on sectarian appropriations for Indian education, was the adoption of the following clause in the Indian Appropriation Bill:

"And the Government shall, as early as practicable, make provision for the education of Indian children in Government schools."

A Constitutional Convention in Utah ended its labors on May 8, 1895, having, in response to the appeals of the League, adopted safe provisions concerning schools and charities. The new Constitution was adopted by the people in the following November by more than a three-fourths majority.

In the fall of the same year the League appealed to the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, and the new Constitution adopted by the Convention embodied the principles advocated by the League.

During the fall of 1895, an interesting school contest

developed in West Troy, N. Y., in which the advice and aid of the League were sought and given. An active Committee of citizens appealed to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction against the renting by the local school board, at a rental of one dollar per month, of St. Bridget's Parochial School building, its occupancy as a public school, and the employment of teachers known as "Sisters," wearing the dress and insignia of their order, and whose examinations for certificates were claimed to have been irregular. Copies of the papers on both sides were secured by the League and submitted to eminent legal counsel, and the action of the school board was pronounced by them to be a violation of both the letter and the spirit of the new Constitution of the State. Forcible presentation of the grounds for this judgment was made to the State Superintendent, who finally decided in accord with the clear intent of the Constitution.

As the result of extended correspondence, much valuable information was secured by the League, concerning the management of schools in leading cities of the country.

Document Number Twenty-eight was issued and widely mailed to the press, to Congress, and to the adherents of the League, together with Document Number Twenty-nine, concerning the status of the question of sectarian Indian education, and also a revised table of government appropriations to religious bodies.

Early in the year 1896 the Secretary of the Mennonite Mission Board, in a letter to the League, intimated that it was probable that during the year the Mennonites would withdraw from the receipt of government appropriations for their educational work among the Indians. This completed the withdrawal of all the denominations to which the League appealed in 1890, with the single exception of the Roman Catholics.

Inquiry was instituted and useful information obtained concerning the progress of kindergarten instruction, in connection with the public schools in the various States.

The discussions and action taken in the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, relative to government appropriations for sectarian Indian education and for sectarian charities in the District of Columbia, were of great interest and significance. The sentiment in the House of Representatives was largely in favor of the discontinuance of all such appropriations, as was indicated by the passage on February 24, 1896, by a vote of 93 ayes to 64 noes, of the following amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill:

"And it is hereby declared that it is the intention of this act that no money herein appropriated shall be paid for education in sectarian schools; and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby charged with the duty of so using and administering said appropriations as to carry out said object; and he is hereby authorized and required to make all needful rules and regulations necessary to prevent the use of any part of said fund for education in sectarian schools."

Still more emphatic evidence was given in the House, of its attitude on these questions, by its action on April 9, 1896, on the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill.

By a vote of 134 ayes to 21 noes the bill was passed, leaving out many specific appropriations for sectarian charities; placing a sum of $94,700 in the hands of the District Commissioners for distribution for the relief and care of the poor and destitute; making provision that no contract provided for in the clause relating to charities should extend beyond the 30th day of June, 1897:

"Provided further that no part of the money herein appropriated shall be paid for the purpose of maintaining or aiding by payment for services or expenses, or otherwise, any church or religious denomination, or any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

When these two measures reached the Senate active opposition developed, and after extended debate and many confer-

ences between committees of both Houses, the following results were reached in each case:

On the Indian Appropriation Bill, the House receded from its action of February 24, and agreed to a substitute originating in Conference Committee, as follows:

"And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school; Provided that the Secretary of the Interior may make contracts with contract schools, apportioning as near as may be, the amount so contracted for among schools of various denominations, for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year 1897, but shall only make such contracts at places where non-sectarian schools cannot be provided for such Indian children, and to an amount not exceeding fifty per cent. of the amount so used for the fiscal year 1895."

On the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill, the final action may be summarized as follows: Specific appropriations to various charities, stricken out in the House, were replaced in the bill, and a joint committee was appointed, consisting of Senators Harris of Tennessee, Faulkner of West Virginia, and McMillan of Michigan, with Representatives Pitney of New Jersey, Blue of Kansas, and Dockery of Missouri, to investigate the various charitable and reformatory institutions in the District and report at the next session:

"Whether it is practicable for the Commissioners or other authority in the District to make contracts for such care of the poor and destitute with any of such institutions, and if so, which of them and to what extent, within the limits of the policy hereinbefore declared, and if not, the probable expense of providing and maintaining public institutions for such purpose."

In addition to this the following was embodied in the bill:

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of the United States to make no appropriation of money

or property for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding, by payment for services, expenses or otherwise, any church or religious denomination, or any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control: And it is hereby enacted that from and after the 30th day of June, 1897, no money appropriated for charitable purposes in the District of Columbia shall be paid to any church or religious denomination, or to any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

While it was evident from the remarks of various Senators, in the discussion immediately preceding the final passage of the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill, notably Senators Vest, Teller, Sherman, and Hill, that the action above recorded was not considered by them as setting the question at rest except temporarily, it is still true that the possibility of securing such action indicated increased regard for public sentiment on these questions on the part of the people's servants in legislative halls. Those best entitled to judge concede that to the educational work done and the data furnished by the National League the chief credit is due for these important results.

The League appealed this year, as it had done in 1892, to the National Conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, for declarations in their respective platforms in harmony with the principles embodied in the proposed Sixteenth Amendment. The results of the appeals were unsatisfactory to the League and discreditable to the dominant political parties.

The League was mainly instrumental during this year in checking another attempted sectarian aggression. Information came to the office of the League, during the summer of 1896, that a plot of land had been granted by the Secretary of War within the Government Reservation at West Point, N. Y., for the erection of a Roman Catholic chapel which was to cost for the building alone not less than $20,000.

Ample accommodation already existed for conducting religious services by all the denominations, and the League was appealed to for advice in the matter. It at once advised that separate petitions be prepared and extensively signed by members and adherents of the various other denominations, demanding from the Secretary of War similar grants of land for their respective denominations, within the Reservation. The completed and unpatriotic history of this movement for a sectarian chapel on the grounds of the United States Military Academy at West Point appears in another connection in this volume.

Prior to 1875, only eleven State Constitutions contained restrictions of any sort against sectarian appropriations of public funds.

In the fourteen years from 1875 to 1889, when The National League was incorporated, seven additional States were added to the list, and since 1889, fourteen new or revised State Constitutions (including that prepared for Arizona, awaiting statehood) have been adopted, containing provisions asserting the principle of the separation of church and state, by prohibiting sectarian appropriations and protecting the public-school funds.

The work which the League inaugurated in 1890, by appealing to all the religious bodies receiving money from the National Government for Indian education, has had gratifying results. All these bodies, with one exception, have withdrawn from this partnership with the Government. Congress has in two successive Appropriation Bills enacted as follows:

"And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school."

The appropriations for such schools, in consequence of the withdrawal of religious bodies, and by the action of Congress, have been reduced from $611,570 in 1892 to $212,954 in 1898, and the Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs

in presenting the Appropriation Bill for the current year, which makes a further reduction in the appropriations for contract schools, said: "If the policy which has been declared to be the settled policy of the Government is followed in the next session of Congress, there will be no provision for making contracts; there will be no appropriation in the bill for sectarian schools."

Closely related to the foregoing, and emphasizing the progress made in the acceptance and assertion of the principles and policy advocated by the National League, is the action of Congress on the appropriations for charities in the District of Columbia. The joint select committee has made an exhaustive examination into their administration and methods of working, and in an elaborate report made many recommendations for improvement in their control and supervision. In two successive District of Columbia Appropriation Bills the following declaration has been incorporated:

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of the United States to make no appropriation of money or property for the purposes of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church or religious denomination, or any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control; and it is hereby enacted that from and after the 30th day of June, 1898, no money appropriated for charitable purposes in the District of Columbia shall be paid to any church or religious denomination, or to any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

These great results during the past ten years are concededly due to the movement of which the National League is the acknowledged leader, and largely the outcome of the League's active work in Congress and in the individual States.

The League has been watchfully active in the interests of safe legislation and in opposition to baleful legislation in Washington, in Albany, and in other State legislatures

wherever the public-schools funds, unsectarian charities, and religious liberty are involved.

The League has come to be considered throughout the States as a Court of Appeals on matters where legal and constitutional interpretations are required concerning the principles it promotes. The future purposes of the League are:

1. Show the necessity for the Sixteenth Amendment, and press it on the attention of Congress and of the American people.

2. Form State leagues in all the States as rapidly as opportunity affords, and seek the amendment of State Constitutions wherever they are defective in their provisions for protecting religious liberty and the schools.

3. Use every legitimate means within its power to protect and perfect the American Free Common-School system.

4. Gather and publish statistics concerning sectarian appropriations by the National and State Governments, and expose the peril of such action.

5. Strenuously resist every effort to consummate the union of church and state on educational or any other lines.

6. Keep the public apprised of the sources of our peril, and organize the patriotic sentiment of the country among native-born and naturalized citizens for the defense of our distinctively American Institutions.

THE FREE COMMON SCHOOLS.—THE FREE PRINCIPLE MUST BE DEFENDED.

Jefferson declared nearly a hundred years ago that free schools were an essential part—one of the columns, as he expressed it—of the republican edifice, and that, without instruction free to all, the sacred flame of liberty could not be kept burning in the hearts of Americans.

In defense of the free system of common education for the childhood and youth of a nation, Talleyrand said: "The chief

object of the state is to teach children to become one day its citizens. It initiates them, in a manner, into the social order, by showing them the laws by which it is governed and giving them the first of their means of existence. Is it not, then, just that all should learn gratuitously what ought to be regarded as a necessary condition of the association of which they are to become members? This elementary instruction seems to be a debt which society owes to all, and which it must pay without the slightest deduction." The establishment of free public schools by the state is not only an act of justice, but it is highly expedient as a public policy. It is said that England pays for pauperism and crime five times as much as for education, while Switzerland pays seven times as much for education as for pauperism and crime. On the other hand it is argued that universal education unfits the members of a community for the more laborious pursuits of life; that it reduces the ranks of the mechanic and the day laborer, and unduly increases the ranks of the professions and of commercial life, thus diminishing the number of producers and increasing the number of non-producers. But the response to this line of argument is, first, the education of the masses will, under all circumstances, not extend beyond elementary instruction which will be beneficial in the humblest pursuits; second, those who from lowly stations rise to positions of eminence by means of free education must do so by the use of talents which, exercised, are beneficial to the community; third, many of those who are called non-producers are often the inventors and discoverers, who multiply the producing power of labor often a hundred-fold.

Horace Mann, that John the Baptist in the cause of popular education in America, has well said that "legislators and rulers are responsible. In our country and in our times, no man is worthy the honored name of a statesman, who does not include the highest practicable education of the people in all his plans of administration.

"He may have eloquence, he may have a knowledge of all history, diplomacy, jurisprudence, and by these he may claim, in other countries, the elevated rank of a statesman; but unless he speaks, plans, labors, at all times and in all places, for the culture and edification of the whole people, he is not, he cannot be, an American statesman."

Dr. Curry, the Secretary of the Peabody Fund, addressing a legislative body recently, expressed the following sentiments:

"Ignorance of the voter is an abridgment of the liberty of others. His ballot determines more or less our government. Monarchical governments are careful to have the heir to the throne well educated. History and common sense teach that a government by the people requires more education, more self-restraint, than any other, and that the despotism and cruelty of an untutored mob may be more odious and oppressive than the despotism of any one man. The school should go before the ballot; otherwise, an uninstructed democracy will become the facile tool of the demagogue and the villain.

"The first duty of government is self-preservation, and the noblest function of statehood is to develop and use to the maximum degree the brain-power of the country."

PATRIOTIC PLATFORM FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

There is certainly no justification for entire self-complacency and satisfaction about the public schools. There never can be. Perfection will never be attained. The ideal will never be fully realized. Our public-school system is yet, we must confess, in a comparatively crude state. It must be greatly improved and strengthened in the coming years. The people will gradually come to appreciate it and make it a matter of personal study, and literally of personal supervision. The following embodies substantially what in our judgment ought to be the patriotic American programme for the free common schools:

JOHN H. VINCENT,
The Founder of Chautauqua.

J. L. M. CURRY,
Secretary of the Peabody Fund.

CHARLES T. SANTON,
Promoter of Ballot Reform.

CHARLES R. SKINNER,
Defender of the Public Schools.

1. A knowledge of the exact situation by all intelligent citizens, all genuine Americans in every community, resolving themselves into a committee of the whole, loyally to watch and jealously to guard these nurseries of our citizenship.

2. An honest recognition of the commendable features of our school system.

3. An equally honest recognition of the defects, with willingness to learn from any and all other systems, which, in any of their features, may suggest to us improvement.

4. A readiness to face the patent defects, and not attempt to cover them but courageously to conquer them.

5. The best and most thorough instruction in every department—moral, mental, industrial, physical; thus placing the system by its pre-eminence out of the field of competition.

6. Insist upon the absolute necessity of the precedence and mastery of the national language.

7. Require the careful training of all the children and youth in the fundamental political doctrines, and moral axioms and principles on which the free American government rests, as the only means of teaching those lessons—readily received in youth, but hard to acquire when character has been shaped and determined—of a respect for the opinions and circumstances of others which issue from that distinctively American principle that all men are created equal before the law. Garfield said, "If it were in my power, I would make a law that every man and woman in the United States should study American history through the period of their minority."

8. Let the people see to it that the practice of economy for political purposes does not commence in any community with the schools, but provide without prodigality, and with liberality, for both school buildings and school support.

9. Let no political or ecclesiastical outcry from whatever source, against religious instruction in the schools, be the means of banishing a high morality from the character of the

teaching or from the qualifications of the teacher. The American idea is that the school shall be a civil educator to make good citizens, and good citizens must possess moral character. The schools will inevitably be a reflex of the noble, cultured, moral characters of the men and women in them as instructors.

10. Banish absolutely all sectarianism from the management and teaching of these public schools, and all evidence in the structures used, or in the garb of the teachers, that would suggest denominational relationship, or hint at the remotest connection of church and state.

11. Let national, state, county, and municipal treasuries be jealously guarded against all attempts for the sectarian division of the sacred funds which they hold for the support of common schools.

12. Let all partisan political control be banished from the management of the schools.

13. Let a solemn, if unrecorded, oath of allegiance to our institutions by every loyal citizen embrace the defense of the American system of free common schools—a defense conducted without malice, without bigotry, without fear, without compromise.

14. Let compulsory education laws be speedily perfected and judiciously enforced.

15. Let all schools, public and private, where citizens are being trained for the performance of their duties as sovereigns in the republic, come under the intelligent supervision of the governmental authorities as a rightful measure of safety, and as the only method of approximating that practical uniformity of results essential to popular education in a republic. One of the principal functions of the common school is to Americanize the children of foreign birth or parentage, and by its processes of digestion and assimilation make them a healthful part of the body politic.

Governor William H. Seward, in his annual message in

1840, said, "since we have opened our country and all its fullness to the oppressed of every nation, we should evince wisdom equal to such generosity by qualifying their children for the high responsibilities of citizenship."

16. When the United States Senate and House of Representatives are in session, the national flag floats over the Capitol buildings. Over the forts and ships of the nation the flag also floats. The American flag ought to float over every public-school building in the republic while the schools are in session, as an object lesson in patriotism for childhood and youth, and as a symbol to the world that we consider these buildings the fortresses of our strength, from which go forth the forces which are the best protectors of our free institutions.

Professor Bryce says, in his "American Commonwealth," "The institutions of the United States are deemed by the inhabitants, and admitted by strangers, to be a matter of more general interest than those of the not less famous nations of the Old World. They represent an experiment in the rule of the multitude, tried on a scale unprecedentedly vast and the result of which everyone is concerned to watch. And yet they are something more than an experiment, for they are believed to disclose and display the type of the institutions toward which, as by law fitted, the rest of civilized mankind are forced to move, some with swifter, others with slower, but all with unresting feet."

The war for the defense of these institutions is upon us, and one of the principal points of attack continues to be upon the integrity of our free common-school system. There can be no neutrals in this protective war, and when the people are once aroused, there can be no doubt as to the issue.

Our public schools, as one of the principal bulwarks of our free institutions, will be maintained. Every American child will be given the opportunity to secure the rudiments of an

education in the language of the country. Forces are at work against both the methods of conducting the schools and against the principles that gave them birth. Every year they are becoming more aggressive, but, we believe, hopelessly.

It becomes every citizen who has faith in our school system, and who believes in its importance for the weal of our common country, to know the enemies by sight and study their tactics. In this land all great questions of principle come to the ballot-box for settlement. The maintenance of the common schools will continue to be brought there. And whenever it is and the people possess an honestly guarded and secret ballot, they will settle forever a debate which never ought to have been opened; will paralyze sacrilegious hands which have assumed to steady the ark of the covenant of our liberties; and will put into the national Constitution a flaming sword of defense against offenders, who forfeit their rights by touching with sacrilegious hands the national tree of knowledge.

No principle is better understood and more firmly established in the judgment of our intelligent countrymen than the true relation between the education of American children and the future of the American republic.

If our children, whether of American or foreign birth, are instructed side by side on terms of brotherhood in our public schools, if they are grounded in Christian morals and American principles, and trained by proper teachers who are themselves endowed with an appreciation of the coming duties of citizenship; with the exercise of an independent judgment, with a due reverence for the supremacy of law, and a patriotic devotion to country with its noble principles and inspiring traditions, we may look to the future with hope.

It is a most hopeful omen for the future of our American institutions that the generation of youth that will lead the columns across the line into the dawning of the Twentieth Century will be a generation schooled in patriotism in insti-

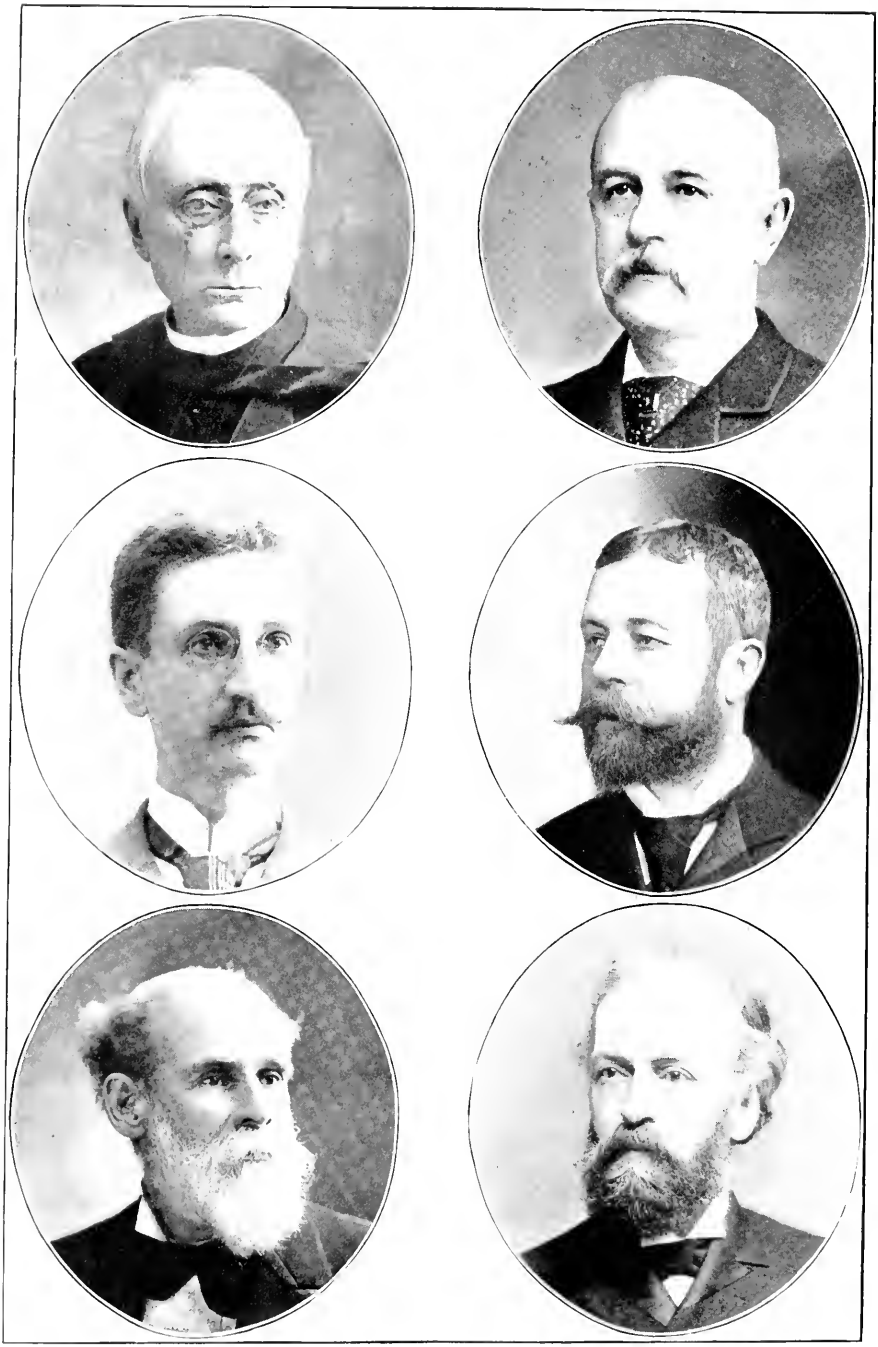
tutions of learning of all grades. American youths all over the land are banding themselves together for mutual self-help and for lifting other youths to higher planes of character and opportunity. If a single generation of youths could be, without one exception, trained for righteousness and patriotism, the future of the republic would not only be secure, but the higher law would constitute the organic law of the land.

THE RECOGNITION AND NURTURE OF THE NEW PATRIOTISM, MANIFESTED IN THE MULTIPLICATION OF PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS.—ORGANIZATIONS BASED UPON REVOLUTIONARY ANCESTRY OR PATRIOTIC HEREDITY.

The "renaissance of patriotism," as Garfield called it, has found expression in the formation of a great number of patriotic, historical, genealogical, and hereditary societies, the principal objects of which are to commemorate the deeds and study the motives of the forefathers, and to cherish the institutions of American freedom. This outburst of the new patriotism, beginning in 1875 and 1876, was due to several causes, one of the most potent being the influence of the association of ideas with the centennial anniversaries which then began to occur.

During the first hundred years of our national existence, our growth had been so rapid, and the various phases and incidents of the working out of our governmental system had followed each other with such startling and distracting rapidity, that there was little time or popular disposition to look back and study philosophically the events of a hundred or two hundred years before. The year 1875 saw us removed but ten years from the greatest civil war in history, the wounds of which still retained their bitter and dangerous sting. Suddenly, the magic of anniversary influence began to operate. People's thoughts were carried back a century; back across the bloody chasm of 1861–65; back to the little village green in Massachusetts where "the embattled farmer stood and

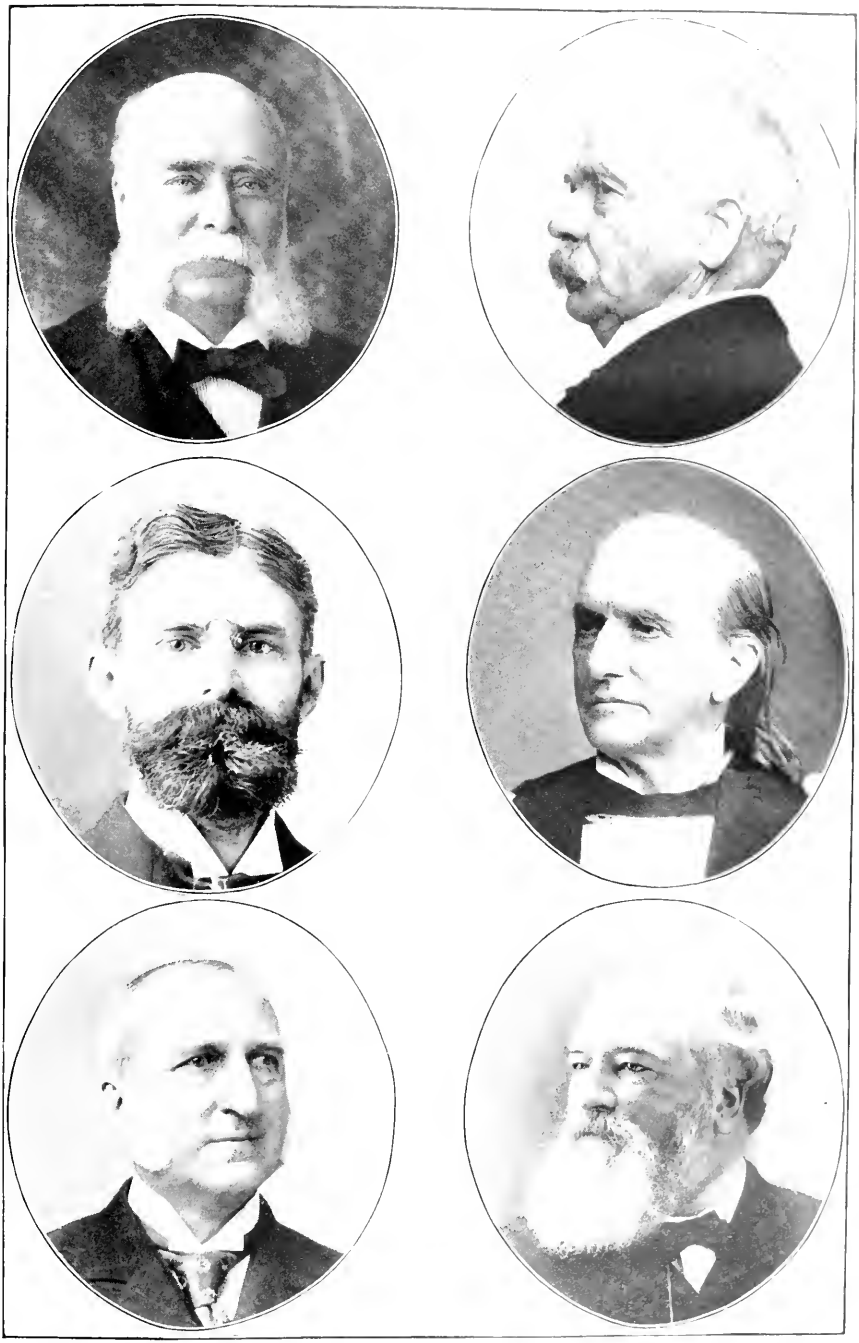
fired the shot heard 'round the world." The men of Baltimore who, in 1861, had fired on Massachusetts troops passing through their streets, bethought themselves of the time when Virginia sent to Massachusetts the Commander in Chief of the American Army, and quickly followed him with Daniel Morgan and his Virginian sharpshooters, who took their stand beside Stark and Green and Knox, and other New Englanders, on Cambridge Common. Then came 1876, arousing memories of the immortal document which had borne side by side the signatures of John Hancock and Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman and Benjamin Harrison, Benjamin Franklin and Edward Rutledge, and other great patriots of the North and South. Then ensued a series of anniversaries, each one commemorating some struggle in the field, some achievement in the halls of legislation, some triumph in the chambers of diplomacy, in which the participants from the lower and upper Colonies had vied with each other in their loyal zeal for a common cause. Mason and Dixon's line was forgotten in the contemplation of the sage and sober words of Washington's Farewell Address to the American People, in which, among other things, he admonished them that "the Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence," and urged them to "indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest." They began to comprehend as never before the significance of that pregnant sentence: "The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." Suddenly, they awoke to a new realization of their national brotherhood. They saw what a vast body of traditions they had in common, and the old inspirations began to flame anew in their breasts. The poignancy of recent divisions was materially assuaged, and they began to organize societies based on their common



Morgan Dix.
Edward Hagaman Hall.
Ralph E. Prime.

William Wayne.
Samuel Eberly Gross.
William W. Goodrich.

A GROUP OF PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS BASED UPON HEREDITY OR MILITARY SERVICE.



Stewart L. Woodford.
George Ernest Bowman.
Chauncey M. Depew.

Henry E. Howland.
Henry E. Whipple.
Alexander S Webb.

A GROUP OF PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS BASED UPON HEREDITY OR MILITARY SERVICE.

heritage of precious memories, in which, forgetting geographical boundaries, they might associate as brethren in the mutual enjoyment of their common birthright.

There was at this time but one patriotic hereditary society which had had a continuous existence for any length of time, namely the Society of the Cincinnati. This venerable organization had been formed May 13, 1783, at the headquarters of Baron Steuben, near Newburgh, N. Y., as the result of the suggestion of General Knox that some means be devised by which, after the American officers had separated, their friendships might be cherished, and the remembrance of the experiences which bound them together might be perpetuated.

Its Constitution thus states the origin of its name and its principles:

"The officers of the American Army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves the

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

"The following principles shall be immutable and form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati:

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective States, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers: This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of

beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, toward those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

The Constitution, elaborate in details of administration and drawn in the haste and excitement incident to the disbandment of the army, while lofty in its sentiments and noble in much of its phraseology, proved defective as a plan of government, and was subsequently modified in form, but not in spirit. An analysis of the instrument shows the essential features of the Society to be as follows:

Objects: Commemorative, patriotic, social, and benevolent.

Membership: Originally, limited military; subsequently, limited hereditary.

The hostility toward the Society of the Cincinnati on account of its hereditary feature made a deep impression at the time, and Washington, who was its president from the time of its organization until his death, was persuaded to retain the office only by promises (never fulfilled) that it would be abolished. It was due not a little to the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati that there came into existence soon afterward an organization which eventually became one of the most powerful and perverted political influences of the country. In 1789, the year of Washington's inauguration as first President of the United States, the Tammany Society was organized on a distinctly anti-aristocratic and anti-Federalist basis, to counteract the supposed evil propensities of the Cincinnati.

So conspicuously did these two Societies represent the opposite political and social tendencies of the post-bellum period, that a well-known historian represents them as the two burdens between which, "the new government, like Issachar, was beginning to couch."

Partly on account of the popular hostility to the Society of the Cincinnati, partly on account of the weakening of its membership by death, partly on account of the distractions of

the times, and partly on account of the inherent weakness of its form of organization, this patriotic institution languished for many years, and in some States fell into a condition of complete desuetude; but it has shared in the patriotic renaissance of later years, and is now one of the most dignified and respected, as it is the most venerable, of the large number of orders and institutions of which it was the prototype. Its membership numbers about six hundred.

When the Centennial period of 1875 and 1876 arrived, and the citizens began to consider with renewed interest the events of the Revolutionary period, the community of interest which was found to exist naturally excited a desire among the patriotically inclined to become associated in some organic form for the better execution of their purposes. The exclusive eligibility requirements of the Cincinnati, however, barred out from membership the vast body of citizens who were equally the inheritors of the precious traditions of the republic, and the formation of new societies was the inevitable outcome of the situation. The first of these modern patriotic hereditary societies in order of formation are those called Sons of the Revolution and Sons of the American Revolution. Their common origin may be traced back to a meeting of lineal descendants of heroes of the War for Independence, which was held curiously enough, as far as possible away from the scene of the beginning of the war, in San Francisco, Cal., October 22, 1875. At this meeting was instituted the Society first called the Sons of Revolutionary Sires, forty of the eighty members of which on the Fourth of July following marched in a public procession commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Copies of their constitution were sent to patriotic citizens throughout the United States and led to the formation in other parts of the country of similar societies called Sons of the Revolution. On April 30, 1889, the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as first President

of the United Sates, a general convention of these various societies was held in the historic Fraunce's Tavern in New York City, for the purpose of uniting into a national organization. Those societies which joined this movement took the distinctive title of Sons of the *American* Revolution, while those who stayed out retained the title of Sons of the Revolution. At the time of the organization of the National Society of Sons of the American Revolution, it differed in important respects from the Sons of the Revolution, both in conditions of eligibility and form of government; but during the past ten years, the latter have so nearly conformed to the standards of the former that there may be said to be practically no difference between them at present. Indeed, so strong has been the desire in both societies for a union under a common name, that formal propositions looking to that end have been under consideration for the past six years. The salient features of these societies, whose joint membership reaches nearly twenty thousand, are as follows:

Objects: Commemorative, patriotic, social.

Membership: Hereditary, being based on lineal descent from an ancestor who, in the military, naval, or civil service of the country during the Revolutionary War, assisted in establishing the independence of the United States.

It will be noticed that the benevolent feature of the original constitution of the Cincinnati does not appear in the objects of these societies. There are two reasons for this. That provision in the constitution of the Cincinnati was due to local conditions. The Revolutionary War had left not only the army but the country impoverished, and there was little prospect that the Government would take care of destitute officers or their widows. No such need exists to-day. Furthermore, there is such a multiplicity of modern benevolent societies that there is really no need for such a provision in the constitution of the patriotic societies. Some of the patriotic organizations founded on the Civil

War, however, do perform a large amount of benevolent work.

These societies evidently touched a popular chord in the American heart, for they not only rapidly multiplied in numbers, but they were quickly followed by others, based on parallel ideas and touching almost every phase of our national history. The picturesque military idea naturally appealed strongly to the imagination and was fruitful of many organizations. The Mexican War had been represented since 1847 by the Aztec Club, composed of military and naval officers who participated in that war, and their blood relatives (now numbering about 250 members), but, with that exception, none of the wars before the Civil War was represented by any active organization except the Revolutionary War. In 1892 some enterprising members of the younger generation discovered that there were still living a few veterans of the second war with Great Britain, and forthwith they were made the nucleus about which was formed the Society of the War of 1812, which, in its various branches, and including members admitted by descent from other participants in that war, now has a membership of about 2000. In the same year the Society of Colonial Wars was formed, based on descent from participants in the battles and wars fought under Colonial authority between the settlement of Jamestown, 1607, and the beginning of the War for Independence, 1775. This Society now includes 2600 lineal descendants of those who faced the terrors of the tomahawk and scalping knife in the hands of the aborigines, and the firelock and sword in the hands of the French, to plant the Anglo-Saxon civilization in the West. The subjects for military societies had not yet been exhausted, the little war with Tripoli having been overlooked thus far, but in 1894 the Military Order of Foreign Wars stepped into existence to cover that hiatus in America's military history. The original design of the organization was to commemorate the

four foreign wars of the United States up to that date, but it has recently been expanded to include also the War with Spain. Prior to the War of 1898, it had a membership of 808 original participants or lineal descendants of participants in the War of the Revolution, the War with Tripoli, the War of 1812, and the War with Mexico. There now seemed to remain but one possible opportunity for another military society, and that was for one which should include all wars, and in 1897 it was improved by the formation of the Society of American Wars. Membership in this Society is dependent upon service performed, either *in propria persona* or in the person of a lineal ancestor, in any of the wars for the establishment and preservation of the original colonies or of the United States. In 1890 the military idea was specialized by the formation of a distinctively naval order under the title of the Naval Order of the United States, embracing officers of the Navy or Marine Corps of the United States who had participated in any war or battle, or their descendants, and in 1896 still another variation was afforded by the organization of a uniformed society called the Old Guard, composed of descendants of participants in the Colonial wars and both wars with Great Britain.

The importance and dignity of such military orders as these were recognized by Congress in 1890, by the passage of a joint resolution taking official cognizance of them as "military societies."

In this country the military societies are not the sole custodians of our most prized traditions; a large number of non-military societies devote themselves to the fostering of the most exalted sentiments of patriotism. The transition to the latter is through a set of organizations which partake of the nature of both. The Order of Washington, for instance, formed in 1895, has a membership based on descent from civil as well as military or naval officers who were in the American Colonial service between 1750 and 1776. Like-

wise the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, incorporated in 1896, is composed of men who have descended in the direct male line of either the father or mother, from an ancestor who resided in the Colonies between 1607 and 1657 (and who may have been either a private citizen or a military or civil officer), and whose intermediate ancestors during the War for Independence adhered as patriots to the American cause. This Order has a membership of about 500. In 1897, a similar society was formed under the name of America's Founders and Defenders.

Passing now to the more purely non-military societies, one is impressed at once with a new set of ideas, reminding him more particularly of the moral forces which brought our ancestors hither and impelled and sustained them in their tremendous struggles in the formative years of the Nation's existence. The first to deserve mention in this connection is the New England Society, which dates back to 1805. It is not generally classified as a patriotic society, but, composed of natives or descendants of natives of New England, and devoting itself to the commemoration of New England history and the cherishing of New England principles, it is, in effect, one of the most influential of the patriotic societies of the country. It also has a benevolent feature in its constitution which is suggestive of the old Cincinnati constitution. Its membership is about 1500. While the New England Society serves to keep alive the memory of the Puritans in general, a more exclusive idea is represented by the Society of Mayflower Descendants, organized in 1894, composed, as its title indicates, of the descendants of those who came over in the *Mayflower* on her first trip in 1620. These and similar societies have recently directed the attention of scholars and students to the character of the Puritan in a way which has given them a new insight into his animating principles and a new realization of his inestimable contribution to the civilization of the West.

In like manner the Hollander is represented by such societies as the St. Nicholas Society of New York, organized in 1841 for benevolent purposes and for the preservation of the early history of the City of New York. Membership therein is confined to descendants of residents of New York City and State prior to 1785. Washington Irving, whose apocryphal history of the world in general and of New York in particular once roused the ire of sensitive Dutchmen, was first Secretary of the Society. The St. Nicholas Club of New York was formed in 1875, also for the purpose of preserving the early traditions of the City and State. It has a membership limited to 500, based on descent from a resident of any of the Colonies prior to November 30, 1783. The Holland Society of New York, however, formed in 1885, is perhaps the organization devoted the most singly to the memory of the Hollander. Its membership, now about 900, is confined to descendants in the male line from Dutchmen, either native or resident in any of the Colonies of America prior to 1675, or from those who found refuge in Holland or possessed the right of Dutch citizenship within Dutch settlements prior to 1675.

The Huguenot influence in American life finds its representative in the Huguenot Society of America, formed in 1883, and now possessing a membership of about 350. It is composed of descendants of Huguenots who emigrated to America, or who left France for other countries prior to the the Edict of Toleration, November 28, 1687.

The Cavalier is represented in several of the military and semi-military societies, and in such general societies as the Colonial Order, formed in 1894, composed of descendants from residents of the Colonies prior to 1776; the Colonial Society, formed in 1895, of descendants of settlers prior to 1700; and the Order of Descendants of Colonial Governors, formed in 1896.

It is not surprising that in America, where womankind

Mrs. May Wright Sewall.
Mrs. Henry Sanger Snow.
Mrs. I. C. Manchester.
Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson.
Mrs. Daniel Manning.
Mrs. Le Roy Sunderland Smith.

A GROUP OF PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF PATRIOTIC WOMANHOOD.

has reached so high a degree of social and political enfranchisement, that women should exert a great power for the uplifting of the republic, and that they should participate with great zeal in the patriotic movement here under discussion. The evidence of their effective work in this direction appears in numerous organizations wherein they have marched *pari passu* with their masculine counterparts. Among them may be mentioned the following, in the order of their formation, their titles sufficiently indicating the periods which they represent:

Daughters of the American Revolution (1890).
Colonial Dames of America (a) (1890).
Daughters of the Revolution (1891).
United States Daughters of 1776–1812 (1892).
Colonial Dames of America (b) (1893).
Daughters of the Cincinnati (1894).
Patriotic Daughters of America (1894).
Daughters of Holland Dames (1895).
Society of New England Women (1895).
Dames of the Revolution (1896).
Colonial Daughters of the Seventeenth Century (1896).
Holland Dames of New Netherlands (1896).

The patriotic spirit has also extended to the rising generation in such organizations as the Children of the American Revolution, organized in 1895 on an hereditary basis, with a present membership of about 5000; the League of the Red, White, and Blue, a non-hereditary society of school children formed in 1896; and similar organizations.

The societies here mentioned represent an aggregate membership of about 60,000 men, women, and children; and yet there are others, such as the American Flag Association, composed of delegates from all the leading hereditary and patriotic societies and devoted to the protection of the flag from desecration; the Daughters of Liberty, the Patriotic League of the Revolution, the George Washington Memorial Association, and the multitudes of local historical, genealogi-

cal, and antiquarian societies, which, while too numerous to mention in detail, are essentially patriotic, because the study of national history lies at the basis of rational patriotism.

And now, it may be asked, what have these societies accomplished toward the working out of the destiny of the nation, by the study which they have devoted to its annals, by the monuments which they have built, by the memorial tablets which they have erected, by the portraits of statesmen and soldiers and the flags which they have presented to the public schools, by the relics which they have collected, by the landmarks which they have preserved, and by the multitude of other things which they have done to exalt the national pride? If one will consider for a moment the marvelous sequence in which the great historic events of this continent have moved, he can hardly fail to see in these societies one of the instruments in the hands of the God of Nations for the accomplishment of his purposes. All history is of necessity logical, but rarely does the beauty of order in human events appear so clearly as in the contemplation of American history. The white people who came to the Western Hemisphere represented two irreconcilable branches of the Aryan race, and a struggle between them for supremacy was inevitable. It began in armed conflict in April, 1755, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, and ended in the Anglo-Saxon triumph. The next question in order was, whether the continent should be ruled by the resident or non-resident portion of the superior race. That case went to the court of arms at Lexington, in April, 1775, and the verdict was in favor of democratic home rule. The political and social situation still remained such that it needed further specialization, and in April, 1861, began the determination of the question whether this resident people should govern as a united whole, on a general platform of fundamental principles, or whether they should break up into a number of petty sovereignties, each one regulating itself by such principles as

seemed most congenial to it. The world knows how the disputants decided it. It will be noticed that these three great wars came in no capricious order, but proceeded grandly from the general to the special in a sublimely logical sequence and could not have come in any other relation to each other. If any disinterested observer were asked what now remained to consummate the great creative work of the Nation, he would have said undoubtedly the complete reunion of the people after their fratricidal war. And it was in this great work, of raising the national efficiency to its highest point, that the patriotic societies performed so important a part, by diverting the thoughts of both Northerners and Southerners from the issues of the Civil War, and directing them to the great body of traditions and principles which they held in common. The test of the efficacy of the influences which had been operating within and without these societies during the past quarter of a century for the restoration of national unity came in April, 1898—that same month of April which had been so pregnant with meaning to the American people in the past—when the Government found itself reluctantly forced into war with Spain. To the surprise and confusion of our enemies, who had not counted on the knitting together that had quietly taken place, Nationality asserted itself.

The country may well contemplate, as one of the powers for the assured protection of American institutions, the societies which have been such potent factors in developing the unifying force of a common national spirit.

ORGANIZATIONS BASED UPON CONSCIOUSNESS OF PRESENT PERILS FROM ECCLESIASTICISM.

The creation in late years of multiplied patriotic organizations based upon revolutionary ancestry is due, as we have seen, to a desire to revive historic memories of what our liberties and institutions cost and what were their sources, and to familiarize the rising generation of Americans with these

facts. The Grand Army of the Republic, "with malice toward none, with charity for all," keeps fresh the memories of what nationality cost. Then there are secret and open patriotic orders, which sprang from a consciousness of peril in times of peace from politico-ecclesiasticism, and from a purpose of concerted action for exposing and resisting this and other kindred perils.

Then there are numerous secret organizations with co-operative and benevolent purposes, which also incorporate the patriotic feature of protection for American institutions against politico-ecclesiasticism and other foes, and whose members can always be depended upon to act and vote as patriotic Americans.

All these organizations in the different national conventions, where they have been represented for co-operation, have agreed to stand before the public upon a common platform of principles, the following platform, of 1894, being fairly representative of the principles agreed upon both before and since that date:

"In convention assembled in the city of Washington, August 28, 1894, the delegates of the different American patriotic organizations of every State in the Union put forth the following statement of principles and purposes upon which they propose to stand and act politically, and they submit that all genuinely patriotic Americans ought to unite on them:

"(1) The integrity of the funds and the fair and impartial character of the American free public-school system must be preserved, and all private educational and other institutions must be subject to civil inspection.

"(2) Essential separation of church and state must be secured, and the intimidating power of ecclesiasticism over both citizens and law-makers must be destroyed by absolute constitutional prohibitions, both by the Nation and by the States, against appropriations of public money for the support of sectarian or private institutions.

"(3) Stringent immigration laws must be enacted to preserve the character of our citizenship, give dignity to honest toil, and avert the perils of an unrestricted immigration, which permits foreign governments to transfer to our shores the dregs of their populations, representing the lowest forms of illiteracy, beggary, superstition, and crime; imposing new burdens on our laboring classes, and serving unscrupulous politicians for the most unworthy purposes.

"(4) The attitude of all candidates for elective offices in Nation and States on these vital questions concerning American institutions must be ascertained as furnishing the basis for the voter's intelligent action, and in case none of the candidates are uncompromisingly loyal and outspoken in their adhesion to these principles, put nominees in the field that are.

"(5) A just, fair, and equitable readjustment and distribution of appointive Federal offices and emoluments among the various States, Territories, and District of Columbia in proportion to the various populations thereof."

American mechanics half a century ago began forming themselves into organizations for mutual help and protection. The original purposes of these organizations were to place the mechanics upon their rightful plane of dignity in their relations to their fellow-citizens, and to protect themselves from the unfair and often degrading competition of immigrant labor. They have struggled manfully to solve, on the basis of self-respect, the difficult problems of the relations of laborers to each other and the relations of labor to capital.

The United American Mechanics as an organization came into existence in Philadelphia, July 8, 1845.

Objects: Patriotic, social, secret, fraternal, and benevolent.

Membership: Native-born male Americans over eighteen years of age.

Numbers: Nearly 60,000.

In order "to connect their families more closely with their work," the members of this society organized, in 1875, "The

Daughters of Liberty," who co-operate with them in all appropriate methods.

Numbers: 12,000.

The Junior Order United American Mechanics was instituted on May 17, 1853, in Philadelphia.

Objects: Patriotic, political, but non-partisan and non-sectarian. Fraternal and beneficial.

Membership: American-born white males over sixteen years of age.

Numbers: About 200,000 distributed through all the States.

The Patriotic Order Sons of America, organized in Philadelphia December 10, 1847.

Objects: Patriotic, non-partisan, non-sectarian, fraternal, and beneficial.

Membership: American-born males over sixteen years of age.

Numbers: About 100,000.

American Protective Association, organized March 13, 1887, in Clinton, Ia.

Objects: Patriotic, political, "Loyalty to true Americanism, which knows neither birthplace, race, creed, or party." Unsectarian and anti-ecclesiastical.

Membership: Acceptance of the objects of the Association.

Numbers: The chief national officer puts the membership at about 1,400,000.

Loyal Orange Institution of the United States of America. Organized about 1865.

Objects: Protestant, patriotic, and beneficial.

Membership: Protestant in religious belief and affiliations, a citizen or one who has declared his intentions to become such, and over eighteen years of age.

Numbers: About 250,000.

Loyal Women of American Liberty. Organized in Boston, June 6, 1888.

H. F. Bowers.
E. W. Samuel.
J. C. Hardenbergh.

Edward S. Deemer.
John Server.
S. Lansing Reeve.

A GROUP OF PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS, BASED UPON THE RECOGNITION OF PERIL TO OUR INSTITUTIONS FROM POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICISM.

Objects: Patriotic and Protestant.

Membership: Protestant in religious belief and over eighteen years of age.

American Patriotic League. Founded September 7, 1885.

Objects: Patriotic, beneficial, and co-operative.

Membership: White native Americans over eighteen years of age.

Knights of Malta. Chartered in America in 1889.

Objects: Patriotic, Protestant and non-sectarian, fraternal and beneficial.

Membership: White males over eighteen years of age.

Numbers: 25,000.

The American Flag Protectors. Organized in Boston, September, 1894.

Objects: To protect the American Flag and prohibit the raising of foreign flags over public buildings.

Numbers: 2000.

Mention has here been made only of some of the leading organizations based upon the recognition of present peril to our institutions as one of the chief causes for their existence. The number of organizations similar in purpose, of varying strength and numbers, might be extended into scores.

Patriotic sentiment to the front is concededly the great fact in our present national experience. It manifests itself in the resuscitation of old and in the birth of new patriotic organizations; in the legislative action of the highest representative bodies of the great religious denominations; in the numerous appeals to Congress and to State legislatures for Constitutional changes; in the extension of patriotic instruction in the public schools, and in raising the national flag over the school buildings; in the indignant protest against the hoisting of any foreign flag on public buildings; in the changed tone of treatment of patriotic movements by many influential newspapers; in the surprising results of elections in many sections of the country; in the exceedingly circumspect

and almost obsequious behavior of office-seekers, and in the frequently compromising attitude, but sometimes indiscreetly violent temper of the foes of our cherished American institutions.

The fatal weakness, too often, of patriotic movements heretofore has been that they have been simply spasmodic, and they have sometimes degenerated into sectarian religious controversy, which in a republic can never issue in permanent benefit. The enemy have said, we will wait a little in hiding, and the spasm will soon pass off, and then we will come out into the open again. Is it not time that the occasional spasm should change to a normal and healthful permanence of purpose and action?

Cannot all patriotic orders, and individuals, and associations now present an undivided front, and, sinking unessential differences, agree upon some common platform of essentials, upon which they will all stand and for which they will all contend until they conquer? Our opponents do not waste their strength by magnifying their differences; why should we? Let us learn wisdom from them.

Cannot the different regiments and army corps contending for distinctively American institutions be mobilized—consolidated into one army? If this can be done, we can determine the future weal of the republic and intrench our institutions with constitutional safeguards, and dictate honest terms to parties and politicians and put to rout all enemies. In the name of patriotism and common sense, and enlightened prudence, let us get together, and consent to be held together, by the centripetal force of love for country, which will overcome the centrifugal force of narrow selfishness and conceit of personal opinion.

Whether our alliances are with secret or open organizations, can we not disarm and confound our enemies by showing them that in the defense of our American institutions we have no differences, but face them with a unity amounting to an uncompromising and gigantic personality?

THE SAFE AND RATIONAL RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

We do not consider a movement for the absolute exclusion of immigrants from this country to be either practicable or desirable. We do consider action for a strict regulation of immigration based upon character and standards of fitness for citizenship absolutely indispensable to the safety of the republic. Elements capable of ready assimilation are safe. Elements requiring transformation before they can be assimilated are unsafe. Some educational test is indispensable. Paupers, criminals, and those who hold political principles antagonistic to society organized for the promotion of constitutional liberty, or who persist in maintaining their allegiance to any foreign power or ruler, ought to be excluded.

Since the foundation of our Government over seventeen millions of immigrants have entered our country.

The departure of the Spanish army from the Western Hemisphere under compulsion by the United States Government is the only illustration in our history of any extended emigration of Europeans to offset the multitudinous immigration from those parts, much of which has not contributed a desirable element of our population.

Mr. Depew said, in his "Columbian Oration" at Chicago, in 1892:

"Unwatched and unhealthy immigration can no longer be permitted to our shores. We must have a national quarantine against disease, pauperism, and crime. We do not want candidates for our hospitals, our poorhouses, or our jails. We cannot admit those who come to undermine our institutions and subvert our laws. But we will gladly throw wide our gates for, and receive with open arms, those who by intelligence and virtue, by thrift and loyalty, are worthy of receiving the equal advantages of the priceless gift of American citizenship."

James Russell Lowell, in 1885, said:

"The problem before us is to make a whole of our many discordant parts, our many foreign elements. It is certain that, whatever we do or leave undone, those discordant parts and foreign elements are to be, whether we will or no, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, for good or ill. I am happy in believing that democracy has enough vigor of constitution to assimilate these seemingly indigestible morsels, and to transmute them into strength of muscle and symmetry of limb."

The body politic has experienced some severe convulsions in attempting to digest some of the "seemingly indigestible morsels" to which Mr. Lowell refers. Let us look at a few of the latest reliable returns concerning criminals, paupers, insane, and illiterates among our native and foreign-born white populations. To each 100,000 of the native whites there are 88 adult criminals, and of foreign-born whites 174 adult criminals. To each 100,000 of the native whites there are 80 almshouse paupers, and of foreign-born whites there are 300. To each 100,000 of the native whites there are 140 insane, and of foreign-born there are 387. Six and two-tenths per cent. of native whites, 10 years of age and upward, are illiterates, and 13 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. of foreign-born whites, 10 years of age and upward, are illiterates.

If immigration had been rationally restricted in our past history most of these criminals, paupers, insane, and illiterates would not have burdened the taxpayers and corrupted our civilization.

Enlightened statesmanship and intelligent patriotism demand the erection of legislative safeguards at the gateway of entrance to our national privileges, that only those shall be permitted to enter who can contribute something to the aggregate worthy character of our citizenship, and who can be assimilated by the body politic without clogging digestion or impeding healthy growth.

SAFEGUARDING THE BALLOT.

Great advance has been made in the United States in late years in the method of voting for the purpose of securing the independence of electors by the official ballot and by secret voting. Henry George did much toward informing the popular mind and quickening the citizen conscience upon the right of the elector to cast his vote without the possibility of intimidation. The iniquitous and treasonable cheapening of citizen sovereignty, by fraud in voting and in counting the votes, reached its climax of wickedness in the commercial metropolis and in other large cities in the Empire State. New York State having the largest population of any State in the Union, and its vote frequently being necessary to determine the results in the Electoral College, the entire nation has a vital interest in the conduct and character of its electorate. Political dishonesty there degrades or dignifies the republic to a greater extent than a similar course pursued by any other commonwealth could.

The honest citizens of the State of New York and of the nation owe a debt of gratitude to the Hon. Charles T. Saxton, for his untiring, persistent, and intelligent statesmanship in the interests of ballot reform. On June 17, 1888, Mr. Saxton introduced a bill entitled: "An Act to secure more fully the independence of electors and the secrecy of the ballot" in the Assembly of the New York Legislature. This was the first measure of the kind, with a possible single exception, ever presented to an American legislature. At first legislators and politicians were amused at efforts to reform the elective system, but their amusement soon turned to fright before an honest leadership backed by an intelligent following. The opposition to the measure was marshaled under the shrewd and unscrupulous leadership of Governor David B. Hill. Having reached the conclusion that his party had nothing to gain, and perhaps much to lose, by the enactment of a ballot-

reform law, the question of its justice and necessity, or of its beneficent effect upon our institutions, was to him of little consequence. The bill passed both Houses of the Legislature and went to the Governor, where, after the adjournment of the Legislature at a hearing, Mr. Saxton, Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, and other friends of the bill appeared in its support. Two representatives of Tammany Hall appeared in opposition, which was a work of supererogation, as Governor Hill could be trusted to allow the worthy measure to die in his hands, while he thought it incumbent upon him to justify his course in a statement of excuses which amounted to a confession that any reform in the ballot laws would cloud the political future of his party. The next measure was presented to the Legislature in 1889. Republican politicians were lukewarm concerning the measure, and the Democrats unanimously opposed it. This bill passed both Houses, was sent to Governor Hill, and by him promptly vetoed. By public speech and printed documents Mr. Saxton kept the question of ballot reform before the citizens of the State and country. In the fall of 1889 Mr. Saxton was transferred by his constituents from the Assembly to the State Senate. His own party leaders had now become enthusiastic, but, as events proved, their desire was for a ballot-reform issue rather than for a ballot-reform law. In 1890 Mr. Saxton introduced his improved ballot-reform law and a Corrupt Practices Bill. The Governor's message was a virtual veto of these reform measures in advance. The ballot measure was nevertheless passed by both Houses, went to the Governor, and was again vetoed. The Corrupt Practices Bill was passed and signed by the Governor, and it was the first act of the kind ever placed upon an American statute book.

A compromise and cumbersome ballot law, possessing some desirable features, was passed and signed by the Governor in 1890, and remained in force for five years. Despite the defects of this law, the whole election system gained in

dignity and impressiveness. The act of voting seemed to have a deeper significance. The public conscience was quickened, and the people of the entire country gained a higher conception of the sacredness and importance of the elective franchise. The reform administration in all the great cities of the State of New York, and the punishment of attempts at fraud at the polls were rendered possible by this enactment, and other States, inspired by this example, proceeded in their legislation on these same lines.

Mr. Saxton continued to introduce important ballot measures in the Legislature, one of which was vetoed by Governor Flower before it reached the Executive Chamber. In 1894 Mr. Saxton was elected Lieutenant Governor of the State, but continued his active interest and advice in the promotion of ballot reform. In 1895 the blanket ballot bill was passed, and became a law by the approval of Governor Morton.

In all movements for an honest and untrammeled ballot, the workingmen and the decent press of the country have co-operated. We are convinced that an intelligence qualification ought to be uniformly required as a condition for voting and also some moderate but substantial evidence of thrift by way of property qualification. Suffrage is not a right, but a privilege.

Either the *Australian Ballot Law*, or some modification of it, is in force in every State in the Union excepting Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

The *registration of voters* is required in the following States, viz.:

Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming —26 *States;* and also in the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

The *registration of voters* is required in Iowa in cities having 3500 inhabitants; in Kansas in cities of the first and second class; in Kentucky in cities and towns having a population of 5000 or more; in Maine in all cities and towns having 500 or more voters; in Missouri in cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over; in Nebraska in cities of over 7000 inhabitants; in New York in cities and villages containing upward of 5000 population; in North Dakota in cities and villages of 1000 inhabitants and over; in Ohio in cities having a population of 10,000 and over; in Rhode Island nontaxpayers are required to register yearly before December 31; in South Dakota in cities, but not in country precincts; in Texas in cities of 10,000 inhabitants or over; in Washington in all cities and towns and all voting precincts having a voting population of 250 and over; in Wisconsin in cities of 2000 inhabitants or more, and in townships of 3000 inhabitants or more. In the Territory of Oklahoma in cities of the first class.

No registration of voters is required in Indiana, New Hampshire, and Oregon.

In Arkansas and West Virginia registration of voters is prohibited by constitutional provision.

A PERFECTED CIVIL SERVICE.

For the elevation of the character and efficiency of the persons in the employment of cities, States, and municipalities the merit system in civil service is indispensable. It removes temptations to corrupt practices from the path of politicians, office-holders, and office-seekers. It furnishes the chief element of stability in the administration of a republican form of government. The great progress that civil service reform has made in this republic is chiefly due to the courage and statesmanship of Hon. Dorman B. Eaton. He is known among reputable citizens as the "Father of Civil Service Reform." His brain has devised and his hand has written most of the

civil service laws upon our statute books, and his executive fidelity has made them effective. The warfare he has waged against the spoilsmen has provoked their vindictive wrath, but has won for him the praises of the patriotic and the personal consciousness that he has rendered firmer the essential foundations of our civic structure.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM AND THE MERIT SYSTEM.

In considering the great religious, moral, and political forces which have affected American institutions and seem likely to powerfully affect them in the future, we must give some attention to those which have caused the spoils system in our politics, and also those opposing forces that have developed the civil service reform movement, which seeks to arrest the evils of that system. We have space for no more than very general statements on the subject. The main characteristics of the spoils system are that it perverts and prostitutes the exercise of political and official authority for party and personal advantages. It extorts vast sums of money—from one to five per cent.—from the salaries of those in the public service,—national, State, and municipal alike,—and uses it for paying party expenses, bribing voters, and gaining offices for unworthy politicians and party and official favorites. It enforces party tests for office and public employments where party opinions are immaterial. It thus secures a party monopoly of official patronage appointment and all incidental spoils to the party managers. It brings unworthy persons into the public service, and prevents the most competent applicants from entering it. It removes worthy public servants without good cause, and makes them servile to party managers and bosses. It vastly increases the despotic organization and power of the unworthy men who devote themselves to the trade of politics and makes this trade profitable. It greatly increases the difficulty of the most worthy men securing office by reason of their good character and capacity. It makes party and selfish

influence the most effective force for securing office, and thus degrades the public service in the estimation of the people. It makes the party boss possible, and intrenches his power. These aggregate effects of the spoils system greatly impair the moral tone of official life and party politics. They have resulted in the political corruption and despotism which have so much alarmed and disgusted the better classes of the people and have caused a wider and wider separation between them and the politicians.

The civil service reform movement seeks the correction of these evils. It has in proper cases caused their prohibition by law. It has constantly and powerfully set forth the principle of justice, wisdom, and duty applicable for the suppression of these evils. It has also caused the establishment and enforcement of salutary practical methods in administration, under which offices and employment by the public can be secured on the basis of character and capacity, irrespective of party or religious opinions. The many reform organizations which this movement supports have worked effectively in the way of exposing the evils of the spoils system and in aid of enforcing the laws and civil service rules for its suppression. The reform system thus established, because it regards only the merits and not the politics or religion of applicants, has naturally been designated the Merit System. The Merit System stands in irreconcilable antagonism to the spoils system, and is the abhorrence of all mere politicians and spoilsmen. Every place which the Merit System fills, on the basis of the superior character and capacity shown in the examination it provides, and every dollar it prevents being extorted by party assessments, by so much diminishes the illegitimate patronage, income, and spoils which corrupt and despotic politicians and party managers might have secured. They are, therefore, the natural enemies of the Merit System, and have labored constantly and vigorously to arrest its progress.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that there is any nec-

essary antagonism between the Merit System and true, useful, or legitimate political parties. On the contrary, the putting of persons into the administrative departments of the Government by reason of their superior merit, as shown by such examinations, would largely prevent the moral degradation of parties, and would leave them more at liberty to regard the public interests and to deal with the great questions of principle and policy which are within their proper sphere of action. It would, to a great extent, eliminate the mercenary and corrupting elements of our politics. The more parties contend about principle and the less about patronage and spoils, the more useful and honest they are likely to be.

The party sphere is mainly in the domain of legislation and of the elections of Presidents, Governors, the members of legislatures and of Congress. As Presidents and Governors have a part in legislation, their political opinions are material, and people will divide into parties concerning them. So also it may be said that the party views of the heads of some of the great departments are also material, and may be made a matter of legitimate contest between political parties.

There should be no party divisions as to mere city and village government and affairs which relate to business methods and mere administration. These involve no party principles or issues. There is no Republican and no Democratic way of doing city work or of conducting city administration. Political opinions are no part of the qualification for holding city office or working for the city. Adherents of different parties should as naturally work side by side in carrying on the affairs of municipal corporations as they do in carrying on the affairs of the other business corporations. Parties for city management are, therefore, needless and absurd. It is merely party ambition, hate, and jealousy which cause any questions to be asked as to the political or religious opinions of those in the official service or labor service of cities. Yet it is in cities that parties and bosses enforce the spoils system and that

politics and official life have become most despotic and corrupt.

For the same reasons that party views on political affiliations should not be regarded in mere city affairs, they should not be regarded in doing the administrative work of the great departments of the national government or in the management of its customs or postal service. There are nearly two hundred thousand persons in these branches of the national administration. Members of Congress and politicians make their appointment and removal a subject of endless bargains, intrigue, and contention which cause much neglect of their high official duties, and demoralize and degrade both politics and the public service. Many unscrupulous politicians get into Congress by compelling the postmasters, the postal clerks, and the other officials of their districts to use their exertions and influence in favor of their elections.

It is plain, also, that party opinions should be disregarded in appointing, promoting, and removing those officials and laborers who serve the State in its prisons, asylums, and business departments, or in its schools and institutions of charity and benevolence. Yet the supporters of the spoils system and many of the managers of parties make constant and vicious contentions for the patronage and spoils of these branches of State administration. Our school system has especially been debased by vicious intermeddling on the part of politicians for party advantage.

In the early periods of administering the national government, the views here expressed concerning it prevailed. There were very few persons appointed or removed—hardly two hundred in all—for party reasons in the whole time from the administration of Washington to that of Jackson. Jackson put into practice the partisan theory of the spoils system, that all official positions must be filled for party advantage, which led on to the rule proclaimed by a Senator of New York in 1833, who declared that "to the victors belong the

spoils." The growth of the spoils system was from that time very rapid and alarming. Attempts were first made to arrest it by acts of Congress in 1853 and in 1854. These attempts, as well as several subsequently made, were inadequate. It was not until the passage of the national Civil Service Reform Law of January 16, 1883, that any adequate foundation was laid for an effective and abiding merit system. This law provided for a national civil service commission to take charge of the examination which it required for entering the civil service. This commission has since continued active and efficient.

The law also prohibited the extortion of political assessments, which it has in large measure suppressed. The examinations under the law extended first to only about fourteen thousand places, but the law wisely provided for their extension, if they should be found useful. They have now by reason of their great utility been extended to nearly eighty thousand places, and there is every prospect that before long they will be extended to all the places for which they are appropriate.

The people are more and more clearly seeing that every man's claim upon office is strong and just in the degree that his character is upright and his capacity is great. The people have a right to the best qualifications in office which are offered for the salaries they pay, and those qualifications the civil service examinations fairly test and certify.

The law of 1883 has remained unchanged, having been found adequate for its great purpose. It has established higher standards in the official service of the nation. It has closed many vicious ways of entering its public service. It has opened new ways of entering this service on the basis of superior character and capacity and without the aid of party or sectarian influence. The many thousands of officers who have thus been brought into the public service through these examinations have such superior capacity for their duties that they can do a third more than the same number of officers

who enter the service through spoils system methods. It is notorious that the public offices—for example the Post Office, Naval Office, and Custom House at New York City—are far better managed since the Merit System and the civil service examination controlled admission to their service, and the spoils system has been excluded.

The civil service examinations, of which there are nearly a hundred grades, fitly test the qualifications needed in the particular positions the applicants seek to enter. No questions concerning party politics or religion are asked. No influence is needed for entering them. The examinations are free and open to all. Those examined are graded according to merit, and the most competent are earliest appointed. Such examinations have given a new value to good character and to superior knowledge of the kind which is taught in our public schools. There is a small proportion of the places being filled through examinations for which a college education is needed, but for the great bulk of them a good common-school education is sufficient. Among those appointed from the civil service examination in Massachusetts, for example, hardly 40 appointees among 3600 had had a college education. They have in corresponding degrees diminished the effectiveness of partisan influence and official and political favoritism and bribery. The men thus brought into the public service will neither pay party assessments, nor do servile or dirty party work, at the bidding of bosses or party leaders. Their own superior merits gave them their places, and they are not afraid to serve their country rather than any party or party manager. It cannot, we think, be doubted that the Merit System, as it is being extended from office to office, and from State to State, will steadily improve the public service and elevate the moral tone of American politics. It cannot fail to strengthen and honor the public-school system of the country. These effects are already apparent in Massachusetts, where the Merit System has been longest and most completely

enforced. The Merit System may justly be said to honor the common-school system of the country, and to reward those who excel in the studies which it supports. To those who thus excel, and whose characters are unstained, it opens the official places in the service of the people. The civil service reform movement, like the other great reform movements we have described, seeks restoration and perpetuity of the sound and original principles of American Institutions.

THE PRINCIPLES OF UNSECTARIAN CHRISTIANITY THE BASIS OF OUR CIVILIZATION AND THE GUARANTEE FOR ITS PERPETUITY.

The God of nations seems to have looked with protecting favor upon our fathers and upon us in all of our history. The character of the men who settled the country is indicated by the opening words of the political compact signed on the *Mayflower:* "In the name of God, Amen." The principles established and the liberties secured by the Revolution; victories on sea and land unbroken by a defeat in all our history; the abolition of human slavery and the preservation of the Union; and the banishment of the power of a mediæval civilization from the Western Hemisphere; are facts and achievments beyond the strength and wisdom of unaided humanity.

A divine Providence in the history of nations is recognized by most thoughtful students of history, but republics even, which seem to have recognized the dignity and sovereignty of man, have fallen in their procession through the centuries, and what a procession! The Netherlands, Venice, Rome, Carthage, Greece, Palestine. The Providence who had been unmistakably in their history did not arrest their fall. The conditions of divine help for nations and individuals are glad obedience without presumption, and intelligent recognition of dependence without lethargy.

High intellectual attainments alone among the people will not perpetuate the life of this republic, inspire patriotism,

inculcate morality, or lessen crime. The farewell address of Washington states this caution: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

While sectarianism cannot become, and ought not to ask to become, the molder and conservator of our civilization, sectarian controversies ought not to be allowed to crowd out universal instruction in the unsectarian tenets and moral and religious principles of Christianity.

The American civilization and free institutions rest upon unrestricted Christianity. A Hindoo writer puts it thus: "The religion of Christ represents all that is noble in Western civilization, Western morality, science, or faith."

The Christian Church with us means the various voluntary organizations of believers in Christianity, and the church in normal activity must mold the character of the citizenship which is to perfect and perpetuate our liberties, by raising men to high and broad and righteous planes of thought and action.

Our Christian civilization must be a structure erected upon moral and spiritual foundations. Physical forces and material advantages are essential in the structure, but they do not furnish the elements of permanency. "Things which are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal," is as true of the national structure as of the spiritual.

Dr. Storrs says: "Governments themselves, so long as they serve their proper ends, do not oppress the personal conscience, and do not antagonize the advance of Christianity, have now, therefore, a permanence which in earlier times they did not equally command. That permanence depends, more and more obviously, on their coincidence with the deep impulse of the prevalent religion. If they collide with this, they have to go down, not always as the walls of Athens

were said to go down, before the music of Dorian flutes, but sometimes with resounding clamor and crash. But as long as they serve the public welfare, and give free course to the training of men by the teaching of Christianity, governments are now more secure than of old. The religion which has impressed the institutions and invigorated the life of Europe and America conserves and consecrates, it does not assail the beneficent commonwealth.

"If peoples and governments were left to no other guidance and control in their moral relations than those which preceded the advent of Christ—I see no guarantee that the old chaos of jealous and contending nations might not return, in fiercer fight, with bloodier weapons, a more terrible tyranny of the stronger powers over the weak."

The Christian resources of our country rightfully claim all there is of Christ and the Bible in our history, government, laws, institutions, homes, and hearts. And this embraces all that gives permanency to justice and efficacy to mercy, and dignity to man and glory to God. We have the cumulative resources of the education and Christian teaching of the near as well as of the remote past. We are the heirs of modern as well as of ancient history. We have the powers at our disposal to dictate what the immediate, and, with that, what the remote future of our country shall be.

De Tocqueville said of us: "The new States must be religious in order to be free. Society must be destroyed unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed; and what can be done with a people who are their own masters, if they be not submissive to the Deity? It cannot be doubted that in the United States the instruction of the people powerfully contributes to the support of the democratic republic."

The distinctive Christian ideas and teachings of the Word of God belong to our invoice: individual liberty and the increased value set upon human life, honor to womanhood, and

her elevation and emancipation, and the consequent elevation of man as this is recognized. From the moral necessities of the case the benevolence of the country is chiefly in Christian hands; it is the offspring of Christian thought. Only Christianity is benevolent. Modern legal beneficence had its birth in Christ.

All beneficent conceptions of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man had their origin in the Christian religion.

The Christian conception of God, of man, of man's duty to God, of man's duty to man in politics and society, and the duties of nations toward each other, are the germs from which spring all the beneficent powers of the highest civilization.

Dr. Storrs writes: "In Virgil's fourth eclogue, written, perhaps, forty years before Christ, he hails with song the birth of a child who is to restore the Golden Age. His figures seem caught from the prophecies of Isaiah. The boy of whom Virgil is supposed to have written was imprisoned by Tiberius, and starved to death in his solitary dungeon. The child of whom Isaiah wrote now leads in triumph toward unreached ages the inspiring and hopeful civilization of the world. In his name is the hope of mankind. In the sign of his cross Christendom conquers.

"This Christianity has shown in itself the power to reconcile, to liberate, and to set forward nations, with a steadiness and a strength which has certainly before been unknown in the world."

We have the Sabbath with its sanctions protected by law in almost all of the States. The civil Sunday could not stand a decade without its Christian sanction by the consciences of the God-fearing, whose power placed the legal safeguards on the statute books. It is a physical boon; it enhances social and family life; it saves many from incessant groveling in low and depressing employment; it breaks in upon the anxious, restless ambitions and rivalries of life; it tones down distinc-

tions between rich and poor, capitalists and laborers; it gives breathing-time, which, at the least, may be used aright. It is used by multitudes as an opportunity for religious duties. As a witness for God, a memorial of bliss, and a promise of enduring rest provided by the heavenly Father, the day itself possesses power for good.

Christianized Anglo-Saxon blood, with its love of liberty, its thrift, its intense and persistent energy and personal independence, is the regnant force in this country; and that is a most pregnant fact, because the concededly most important lesson in the history of modern civilization is that God is using the Anglo-Saxon to conquer the world for Christ by dispossessing feebler races and assimilating and molding others.

It has been said that "The English language, saturated with Christian ideas, gathering up into itself the best thought of all the ages, is the great agent of Christian civilization throughout the world, at this moment affecting the destinies and molding the character of half the human race."

AN INVOICE OF SOME LESSONS FROM OUR HISTORY.

(1) We have learned that the history of nations is only worth writing or reading as it records events which have been shaped by obedience to the word and will of God.

(2) That Christianity accomplishes its saving mission best when independent of temporal and civil powers, and that the true church consists of the faithful followers of Christ in all lands and in all denominations.

(3) That the church of Christ has a responsible stewardship for the salvation of the race.

(4) That civil liberty and religious liberty may attain their most perfect realization when they are legally independent of each other and only allies for mutual defense.

(5) That national self-government and safety are only compatible when intelligence and virtue characterize the

citizenship, and that such government dignifies and exalts individual man.

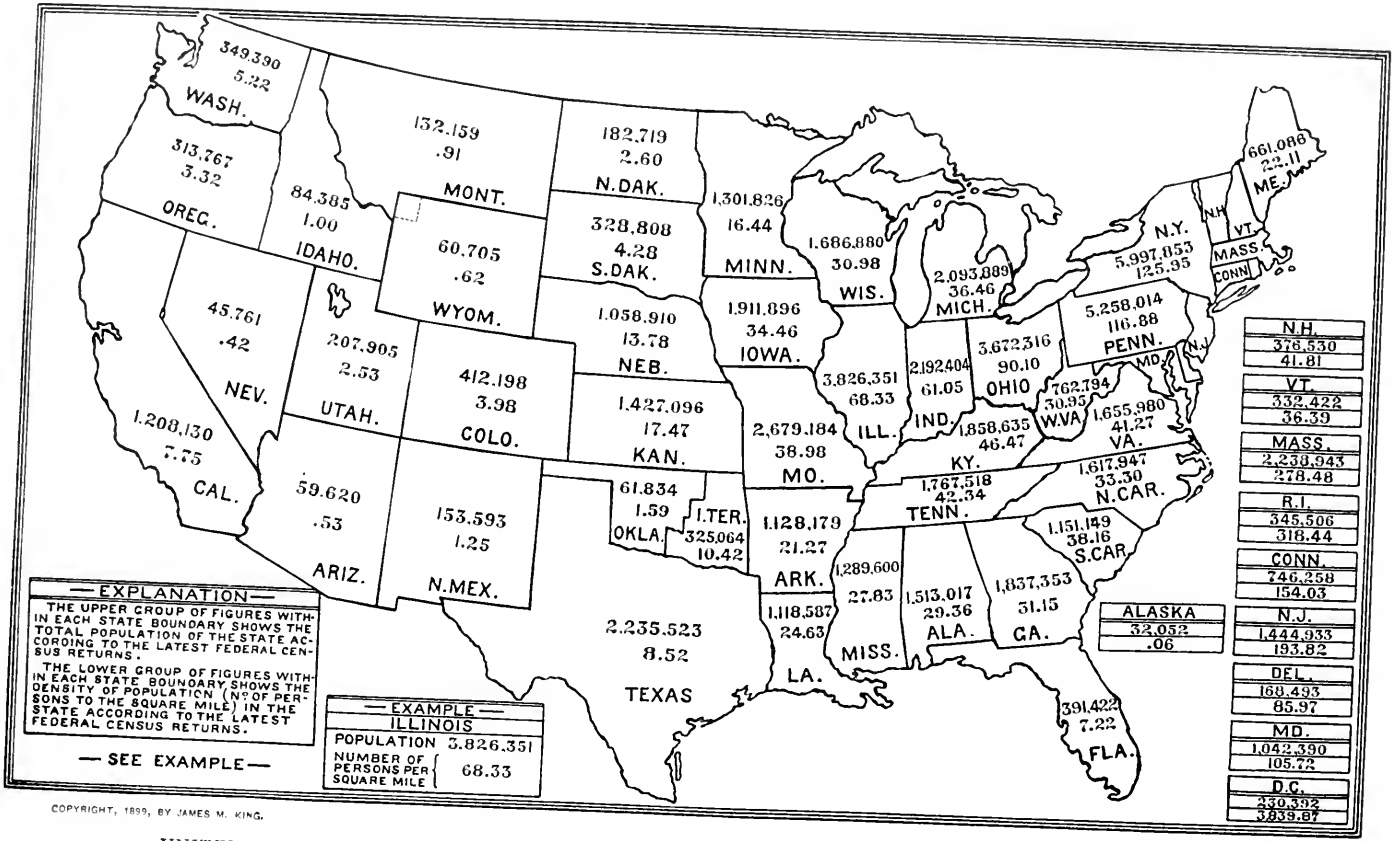
(6) That a uniform, free system of rudimentary education for the childhood and youth of a nation will transmute dangerously heterogeneous human elements into a safely homogeneous citizenship.

(7) That the inventive genius of free minds can make men masters of nature where they were once its slaves.

(8) That Science, utilizing steam and electricity, can annihilate distance and make every civilized man the center of the universe.

(9) That all real Science is harnessed to Jehovah's triumphal car in its way among the nations.

Resources of history, character, money, machinery, education, numbers, the press, a chosen race, and the divine promises are all necessary intruments, but they are strengthless and useless for good, either singly, or in combination, until baptized by the Divine Spirit; then, singly, they take on strength, and, massed, they become as omnipotent as God. These human appliances, thus wielded, shall become like their Author, sweet in sympathy, pure in holiness, vital with love. If from this time forth in this favored land, the emancipated sons of men would put on the whole armor of righteousness; if all the daughters of Zion would clothe themselves with the beautiful garments of salvation, and would move together for the renovation of a heritage once uncursed with sin—no pen or pencil could picture the result. Godless temples would tumble; incense burning to unknown gods would be quenched; air polluted with blasphemy would be purified; ignorance would flee away; the flood-gates of intemperance would be closed; the fires of passion would be quenched; and the fountains of bitter tears would be dried up. Every hill-top would glimmer with the light of truth, and every valley show the temple of our God, and a free and law-abiding people would count themselves the subjects of the Prince of Peace.



UNITED STATES POPULATION BY STATES, AND NUMBER OF PERSONS TO THE SQUARE MILE.

PART VI.

MANIFEST DESTINY.

With one more circuit of the earth around the sun the Republic will face the twentieth century of the Christian era. With every revolution of the earth upon its axis some portion of the republic's possessions is now in the sunshine.

We now occupy a new place among the nations, with a power never sought nor employed, with a duty incumbent upon us to share in the mastery of the world, and with the assurance of recompense if we meet our obligations. We are no longer self-centered. We have by the lever power of events, which we have helped to shape but could not stay, been lifted out of our isolation. We were summoned to do one unselfish act for an oppressed insular people near our coasts, and millions in far-off islands soon looked upon our victorious ensign as their first and only hope for release from the tyranny of centuries. We have a trust on our hands. It is no longer a question whether we will accept the trust, but how we will administer it. Fidelity to the entirety of our trust will measure our capacity for self-government at home and determine our place in the divine plan for civilizing the human race.

The original principles embodied in our national government remain, but the field for their application is immensely extended. With gradual expansion of territory and incident responsibility, and with the incoming multitudes of foreign peoples requiring assimilation, the nation has still substantially maintained its homogeneity.

For 115 years we have been expanding in territory and growing in most of the elements which constitute national

strength. We have solved many of the problems which seemed to involve peril and threaten our dissolution, and to-day we are concededly in the front rank of the family of nations.

There will always be problems to solve and policies to work out, which a growing nation must meet if it has a right to live. In fact a living nation must always be experimenting as the condition of living, and when it ceases to advance by experimental stages it begins to decay, and to arrest decay is a problem that few nations have ever successfully solved.

Every territorial accession to the republic has furnished new fields for enterprise, by developing industries, by inspiring thought, by increasing wealth, and by augmenting the nation's strength. Commerce and means of communication and transportation have kept pace with territorial expansion and have been inspired by it, and as the nation has grown in domain and developed in strength it has produced an increasingly beneficent effect upon other nations.

Professor McGee says: "Just as the Louisiana purchase in 1803 made America a steamboat nation, and just as the acquisition of California in 1845 made America a railway and a telegraph nation, so the acquisition of Hawaii and Porto Rico, and, above all, the Philippines in 1898 must make America the naval nation of the earth, for the problem born of the accession would be the problem of navigation, which needs American genius for its final solution, while America needs the incentive to strengthen that element in which alone it is weak."

The much-lauded Monroe doctrine promotes and does not retard manifest destiny. While it is intrenched in the national sentiment, it does not stand in the way of the gospel doctrine of love for humanity, and the nations of the earth are beginning to recognize that Havana, Porto Rico, Honolulu, Guam, and Manila are the outposts for the defense of our Monroe doctrine.

Some professed statesmen have more reverence for the Monroe doctrine than they have for the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. National obligation based upon historic origin and providential opportunity must create new legislation, and not be restricted by the narrow conceptions based upon the national outlook in its infant days.

Mr. Depew said at Buffalo in December, 1898: "Destiny knows no logic. Providence, in the wise purposes which it has for nations, makes the precedents and conditions from which alone the logic of those conditions can be argued."

Much is said, by the citizens who claim that our government has no duty to meet in extending the benefits of a free government and of a Christian civilization in our newly acquired possessions, of the difficulties of the problem because of the character of the people in tropical climes. We are meeting more difficult problems right at home, where we have committed the blunder of admitting to the right of suffrage the most dangerous foreign elements which have landed upon our shores. The old problem in the new possessions will enable us to use better judgment there and safeguard the suffrage, and will perhaps make the American people, for safety in the home land, put some wholesome restraints on suffrage here, and erect some barriers against the increasing of the dangerous elements from foreign governments, thus upholding the dignity of American citizenship.

The continent of Africa has recently been partitioned between the civilized nations, bringing a better hope to uncounted millions.

The colossal populations of China, representing the oldest civilization, are now being dissolved and the great European nations are dividing up the territory to the prejudice of our commercial interests. In the face of these facts the possession of the Philippines may prove to be an enlightened move

as a matter of necessary self-defense, and a commercial and humanitarian benefaction to the dissolving nations.

We enjoy in this republic the most perfect religious liberty known in the world. Aside from the persistent and continuous efforts of Romanism, and the occasional and spasmodic efforts of Protestantism, under the claims of education and charity to secure public money for sectarian propagation; and aside from the questionable exemption of Church property from taxation, the separation of the church from the state is safe and normal. There is really no ground for debate as to the relation the United States Government should sustain toward any religion and any Church found in the new territory brought under its control.

All religions must have absolute liberty, restrained only when they antagonize the principles of our Christian civilization. All churches must have equal protection and depend for their support upon the voluntary contributions from their adherents, whose first citizen loyalty is given to the civic government which guarantees their civil and religious liberty. Existing church organizations and religious orders, largely responsible for the past oppression of the people, must adjust themselves to American principles and institutions, and not expect the republic to compromise with a corrupt and cruel civilization styling itself the church.

Is it not more than probable that a part of our privileged destiny shall be to stand side by side with the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon civilizations and dictate the permanent peace of the world, and in the historic contest between prerogative and privilege secure the triumphs of privilege for man against the oppressions of the prerogative of tyranny?

The demands of humanity are upon us. In view of our own origin, and of the liberties we have partly inherited and partly achieved, do we owe any duty and service to others less favored who come within the sphere of our influence?

Do not the highest developments of our own national

character demand that we attempt to meet the obligations seemingly thrust upon us by Providence? Do we not need an outlet for our expanding commerce since the geographical commercial center of the world has been shifted to the Pacific?

A New York *Tribune* editorial, February 13, 1899, said: "President McKinley's message about a Pacific cable line marks an era in human history." This is because the chief of the republic, which has become a World-Power with an immense Pacific coast line, recognizes the strategic and commercial importance of independent means of communication both in war and in peace with our Eastern possessions. A Pacific cable and a Nicaragua canal are to become the handmaids of manifest destiny.

Will not a serious attempt to give a free and stable government to the degraded and oppressed peoples of our tropical possessions necessitate an improved civil service at home and abroad?

Have we a right to get out of line with the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization, which betters the condition of every race it conquers, rules, or touches?

Trafalgar and Manila in the same century lifted the world up into a better hope for a higher civilization, and neither of the Anglo-Saxon nations which burned these names into history can evade the responsibility for their work.

What shall we do with our new possessions on both sides of the globe? This question, from varied motives, is often asked in melancholy tones. There can be but one response by a people which fears God and loves righteousness. Give them the benefits of a fruitful civilization. If we are not able to do this, the sooner we learn the fact the better, for it will prove that we are unworthy of the civilization we enjoy and cannot be trusted to perpetuate it. The richest and most powerful nation in the world, claiming to possess the best civilization, ought to be able to confront any duties, and especially if these duties possess an element of unselfishness.

At Atlanta, Ga., December 15, 1898, President McKinley said: "Without abandoning past limitations, traditions, and principles, but by meeting present opportunites and obligations, we shall show ourselves worthy of the great trust which civilization has imposed upon us. Thus far we have done our supreme duty. Shall we now, when the victory won in war is written in the treaty of peace and the civilized world applauds and waits in expectation, turn timidly away from the duties imposed upon the country by its own great deeds? And when the mists fade and we see with clearer vision, may we not go forth rejoicing in a strength which has been employed solely for humanity and always been tempered with justice and mercy, confident of our ability to meet the exigencies which await us, because confident that our course is one of duty and our cause that of right?"

Contending armies are no longer to determine the destiny of nations nor the march of commerce. The nations in the future which are masters of the seas, and whose sovereignty is borne on armored floating forts and on peaceful merchant vessels, will close or open the ports of trade at the gateways of all the continents and islands, and determine the character of human civilization and dictate the discord or the peace of nations. The banner of this republic now has the right of way in all waters and commands the homage of all peoples.

Once we took our reckoning for national duty from Lexington and Yorktown; now we must reckon from Honolulu, Santiago, and Manila. The center of gravity for national moral responsibility has shifted.

We have expanded, and, so long as the nation grows in wealth, population, and power, we *cannot* contract, and it matters not whether we attribute the fact of expansion to the forces of national evolution or to the law of civilization which determines national destiny.

All unrecognized by us, certain causes during a recent historic period have been working a development in the

relation of nations, which has forced upon the United States international responsibilities. Among these causes are industrial development propelling by steam power and inventive energy to doubled production; new systems of highways on land and sea, creating half a million miles of railroads and raising the marine tonnage in less than fifty years from twelve million tons to fifty-two million; electricity furnishing light, heat, power, and instantaneous communication; and while machinery has displaced muscle, wages have increased while prices have on the average varied little.

As the effect of these causes, the demands of our industrial position force us to look into the only remaining field of commercial expansion, for our industrial over-production exceeds our capacity of consumption. Our commercial future, and therefore our national prosperity, demands a defensive position in the Pacific. We now hold such a position, and we misjudge the American people if they do not demand its permanent possession. We believe this to be a fortress for intrenching our manifest destiny.

Mr. W. Dodsworth, an able editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, New York, after discussing the commercial questions involved in the retention of the Philippines, says:

"Some of our citizens shrink from a destiny so full of high responsibilities, confessedly because they have no confidence in the governing capacity and the official morals of the republic for its achievement. For my own part, I know of no adequate warrant for such bold depreciatory judgments on American citizens and American institutions. Great responsibilities are inseparable from national greatness. Power without responsibility breeds license; and license begets weakness. I have yet to learn what the American people lack, whether of honor, intelligence, or power, for winning the highest prizes of civilization, or for elevating the neglected races of mankind. I say for elevating the uncultured races; for this opportunity calls for something larger than commercialization.

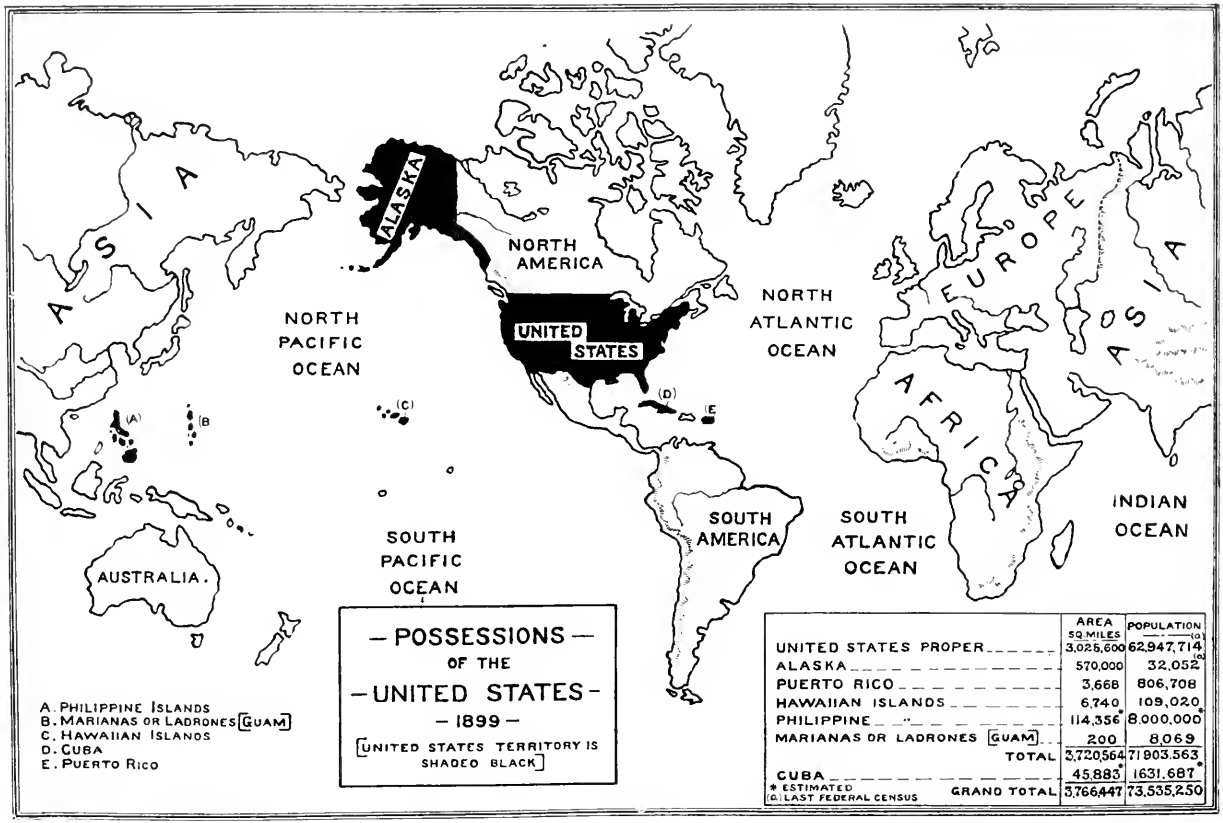
Fraudulently invert the use of language and call this 'imperialism,' if you will; yet, judged upon its true purposes, this mission offers the most positive challenge to modern imperialism that has yet been presented, and affords the only possible pacific solution of the dangers with which imperialism is now threatening civilization."

We have no patriotic shudder over the cry of imperialism, because with us it means the retreat of barbarism before the march of civilization, the substitution among millions of people of republican institutions in the place of a reign of cruelty and rapacity.

When the war with Spain began debate among us ceased. Criticism was silenced by the roar of cannon. When cannon silenced the enemy, we first heard only exultant shouts of victory, and when these sounds died away, and we began to realize the extent of our victories, criticism, which requires neither courage nor capacity, loudly roared again, and, while the sound was harsh and discordant, it did not arrest the mighty melody of the people's anthem of gratitude, faith, and courage.

Two races and three nations rule the world to-day. The races are the Anglo-Saxon and the Slavic. The nations are Great Britain, the United States, and Russia. Great Britain has been in the East for an hundred years, the United States holds the Philippines, and Russia has finally reached the open sea at Port Arthur. The future of nations, the condition of commerce, the character of extending civilizations, are held in the grasp of these two races and three nations. Recognition of identity of interests and purposes and principles for humanity, on the part of the Anglo-Saxon nations, will write the history of the future.

As a great nation, heretofore isolated, we have suddenly and unexpectedly burst our shell and found ourselves a member of the family of nations, with all the incident opportunities and responsibilities. We have, by the Providence of



	AREA SQ. MILES	POPULATION (1)
UNITED STATES PROPER	3,025,600	62,947,714 (2)
ALASKA	570,000	32,052
PUERTO RICO	3,668	806,708
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS	6,740	109,020
PHILIPPINE "	114,356*	8,000,000*
MARIANAS OR LADRONES [GUAM]	200	8,069
TOTAL	3,720,564	71,903,563
CUBA	45,883*	1,631,687*
GRAND TOTAL	3,766,447	73,535,250

* ESTIMATED
(1) LAST FEDERAL CENSUS

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an all-wise God, come to be an important factor in the extension of the liberties and institutions and Anglo-Saxon civilization which we possess as an inheritance from our ancestors. We cannot evade the responsibility, and the thoughtful character of our citizenship is not disposed to. Manifest destiny, divinely ordered, is upon us. Let us be careful.

Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization in its perfect work would put an end to war by bringing in the reign of universal peace, curb selfish competition by charity, banish poverty with plenty, prevent crime by the prevalence of justice and righteousness, destroy pestilence with purity, and prolong life by obedience to natural and moral law.

We shall soon pass over the dividing line from the greatest century, save the first, in the history of the world into the greater twentieth century. The generations beyond will be crying for the message we shall bring to them. The momentum attained by a Christian civilization which it has taken nineteen centuries to create, will enable it to march with omnipotent tread in the dawn of the morning of the new century.

> "Here the free spirit of mankind at length
> Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
> A limit to the giant's unchained strength,
> Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?"

PART VII.

APPENDIX.

THE GENESIS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

John Gutenburg printed the first copy of the Bible from cut-metal movable types in 1460.

Memorable Events in American History, 1492-1899.

The Continent of America is generally conceded to have been first visited by the Norsemen or the Vikings in the tenth or eleventh centuries.

1492. Columbus lands on San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands, Friday, October 12. He discovers Cuba and Hayti.

1493. Columbus on his second voyage discovers the Caribbee Isles, Dominica, Gaudaloupe, Antigua, and in

1494. Jamaica and the Isle of Pines.

1497. Cabot (sent out by Henry VIII. of England) discovered Labrador on the coast of North America.

1498. Columbus on his third voyage discovers Trinidad. Lands on Terra Firma without being aware that it is the mainland of South America.

1499. Amerigo Vespucci, after whom the continent was named, claims to have reached the mainland of America.

1500. Pinzon discovers Brazil and the river Amazon. Cabral, a Portuguese, lands in Brazil.

1502-3. Columbus on his fourth voyage discovers various islands on the coast of Honduras. Discovers and names Porto Bello. Negro slaves imported into Hayti.

1506. Death of Columbus, May 20. Yucatan discovered by Solis and Pinzon.

1511. Velasquez subjugates Cuba.

1512. Ponce de Leon discovers the coast of Florida.

1513. Vasco de Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Darien and discovers the Pacific Ocean.

1520. Magellan passes through the straits called by his name.

1519-21. Fernando Cortez conquers Mexico.

1526. Pizarro discovers the coast of Quito, and

1532-35. Invades and conquers Peru.

1534-35. Cartier enters the Gulf of St. Lawrence and reaches Montreal. California discovered by Grijalva, acting for Cortez. Buenos Ayres founded by Mendoza.

1541. Chili conquered by Valdivia. Louisiana conquered by De Soto.

1585. Raleigh establishes the first English settlement at Roanoke, Va.

1604. First French settlement in Acadia (Nova Scotia).

1607. First permanent English settlement on the mainland of North America at Jamestown, Va.
1608. Quebec founded by the French.
1614. Manhattan Island (New York), settled by the Dutch, also New Jersey.
1620. The *Mayflower* Pilgrims arrive in New England, December 11.
1622. The Scotch settle in Nova Scotia.
1634. Maryland settled by English Roman Catholics.
1635. Connecticut settled by the English, and Rhode Island by Roger Williams and his followers from Massachusetts.
1664. New York captured by the English.
1669. The English settle in the Carolinas.
1682. William Penn and his colonists settle Pennsylvania. The French settle Louisiana.
1732. Georgia settled by General Oglethorpe.
1754. Kentucky settled by Colonel Boone.
1763. Canada, after being conquered by the English, was ceded to Great Britain.
1764. British Parliament imposes heavy duties on the American Colonies.
1765. Passes the Stamp Act. First American Congress held in New York. The Stamp Act resisted.
1766. The Stamp Act repealed.
1767. Great Britain levies duties on tea, paper, painted glass, etc.
1768. General Gates in command of the colonists at Boston.
1773. Eight hundred and forty chests of tea destroyed at Boston and seventeen at New York.
1774. Deputies from the States meet at Philadelphia. Declaration of Rights passed.
1775. First action between British and Americans at Lexington, April 19. Act of perpetual union between the States. Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief. Battle at Bunker's Hill, June 16.
1776. Declaration of Independence adopted July 4. General Howe takes Long Island, August 27; New York, September 15; and is victor at White Plains, October 29, and in Rhode Island, December 8.
1777. Lafayette and other French officers join the Americans. Washington defeated at Brandywine. Cornwallis takes Philadelphia. Burgoyne is surrounded and capitulates at Saratoga, October 17. A federal government adopted by Congress.
1778. The States recognized by France.
1780. Cornwallis defeats Gates at Camden. Major André hanged as a spy October 2.
1781. The federal government accepted by all States. The Americans defeated by Cornwallis at Guildford, March 16, and by Arnold at Eutaw. Cornwallis surrenders with his army of seven thousand men to Washington at Yorktown, October 29.
1782. Provisional articles of peace signed at Paris, November 30.
1783. Definitive treaty of peace signed at Paris, September 3.
1784. Treaty of peace ratified by Congress, January 4.
1786. The cotton plant introduced into Georgia.
1787. Constitution of the United States signed by a convention of States, September 17.
1788. The Constitution ratified, May 23.

1789. The Government of the United States organized March 4. Washington declared President, April 6.
1790. Benjamin Franklin dies, April 17. Rhode Island, the last of the original States, ratifies the Constitution.
1791. United States Bank instituted. Vermont admitted to the Union.
1792. City of Washington chosen as the Capital of the United States. Kentucky admitted to the Union.
1793. Eli Whitney invents the cotton-gin. Washington re-elected President.
1796. Washington resigns the Presidency. Tennessee admitted to the Union.
1797. John Adams inaugurated President.
1799. Washington dies, December 14.
1800. The seat of government established at Washington.
1801. Thomas Jefferson inaugurated President, and for a second term, 1805.
1802. Ohio admitted to the Union.
1803. Louisiana purchased for United States by Jefferson.
1807. Robert Fulton starts the first steamboat on the Hudson.
1809. James Madison inaugurated President.
1812. War declared between the United States and Great Britain. The ship *United States* captures the British ship *Macedonian*. Louisiana admitted to the Union.
1813. The American frigate *Chesapeake* captured by the *Shannon*, June 1.
1814. The city of Washington taken by the British and public edifices burnt. The British squadron on Lake Champlain captured. Treaty of peace with Great Britain signed at Ghent, December 24, and ratified February 17, 1815.
1816. Indiana admitted to the Union.
1817. James Monroe inaugurated President. Mississippi admitted to the Union.
1818. Foundation laid of the Capitol at Washington. Illinois admitted to the Union.
1819. Alabama admitted to the Union.
1820. Florida ceded to the United States by Spain. Maine admitted to the Union.
1821. The "Missouri Compromise" enacted, and Missouri admitted to the Union.
1825. John Quincy Adams inaugurated President.
1826. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
1829. Andrew Jackson inaugurated President.
1832. New Tariff laws enacted. Commercial panic.
1835. Great fire in New York; loss estimated at $20,000,000.
1836. The National Debt paid off. Arkansas admitted to the Union.
1837. Martin Van Buren inaugurated President. Rebellion in Canada. Victoria became Queen of Great Britain. Financial panic and suspension of specie payments. Michigan admitted to the Union.
1841. William Henry Harrison inaugurated President; dies in the same year, and is succeeded by John Tyler.
1842. The Ashburton Treaty concluded, adjusting the northeastern boundary of the United States.
1845. War with Mexico. Florida and Texas admitted to the Union. James K. Polk inaugurated President.
1846. Iowa and Wisconsin admitted to the Union. New Mexico annexed.
1849. Zachary Taylor inaugurated President.
1850. President Taylor dies, and is succeeded by Millard Fillmore. John C. Calhoun dies. California admitted to the Union. Fugitive-Slave Law passed.

1851. Henry Clay dies, also James Fenimore Cooper. Louis Kossuth visits the United States.

1852. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" published. Daniel Webster dies.

1853. Franklin Pierce inaugurated President.

1854. Astor Library, New York, opened to the public. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act.

1856. Senator Charles Sumner assaulted by Preston S. Brooks. John C. Fremont nominated for the Presidency by the "Republican Party."

1857. James Buchanan inaugurated President. Financial panic. Dred Scott Decision by the Supreme Court.

1858. Minnesota admitted to the Union. Telegraphic communication established between America and Great Britain.

1859. Oregon admitted to the Union. Insurrection at Harper's Ferry and John Brown executed. Washington Irving dies.

1860. Abraham Lincoln elected President, receiving 180 of the 303 electoral votes. South Carolina secedes from the Union. Steamship *Great Eastern* arrives at New York.

1861. Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas secede from the Union. Kansas admitted to the Union. Jefferson Davis chosen President of the Southern Confederacy, February 18. Abraham Lincoln inaugurated President, March 4. Fort Sumter fired upon, April 12; evacuated, April 13. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee secede from the Union, Battle of Bull Run, July 21. Jefferson Davis elected President of the Confederate States for a term of six years. The Civil War extended from the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, to the surrender at Appomattox Court Court House, April 9, 1865.

1862. Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, April 4. Treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the Slave Trade, ratified May 20. France proposes the joint mediation of England and Russia, and both Governments decline.

1863. President Lincoln issues the "Emancipation Proclamation," January 2. West Virginia admitted to the Union.

1864. Nevada admitted to the Union. President Lincoln re-elected, November 8.

1865. Slavery in the United States abolished by Congress, February 1. President Lincoln meets Confederate Peace Commissioners at Fortress Monroe, without results, February 3. General Lee, commander of the Confederate forces, surrenders with the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant, at Appomattox Court House, April 9. President Lincoln shot by J. Wilkes Booth, at Ford's Theater, Washington, April 14, and dies April 15. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, wounded by an assassin about the same hour, but recovers. Andrew Johnson sworn in as President, April 15. Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, abolishing slavery, declared ratified, December 18.

1866. The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, defining Civil Rights, passed by Congress. Atlantic telegraph cable successfully laid.

1867. Nebraska admitted to the Union. Russian America ceded to the United States. Execution of Maximilian in Mexico. Tenure of Office Act passed by Congress.

1868. President Andrew Johnson impeached, tried, and acquitted. Fourteenth Amendment ratified.

1869. Ulysses S. Grant inaugurated President. Telegraph cable laid between the United States and France. Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads joined.

1870. General Robert E. Lee dies. Fifteenth Amendment ratified, giving right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

1871. Treaty of Washington, between the United States and Great Britain, made and ratified. All the States again represented in both Houses of Congress. The Force Act for the protection of the negro passed by Congress. Great fire in Chicago.

1872. Horace Greeley, nominated for President, is defeated by General Grant, and dies within a month. Arbitration Commission on "Alabama Claims," at Geneva, gives large award to the United States. Great fire in Boston.

1873. General Grant inaugurated President (second term). Serious and widespread financial panic.

1874. Rival State governments in Louisiana. Serious political disturbance and loss of life in New Orleans. Charles Sumner dies.

1875. Hoosac Tunnel completed. Electricity profitably used for lighting. New telegraph cable laid between the United States and Great Britain.

1876. Telephone invented by Professor Graham Bell. Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Colorado admitted to the Union.

1877. Electoral Commission of Fifteen decides contested Presidential election in favor of Rutherford B. Hayes, who is inaugurated. J. Lothrop Motley dies.

1878. Bland Legal Tender Silver Bill passed over President Hayes' veto. Death of William Cullen Bryant and Bayard Taylor.

1879. President Hayes vetoes bill to restrict Chinese Immigration. William Lloyd Garrison dies. Specie payments resumed.

1880. Treaty concluded between the United States and China, restricting immigration.

1881. James A. Garfield inaugurated President. Shot in Washington, July 2, by C. J. Guiteau. Dies September 19. Chester A. Arthur formally sworn in as President, September 22.

1882. Death of Henry W. Longfellow and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, executed. Seven hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-two immigrants arrived; highest record for any one year. Anti-Polygamy Law passed.

1883. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia dies. Peter Cooper dies. New York and Brooklyn Bridge opened. Civil Service Reform goes into effect under a commission; Dorman B. Eaton, Chairman. Letter postage reduced to two cents.

1884. Territorial government established in Alaska. World's Fair at New Orleans, La.

1885. Grover Cleveland inaugurated President. General Grant dies. Passage of the Contract Labor Act.

1886. Anarchist Riots in Chicago. Earthquake at Charleston, S. C. Passage of the Act regulating the Presidential succession.

1887. Interstate Commerce Bill becomes a law. Henry Ward Beecher dies.

1888. Bill prohibiting Chinese immigration for twenty years becomes a law. Death of Henry Bergh and Roscoe Conkling.

1889. Benjamin Harrison inaugurated President. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted to the Union. New York State Centennial Celebration and Civic Parade.

1890. Idaho and Wyoming admitted to the Union. McKinley Tariff Bill becomes a law.

1891. George Bancroft, General W. T. Sherman, and James Russell Lowell die. Territory of Oklahoma declared open to settlement.

1892. Corner stone of Grant Monument, New York, laid by President Harrison. Strike and riots at Homestead, Pa. Cyrus W. Field dies.

1893. First Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate sent to the United States. Death of Rutherford B. Hayes and James G. Blaine. Grover Cleveland inaugurated President (second term). World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.

1894. Bland Seniorage Bill passed and vetoed by President Cleveland. Great National strike of Coal Miners and of the Pullman Car Company's employees. George W. Childs dies.

1895. Supreme Court declares the Income Tax law null and void. Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Ga.

1896. Utah admitted to the Union. Martinelli succeeds Satolli as Papal Legate at Washington. Arbitration agreed upon by Great Britain and the United States on Venezuela Boundary dispute.

1897. William McKinley inaugurated President. Greater New York Charter passed. Dedication of General Grant's tomb at New York. Tennessee Centennial Exposition at Nashville. New Tariff Bill passed and signed.

1898. Destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15. United States Congress unanimously votes $50,000,000 for defense. President McKinley's Cuban Message to Congress, April 11. Joint resolutions passed by Congress April 18, and signed by the President April 20, for the expulsion of Spanish rule from Cuba. The President calls for 125,000 volunteers April 23. Commodore Dewey destroys Spanish fleet of eleven vessels in Manila Bay, May 1. Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera reported in Santiago harbor. Naval Constructor Hobson, with a crew of seven men, sinks the collier *Merrimac* at the mouth of Santiago harbor, and all are taken prisoners June 4. American forces land near Santiago, Cuba, June 23. Destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet off Santiago harbor July 3. Resolutions annexing Hawaii passed by Congress and signed by the President, July 7. Santiago surrendered to the United States forces July 14, and the American flag raised July 17. Peace protocol between the United States and Spain signed at Washington, August 12.; M. Cambon, French Ambassador, representing Spain. Manila surrendered to Admiral Dewey, August 13. American and Spanish Peace Commissioners meet at Paris, October 1. Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain signed at Paris, December 10.

1899. Formal cession of Spanish sovereignty in Cuba to the United States made at Havana, January 1. Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain ratified by the United States Senate February 6, Signed by President McKinley February 11, and by the Queen Regent of Spain March 17.

SOME ECCLESIASTICAL DEFINITIONS.

An intelligent understanding of the authoritative definition and meaning of terms and phrases employed in political and ecclesiastical discussion is vital to an intelligent comprehension of the facts stated and the claims presented. In the study of the workings and claims of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism, comparatively few readers have access to authentic and official sources of information, and therefore become confused in reading discussions in which terms are used concerning which they have a very vague understanding of their meaning. We therefore believe that the reader will be gratified to be able to study the extended literal quotations which we here give, bearing upon terms employed and subjects treated in our discussion, from authors having the sanction of papal authorities.

Among these definitions and subjects we mention: Canon Law, its source and authority all finally traceable to the Sovereign Pontiff; encyclicals; American canon law; Plenary Council; the Church a sovereign state, and its jurisdiction; hierarchy; appeal to civil power; different opinions as to when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex-cathedra;* the temporal power of the Pope; Apostolic legates, nuncios, and delegates and their powers; Protestant errors concerning the powers of the Church; Inquisitors and the Inquisition of the Holy Office; marriage and divorce and ecclesiastical power; summary judicial proceedings in matrimonial causes; administering oaths to officials and witnesses; causes and varieties of divorces; involuntary divorces; the Church can inflict temporal and physical punishments; retreat and imprisonment; exiles; baptized hereties can be punished by the Church; the Pope cannot be punished; and the excommunicated must be shunned in social and civil life.

The claims and assumptions of the Roman Catholic Church and the Papacy here officially and authoritatively set forth will be seen in many instances to conflict with the individual sovereignty of the citizen and with the laws of the land, and to be antagonistic to the spirit and genius of American institutions, virtually constituting a sovereign state within the state, an *imperium in imperio.*

"ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW."

By Rev. S. B. Smith, D. D., formerly Professor of Canon Law. Vol. I. "Ecclesiastical Persons."

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CANON LAW.

"*Canon law* (jus canonicum, jus ecclesiasticum, jus sacrum, jus divinum, jus pontificium) is so named because it is made up of rules or *canons*, which the Church proposes and establishes in order to direct the faithful to eternal happiness. Canon law, in the strict sense of the term, comprises those laws only which emanate from an ecclesiastical authority having *supreme* and *universal* jurisdiction, and in this sense it is defined: Complexio legum auctoritate Papæ firmatarum, quibus fideles ad finem Ecclesiæ proprium diriguntur" (Vol. I. p. 9).

SOURCES OF CANON LAW.

"There are eight sources of canon law, in the strict sense of the term—that is, as forming the *common* and not the particular law of the Church. These sources are: 1, S. Scripture; 2, divine tradition; 3, laws made by the Apostles; 4, teachings of the Fathers; 5, decrees of sovereign Pontiffs; 6, Ecumenical councils; 7, Roman Congregations of cardinals; and 8, custom" (Vol. I. p. 11).

ULTIMATE SOURCE OF CANON LAW.

"All these sources may ultimately be reduced to one—the authority of the sovereign Pontiff. For S. Scripture and divine tradition are not, properly speaking, sources of canon law, save when their prescriptions are promulgated by the Holy See. Again, the laws established by the Apostles and the teachings of the Fathers could not become binding on *all* the faithful, or be accounted as *common* laws of the Church, except by the consent and authority of Peter and his successors" (Vol. I. p. 12).

"God himself, therefore, is the primary source of ecclesiastical law, though He is but mediately exercising this authority through the Popes, who are the proximate and immediate source of canon law" (Vol. I. p. 12).

"The decrees of the Roman Pontiffs constitute the chief source of canon law; nay, more, the entire canon law, in the strict sense of the term, is based upon their legislative authority. Hence it is that heretics have ever sought to destroy, or at least to weaken, this legislative power" (Vol. I. p. 17).

"*The Sovereign Pontiff can, if he chooses, enact laws obligatory on the entire Church, independently of any acceptation*" (Vol. I. p. 19).

THE POPE AND FREE-WILL.

"Now, if the Pope could bind those persons only who of their own free-will accepted his laws, he would evidently be possessed of no power to enact laws. In fact, the Pontiff, in such an hypothesis, would have no greater authority than any simple layman, or even woman, to whom anybody could be subject if he so chose. He could, at most, propose laws, and would, therefore, in this respect, be placed on a level with the President of the United States" (Vol. I. pp. 19–20).

ENCYCLICALS.

"*Encyclicals* are [the above-mentioned] constitutions or decretals when addressed to the *bishops* of the whole world or of some country. Encyclicals are generally made use of by Popes in order to determine some point of doctrine, or abolish abuses, as also to introduce uniformity of discipline" (Vol. I. p. 27).

THE POPE AND NATIONAL CANON LAW.

"All national canon law is more or less a derogation from the common law of the Church; hence it cannot become lawful unless sanctioned by the Pope. We say, *by the Pope;* for no other power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, can dispense from or repeal in part the universal law of the Church. Not the civil power, as is evident; nor an ecclesiastical power inferior to the Pope, such as councils, whether ecumenical, national, or provisional, for no council is ecumenical save when approved by the Sovereign Pontiff" (Vol. I. p. 52).

AMERICAN CANON LAW.

"Q. What is meant by American canon law?

"A. By the national ecclesiastical law of this country we understand the various derogations from the 'jus commune,' or the different customs that exist among the churches in the United States, and are sanctioned or tolerated by the Roman Pontiff. We say, 'are sanctioned or tolerated by the *Roman Pontiff*';; for, as was seen, no national law can become legitimate except by at least the tacit or legal consent of the Pope. Again, the 'jus particulare' of a nation always remains subject to the authority of the Holy See, in such manner as to be repealable at any time by it. Hence, the *jus nationale*, or the exceptional ecclesiastical laws prevalent in the United States, may be abolished at any time by the Sovereign Pontiff" (Vol. I. pp. 53-54).

THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The missionary condition of the Church in the United States is fast passing away, except so far as concerns some few dioceses of the far West and extreme South. In the greater portion of this country magnificent churches, capacious schools, and fine parochial houses have sprung up on all sides. These parishes have, as a rule, an abundant income in the shape of pew-rents and collections or donations. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that our parishes are, generally speaking, in a more flourishing condition than in the Catholic countries of Europe" (Vol. I. p. 55).

PLENARY COUNCIL.

"The *Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*, which is perhaps the most important of all our councils, was solemnly opened on the 9th of November, 1884, and closed December 7 of the same year. It was attended by fourteen archbishops, and sixty-two bishops or their procurators. It was revised by decree of the S. C. de Prop. Fide, dated September 21, 1885, and was promulgated by His Eminence Card. Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore and Apostolic Delegate, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1886. Its decrees became obligatory all over the United States, on and from the day of this promulgation" (Vol. I. p. 75).

THE CHURCH A SOVEREIGN STATE.

"The Church is not merely a corporation (*collegium*) or part of civil society. Hence, the maxim is false, 'Ecclesia est in statu,' or the Church is placed under the power of the state. The Church is rightly named a Sovereign State" (Vol. I. p. 82).

HIERARCHY.

"The word hierarchy, therefore, comprises three things: 1, sacred power or ecclesiastical authority; 2, a number of persons possessing it; 3, rank and gradation among these persons. The hierarchy, therefore, whether of order or jurisdiction, is vested in an organized body of ecclesiastics; the Roman Pontiff is the head of this organization" (Vol. I. p. 83).

LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

"Protestants contend that the entire power of the Church consists in the right to teach and exhort, but not in the right to command, rule, or govern; whence they infer that she is not a perfect society or sovereign state. This theory is false; for the Church, as was seen, is vested *jure divino* with power, 1, to make laws; 2, to define and apply them (*potestas judicialis*); 3, to punish those who violate her laws (*potestas coercitiva*)."

PUNISHMENTS AND DEATH PENALTY.

"The punishments inflicted by the Church, in the exercise of her coercive authority, are chiefly spiritual (*pœnæ spirituales*), *e. g.*, excommunication, suspension, and interdict. We say *chiefly*, for the Church can inflict temporal and even corporal punishments.

"Has the Church power to inflict the penalty of death? Card. Tarquini thus answers: 1. Inferior ecclesiastics are forbidden, though only by ecclesiastical law, to exercise this power directly. 2. It is certain that the Pope and ecumenical councils have this power at least mediately—that is, they can, if the necessity of the Church demands, require a Catholic ruler to impose this penalty. 3. That they cannot directly exercise this power cannot be proved" (Vol. I. p. 90).

RESTRICTION CONFESSED.

"Things, moreover, may come within the jurisdiction of the Church not only by reason of their nature or character, as we have just seen, but also because of the persons to which they refer. Thus, according to the common law of the Church, ecclesiastics are not amenable to the jurisdiction of civil courts; the bishop is the only competent judge in all their causes. We say, according to the common law of the Church; for, at present, this privilege is almost everywhere greatly restricted. Ecclesiastics may also implead and be impleaded in many instances in civil courts, especially in non-Catholic countries" (Vol. I. p. 92).

APPEAL TO CIVIL POWER PROHIBITED.

"Q. Is it allowed to appeal to the civil power or seek redress in the civil courts against wrongs inflicted by ecclesiastical superiors?

"A. Such appeals are, as a rule, not only unlawful, but null and void. For the Church, being a perfect and supreme society, is necessarily the supreme, and therefore, sole and ultimate judge in matters pertaining to her jurisdiction, *i. e.*, in ecclesiastical and spiritual things. The civil power, so far from having any authority over the Church in this respect, is itself subject to her. Persons, therefore, who have reason to believe themselves in any way unjustly treated by their ecclesiastical superiors, can seek redress only *in* the Church herself—namely, by appealing to the proper ecclesiastical superior, and, in the last resort, to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Holy See is the supreme tribunal in the Church; its decisions are unappealable, as is thus stated by the Vatican Council. In no case, therefore, is it allowed to appeal to civil courts from the decisions of the Holy See" (Vol. I. p. 227).

"Having seen how it is forbidden to sue bishops in secular courts, we may be permitted to digress somewhat from our subject, and to ask: Can priests and ecclesiastical persons in general sue other ecclesiastical persons, *inferior to bishops*, in secular courts? We answer: 1. They certainly cannot, in matters strictly ecclesiastical. This is manifest from what has been said above. 2. They can, in temporal matters; but before doing so, they must obtain permission from the bishop" (Vol. I. p. 229).

RIGHTS OF PAPAL SUPREMACY.

"Now, the immediate rights of the Papal supremacy are these two: infallibility and supreme legislative authority" (Vol. I. p. 242).

EX-CATHEDRA.

"Q. When does the Roman Pontiff speak *ex-cathedra*?

"A. He speaks *ex-cathedra*, and is infallible of himself, *i. e.*, independently of the consent of the Church, 1, when *as Pastor and Head* of the Church, and by virtue of his supreme apostolical authority; 2, he proposes to the *entire* Church, 3, any doctrine concerning *faith* and *morals*, 4, to be believed under pain of heresy. These conditions are required only for the validity of Pontifical decisions *ex-cathedra*. Others are requisite for the licituess of such definitions; thus, the Pope, before giving an *ex-cathedra* definition, should maturely examine into the question to be defined and consult with the cardinals; for he is merely assisted, not inspired, by the Holy Ghost when giving a definition *ex-cathedra*. Catholics are bound to assent to these definitions, not only externally, but also internally or mentally" (Vol. I. pp. 243–244).

POWER OF POPES IN TEMPORAL THINGS.

"There are four different opinions respecting the power of the Popes in temporal things: 1. *The first* holds that the Sovereign Pontiff, as such, has, *jure divino*, absolute power over the whole world, in political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. 2. *The second*, held by Calvinists and other heretics, runs in the opposite extreme, and pretends (a) that the Sovereign Pontiff has no temporal power whatever; (b) that neither Popes nor bishops had any right to accept of dominion over cities or states, the temporal and spiritual power being, *jure divino*, not unitable in the same person. 3. *The third*, advanced by Bellarmine and others, maintains that the Pope has, *jure divino*, only spiritual, but no direct or immediate temporal power; that, however, by virtue of his spiritual authority, he is possessed of power, indirect, indeed, but nevertheless supreme, in the temporal concerns of Christian rulers and peoples; that he may, therefore, depose Christian sovereigns, should the spiritual welfare of a nation so demand. Thus, as a matter of fact, Pope Innocent IV., in pronouncing sentence of deposition against Frederic II., explicitly says that he deposes the emperor *auctoritate apostolica et vi clavium*. 4. *The fourth* opinion holds that the Sovereign Pontiff has full *spiritual* authority over princes no less than over the faithful; that therefore he has the right to teach and instruct them in their respective duties, to correct and inflict spiritual punishments upon both rulers and peoples; but that, *jure divino*, he has no power, as asserted by Bellarmine, whether direct or indirect, in the temporal affairs of Catholic sovereigns or peoples. We say, as asserted by Bellarmine; for the advocates of this opinion, by giving the Pope full power to correct princes and peoples, necessarily attribute to him an *indirect* power in temporal things; they deny, however, that this *potestas indirecta in temporalia* includes the deposing power, as maintained by Bellarmine. The first opinion is untenable, and is refuted by Bellarmine himself; the second is heretical; the third and fourth seem to differ chiefly as to

the deposing power of the Popes, but agree in granting that the Roman Pontiff has an indirect power in temporal things; both may be lawfully held" (Vol. I. pp. 251–252).

PROOFS OF TEMPORAL POWER.

"We next prove our thesis *from authority*. We refer to the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1302. This bull declares that there is but one true Church, and therefore but one head of the Church—the Roman Pontiff; that there are two swords—*i. e.*, two powers—the spiritual and the temporal; the latter must be subject to the former. The bull finally winds up with this definition: 'And this we declare, affirm, *define* (*definimus*), and pronounce that it is necessary for the salvation of every human creature that he should be subject to the Roman Pontiff.' This is undoubtedly a *de fide* definition—*i. e.*, an utterance *ex cathedra*. In fact, the bull, though occasioned by and published during the contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, King of France—who held that he was in no sense subject to the Roman Pontiff—had for its object, as is evident from its whole tenor and wording, this: to define dogmatically the relation of the Church to the State *in general;* that is, universally, not merely the relations between the Church and the particular state or nation—France. Now, what is the meaning of this *de fide* definition? There are two interpretations: *One*, given by the enemies of the Papacy, is that the Pope, in this bull, claims, not merely an indirect, but a direct and absolute, power over the state, thus completely subordinating it to the Church; that is, subjecting it to the Church, even in *purely temporal things*. This explanation, given formerly by the partisans of Philip the Fair, by the Regalists in the reign of Louis XIV., and at present by Janus, Dr. Schulte, the Old Catholics, and the opponents of the Papal infallibility in general, is designed to throw odium upon the Holy See and arouse the passions of men, especially of governments, against the lawful authority of the Sovereign Pontiffs. The *second* or Catholic interpretation is that the Church, and therefore the Pope, has indirect authority over the state; that therefore the state is subject to the Church in temporal things, *so far as they relate to eternal salvation or involve sin*" (Vol. I. pp. 255–56).

"Pope Pius IX. himself, in one of his discourses, says, 'that the right of deposing princes has nothing to do with the Pontifical infallibility; neither does it flow from the *infallibility* but from the *authority* of the Pontiff" (Vol. I. p. 259).

ORIGIN OF TEMPORAL POWER.

"This temporal dominion, it is true, was not bestowed by God upon the Pope in the beginning; for, even toward the close of the sixth century, the Pontiffs were not as yet independent rulers of temporal dominions. But when the Roman Empire was overthrown and divided into several kingdoms, then it was that the Sovereign Pontiffs obtained their temporal principality, *divinæ providentiæ consilio*. The civil dominion of the Pope, whether acquired by the munificence of princes or the voluntary submission of peoples, though not essential to the primacy, is nevertheless very useful, nay, in the present state of things, in a measure necessary to the free exercise of the prerogatives of the Pope as head of the Church. Princes, in fact, would scarcely be willing to obey a pontiff placed under the civil power of another ruler" (Vol. I. p. 260).

AGE OF TEMPORAL POWER.

"The temporal principality of the Popes has existed already eleven centuries, and thus precedes by a long lapse of time every existing sovereignty. There is, it is true,

no divine guarantee that this power shall continue; it has been treacherously wrested from the present Pontiff by the Italian government. That, however, it will revert to the Popes we have no doubt. Napoleon I., too, took these possessions from the aged Pius VII. Yet Napoleon's empire has since vanished like a dream, while the patrimony of St. Peter passed again into the hands of the Pontiff" (Vol. I. p. 269–61).

APOSTOLIC LEGATES, NUNCIOS, AND DELEGATES.

"Apostolic legates, nuncios, and delegates, speaking in general, are persons appointed or sent by the Holy See to the different countries or parts of Christendom for the purpose of representing and acting for the supreme Pontiff either in the exercise of Papal jurisdiction or in a non-jurisdictional capacity.

"These ambassadors, therefore, are the representatives of the Roman Pontiff in the exercise of the supreme, ordinary, and immediate jurisdiction vested in him over the whole Christian world" (Vol. I. p. 297).

DELEGATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The Holy See has, at present, its nuncios at Paris, Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon, Munich, etc. There are also in a number of missionary countries, *e. g.*, at Constantinople, in Egypt, in Greece, etc., apostolic delegations or legateships permanently established and depending upon the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Recently, by a brief of Pope Leo XIII. issued on the 24th of January, 1893, a permanent apostolic delegation has been established in the United States, with the learned and able Archbishop Satolli as its first incumbent" (Vol. I. p. 301).

POWERS OF PAPAL ENVOYS.

"According to the law and discipline of the Church as now in force, these apostolic envoys have by virtue of their appointment as apostolic nuncios or delegates, the right to exercise, in the name and in the stead of the Pope himself, ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the laity, clergy, and episcopate of the country to which they are sent. The country to which they are sent is called their province because they resemble the old Roman governors and proconsuls. For as the latter were sent by the Roman emperor to govern the various provinces of the empire in his name and with his authority, so apostolic delegates and nuncios are sent by the Pope to govern in his name, spiritually and ecclesiastically, certain countries of Christendom.

"We say *in the name of the Pope himself.* For these apostolic envoys *take the place of the Roman Pontiff himself,* represent his powers and his person, and have therefore in principle the same jurisdiction as the Pope himself. They are sent by the Roman Pontiff, with his own power, in order to act in his stead and in his name, in all matters falling under his jurisdiction as the head of the Church. Consequently their jurisdiction is, like that of the Pope himself, immediate, not merely appellate, save with regard to the causes specified by the Council of Trent" (Vol. I. pp. 307–08).

AMBASSADORS AND THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Q. What are the laws of the United States in relation to ambassadors?

"A. 1. Ambassadors are exempted absolutely from all allegiance and responsibility to the laws of the country to which they are deputed. 2. Their persons are deemed inviolable. 3. An ambassador, while he resides in the foreign state, is considered as a member of his own country; and the government he represents has exclusive cognizance of his conduct and control of his person. 4. The attendants of

the ambassador and the effects in his use are equally exempt from foreign jurisdiction. 5. A person who offers violence to ambassadors, or is concerned in prosecuting or arresting them, is liable to imprisonment for three years and to a fine at the discretion of the court.

"Q. Are these laws applicable to Papal legates?

"A. A Papal legate may be sent to represent the Holy See, either in a diplomatic capacity only or in matters purely ecclesiastical. In the latter case he would be considered as an ordinary resident of the country; in the former he would rank with other ambassadors, and be entitled to equal rights with them" (Vol. I. p. 318).

PROTESTANT ERRORS.

"Protestants contend that the Church is but a corporation or imperfect society, not a perfect society or Sovereign State; that she has only the power of suasion, not of external jurisdiction, and is therefore possessed of no judiciary powers proper. It is moreover falsely asserted by many that what judiciary power the Church has ever exercised, she has done so only by consent of the secular power."

JUDICIAL POWERS OF THE CHURCH.

"Against these and other errors of a similar kind we lay down the following proposition: 'The Church is possessed of an external forum for the exercise of judicial power, properly so called.' 'The Church can establish courts or tribunals of its own, where judges appointed by it have power to try and pass sentences upon certain ecclesiastical causes in such a manner that persons accused or sued are bound even in conscience to appear before them (if properly cited), and may be compelled by the judge, both by censure and temporal penalties, to appear and undergo the sentence pronounced against them'" (Vol. II. p. 14).

"From what has been said, we infer: 1. The Church is clothed with judicial power proper; that is, she can have tribunals of her own, to hear or try causes, before giving decisions or inflicting punishments. 2. Consequently, she can compel persons, even by penalties, to appear before her tribunals and obey the sentence of her courts. Otherwise her judicial power would be useless. 3. This judicial power was given her, not by secular rulers, but by God himself" (Vol. II. p. 17).

INQUISITORS AND THE INQUISITION.

"Although, as we have seen, the Holy See no longer sends special inquisitors through the various parts of Christendom for the purpose of trying and sentencing heretics, as was done formerly, yet it were incorrect to imagine that the discussion of the mode of procedure against heretics, peculiar to the tribunals of the Inquisition, is altogether useless at the present day. For bishops are still in their respective dioceses, the inquisitors *ex officio* (*inquisitores nati*) in matters of heresy, and are bound, in their procedure against heretics, to observe the peculiar formalities or special form of procedure prescribed by the law of the Church for the punishment of crimes against the Catholic faith.

"Moreover, a study of the subject will dispel the false and erroneous impressions current among non-Catholics, in regard to the working of the tribunals of the Inquisition, so much abused and perhaps so little understood by them. The peculiar mode of procedure against heretics is called *inquisition;* and the tribunals established for the purpose of proceeding against them are called by the same name, or also tribunals of the Holy Office" (Vol. II. pp. 334–35).

MARRIAGE AND ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

"Among those matters which fall under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical forum, by their very nature, marriage holds a prominent place. The Council of Trent has expressly defined that matrimonial causes belong to ecclesiastical, not to secular judges. However, as Pope Benedict XIV. well explains, not everything that relates to marriage pertains, by that very fact, to the ecclesiastical forum. For there are three kinds of matrimonial causes or questions. First, some have reference to the validity of the marriage contracted. That these questions belong exclusively to the ecclesiastical forum no Catholic can deny. Thus the Church has the sole right to declare whether an impediment exists or not. In like manner, it is her province to pronounce upon the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the children, because questions of this kind depend upon the validity or nullity of the marriage. Hence, as it belongs to the Church to declare whether a marriage is valid or not, so also is it her right to pronounce children either legitimate or illegitimate, at least so far as the ecclesiastical effects are concerned.

DIVORCE AND ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

"Secondly, others regard either the validity of betrothments or the right of having a divorce from bed and board. These, in like manner, because of their relation to the sacrament of matrimony, pertain solely to the ecclesiastical forum. We say, *because of their relation*, etc.; for it is evident that betrothments are a preliminary step to marriage, and divorces destroy the rights arising from marriage.

"Thirdly, there are those which are connected indeed with matrimony, but yet have a direct bearing only on temporal or secular matters, such as the marriage dower or gifts, the inheritance, alimony, and the like. These belong to the secular forum, and not, at least directly, to the ecclesiastical judge. We say, *not, at least directly;* for when they come up before the ecclesiastical judge incidentally, *i. e.*, in connection with and during the trial or hearing of matrimonial questions concerning the validity of a marriage, betrothment, or the right to a divorce *a thoro et mensa*, they can be decided by him" (Vol. II. pp. 369–70).

SUMMARY JUDICIAL PROCEEDING IN MATRIMONIAL CAUSES.

"By the law of the Church as enacted by Pope Clement V., the trial, or judicial proceedings in all matrimonial causes whatever, whether they relate to divorces from bed and board, betrothments, or even to the validity of a marriage already contracted, can be summary (*processus summarius*), and therefore need not be conducted with all the formalities of the ordinary trial, or *processus ordinarius.*

"This law is still in force, at least, with regard to all matrimonial causes, where there is no question of the nullity of a marriage already contracted" (Vol. II. p. 378).

ADMINISTERING OATHS TO OFFICIALS AND WITNESSES.

"Here it may be asked whether the swearing in of the officials of the court and of the witnesses is feasible, or even obligatory, in matrimonial causes in the United States?

"We now answer. That it is feasible, with us, to administer the oath to the officials and witnesses under consideration, there can scarcely be any doubt. The only objection that could be urged would be that our civil law considered such oaths illegal, which, as we have seen, is not the case. Our civil law simply holds itself neutral with regard to such oaths, neither recognizing nor forbidding them" (Vol. II. p. 380).

CAUSES AND VARIETIES OF DIVORCES.

"*By whose authority and for what causes separation from bed and board can take place.* Divorces are of two kinds, as we have shown elsewhese, namely, (a) *a vinculo* from the bond of matrimony, which totally severs the marriage tie; (b) and *a mensa et thoro*, from bed and board, which merely separates the parties without dissolving the marriage bond. While the Church teaches on the one hand that a marriage which has once been validly contracted and also consummated by the faithful can never be dissolved as to the *vinculum*, except by the death of one of the married couple, she also affirms on the other that a divorce or separation from bed and board may be allowed for various reasons and in various cases" (Vol. II. p. 383).

"As the heading of this article indicates, we shall here confine ourselves to the latter kind of divorce—namely, that from bed and board. It can take place, and that either for life or only for a time, (a) by the mutual consent of the married couple—*e. g.*, where both agree to embrace the religious state, even after they have consummated the marriage, or where the party guilty of adultery, cruelty, etc., voluntarily assents to the separation demanded by the innocent party, without obliging the latter to have recourse to the ecclesiastical judge to obtain the divorce, (b) or even against the will of one of the married couple. Of this latter separation we here speak."

INVOLUNTARY DIVORCES.

"Q. What are the causes or reasons that render a divorce or separation from bed and board against the will of either of the married couple lawful in the eyes of the law of the Church?

"A. We premise: The divorce in question can take place only for grave causes, expressed in or approved by the sacred canons. These causes are chiefly the following: 1. Adultery. 2. The falling into heresy or infidelity of the husband or wife. 3. Danger of soul's salvation. 4. Cruelty or bodily danger in general. We observe, however, that only in one of these cases, namely, in the case of adultery—is this divorce or separation perpetual or for life. In the other case it is *per se* but temporary, lasting only as long as the reason for which it was granted continues to exist.

"We observe secondly, that, as a rule, the separation should be made by authority of the proper ecclesiastical judge (namely, the bishop to whom the couple is subject), or tribunal, but not the parties themselves. For nobody is a competent judge in his own cause. We say, by authority of the proper *ecclesiastical judge;* for it is not permitted, at least *per se*, to have recourse to the civil or secular courts for a divorce, whether *quoad vinculum* or only *quoad thorum*. Yet, as we have shown in our 'Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore,' from Kenrick, whose opinion is indorsed by the illustrious Feije, Catholics, not only in the United States but also in Europe, may at times apply to the secular authorities for a divorce, not indeed as though they recognized in the civil power any authority to grant divorces, but simply and solely for the purpose of obtaining certain civil effects, which have been fully described in our above 'Notes'" (Vol. II. pp. 384–85).

THE CHURCH A SOVEREIGN STATE, PERFECT AND SUPREME.

"As we have already shown, the Church is a Sovereign State, that is, a perfect and supreme society, established by our Lord for the purpose of leading men to heaven. We say, *a society;* now what is a society? Speaking in general, it is a number of persons associated together, in order to attain, by united efforts, some common end. We say, *perfect;* because she is complete of herself, and therefore has

within her own bosom all the means sufficient to enable her to attain her end. We say *supreme;* because she is subject to no other society on earth. Like every society, the Church is an external organization. For she is composed of human beings, who have a body as well as a soul. She is, in fact, by the will of her divine Founder, a community, an association of men, governed by men."

THE CHURCH CAN INFLICT TEMPORAL AND PHYSICAL PUNISHMENTS.

"That the Church can punish her members for such infractions of her laws, is evident from her very character as a society, and is, moreover, apparent from divine revelation, as we have already shown. St. Paul the Apostle writes to the Corinthians 'And having in readiness to avenge all disobedience.' We have also seen that the Church can inflict temporal and physical as well as spiritual punishments" (Vol. III. pp. 7-8).

TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL PUNISHMENTS.

"Finally, it should be observed that the punishments of the Church may produce not only spiritual, but also temporal effects, and accordingly they may be either temporal or spiritual. The *temporal punishments* of the Church are those which chiefly affect the temporal or worldly interests of the delinquent. They may be such as more directly affect (a) the soul, such as the loss of good name; or (b) the body, such as whipping, exile, detention in a monastery; (c) or also the property or possessions of the offender, as pecuniary fines. *Spiritual punishments* are those which deprive the culprit, either temporarily or permanently, of a spiritual office or privilege, or of the exercise of sacred Orders, such as dismissal from benefice or office, privation of ecclesiastical burial, of active and passive vote in ecclesiastical elections, etc." (Vol. III. p. 23).

RETREAT AND IMPRISONMENT.

"In former times there were ecclesiastical prisons, properly speaking, and the law of the Church authorized ecclesiastical judges to decree imprisonment, against ecclesiastics and laics, for grave crimes, proven juridically, *i. e.*, by a formal trial. At the present day, imprisonment proper is no longer, at least *generally speaking*, inflicted by ecclesiastical judges. Ecclesiastics who have been proved guilty of crime, instead of being imprisoned by the Bishop, are, also in the United States, sometimes sent to religious houses or other places of retreat, to do penance" (Vol. III. p. 141).

EXILE.

"Exile, in the ecclesiastical sense of the term, consists in this, that an ecclesiastic or laic who is guilty of crime is expelled from the diocese, and forbidden to return. Sometimes a person is banished merely from a particular city or locality, but not from the entire diocese" (Vol. III. p. 142).

BAPTIZED HERETICS CAN BE PUNISHED.

"No person can become liable to the punishments of the Church correctional or punitive, *unless he is a member of the Church by baptism.* For infidels, that is, all those who are unbaptized, do not fall under the power of the Church. The case is different with heretics, schismatics, and apostates. For although they have fallen away from the Church, they nevertheless remain in a certain sense members of her pale, by reason of their baptism, and are subject to her laws and authority. Hence, *per se*, they also fall under her punishments, correctional or punitive" (Vol. III. p. 161).

THE POPE CANNOT BE PUNISHED.

"From the principle just laid down it follows that the *Pope* cannot incur any reformative punishments whatever, not even those *latæ sententiæ* inflicted by the general law of the Church. For he has no superior on earth, and hence there is no one who can exercise jurisdiction over him. Again the highest law-giver is not, in the ordinary sense, bound by his own laws, since no one can be his own Superior. Now the Pontiff is the highest law-giver in the Church, and from him all the general laws of the Church emanate, either directly or indirectly" (Vol. III. p. 164).

THE EXCOMMUNICATED TO BE SHUNNED.

"But the Church goes still farther. In order to inspire the excommunicate with salutary feelings of repentance, and also to preserve the faithful from contagion by contact with him, the Church strictly commands the faithful to shun and avoid him or his society and company, *even in the ordinary social and civil relations and intercourse of daily life*" (Vol. III. p. 310).

GLADSTONE ON THE VATICAN DECREES.

FROM "THE VATICAN DECREES IN THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE," HARPER & BROS., 1875.

"All other Christian bodies are content with freedom in their own religious domain. Orientals, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Nonconformists, one and all in the present day, contentedly and thankfully accept the benefits of civil order; never pretend that the State is not its own master; make no religious claims to temporal possessions or advantages; and, consequently, never are in perilous collision with the State. Nay, more, even so I believe it is with the mass of Roman Catholics individually. But not so with the leaders of their Church, or with those who take pride in following the leaders. Indeed, this has been made matter of boast:

"'There is not another Church so called [than the Roman], nor any community professing to be a Church, which does not submit, or obey, or hold its peace when the civil governors of the world command.'—*The Present Crisis of the Holy See.* By H. E. Manning, D. D., London, 1861, p. 75.

"The Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy. The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing" (p. 12).

"I will state in the fewest possible words and with references, a few propositions, all the holders of which have been *condemned* by the See of Rome during my own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in order that I may do nothing toward importing passion into what is matter of pure argument, I will avoid citing any of the fearfully energetic epithets in which the condemnations are sometimes clothed.

"1. Those who maintain the liberty of the Press. Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., in 1831; and of Pope Pius IX., in 1864.

"2. Or the liberty of conscience and of worship. Encyclical of Pius IX., December 8, 1864.

"3. Or the liberty of speech. 'Syllabus' of March 18, 1861. Prop. lxxix. Encyclical of Pope Pius IX., December 8, 1864.

"4. Or who contend that Papal judgments and decrees may, without sin, be disobeyed or differed from, unless they treat of the rules of faith or morals. *Ibid.*

"5. Or who assign to the State the power of defining the civil rights and province of the Church. 'Syllabus' of Pope Pius IX., March 8, 1861. *Ibid.* Prop. xix.

"6. Or who hold that Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have transgressed the limits of their power, and usurped the rights of princes. *Ibid.* Prop. xxiii.

"7. Or that the Church may not employ force. 'Syllabus.' Prop. xxiv.

"8. Or that power, not inherent in the office of the Episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority. *Ibid.* Prop. xxv.

"9. Or that the civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right. *Ibid.* Prop. xxx.

"10. Or that in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil law should prevail. *Ibid.* Prop. xlii.

"11. Or that any method of intruction of youth, solely secular, may be approved. *Ibid.* Prop. xlviii.

"12. Or that knowledge of things philosophical and civil may and should decline to be guided by divine *and ecclesiastical* authority. *Ibid.* Prop. lvii.

"13. Or that marriage is not in its essence a sacrament. *Ibid.* Prop. lxvi.

"14. Or that marriage not sacramentally contracted has a binding force. *Ibid.* Prop. lxxiii.

"15. Or that the abolition of the temporal power of the Popedom would be highly advantageous to the Church. *Ibid.* Prop. lxxvi. Also Prop. lxx.

"16. Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a State. *Ibid.* Prop. lxxvii.

"17. Or that in 'countries called Catholic' the free exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed. 'Syllabus.' Prop. lxxviii.

"18. Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization. *Ibid.* Prop. lxxx" (pp. 15–16).

"The Pope's infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the Bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now know on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe" (p. 25).

"Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin Church; the State must also be a slave.

"Our Saviour had recognized as distinct the two provinces of the civil rule and the Church; had nowhere intimated that the spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force, and to control in its own domain the authority which is alone responsible for external peace, order, and safety among civilized communities of men" (p. 29).

"I submit, then, that my fourth proposition is true; and that England is entitled to ask, and to know, in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconciled with the integrity of civil allegiance" (p. 31).

[Is not America also entitled to a response to this question from Rome, and not be put off by responses from political prelates who state one thing for American consumption and then proceed to make humble apologies to Rome?].

"In the absence of explicit assurances, we should appear to be led, nay, driven, by just reasoning upon documentary evidence, to the conclusions:

"1. That the Pope, authorized by his Council, claims for himself the domain (a) of faith, (b) of morals, (c) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church.

"2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains.

"3. That he does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line, from the domains of civil duty and allegiance.

"4. That he therefore claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onward, with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall 'place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another'; that other being himself" (pp. 32–33).

SOME CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF THE POPE'S RELATIONS TO THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

"Rome, March 10.—Cardinal Rampolla says: 'His Holiness, the Pope, desires the cessation of the conflict, and he will never cease to give advice to Spain in the interests of Spaniards, Cubans, and civilization. All Catholics are sons of the Church, and all have a right to the equal treatment of their common father'" (*New York Journal*, March 11, 1898).

"Madrid, April 4.—The correspondent of the Associated Press has just had an interview with a high personage of great authority, who shows just how the Papal intervention occurred.

"'The Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican,' he said, 'was approached by Cardinal Rampolla (Papal Secretary of State), who told him that the President of the United States had allowed it to be understood that Papal intervention would be acceptable'" (*New York Herald*, April 5, 1898).

"London, April 5.—The Rome correspondent of the *Daily News* says: 'Although representations made through Archbishop Ireland, and also Cardinal Gibbons, to President McKinley have received an evasive answer, at the Vatican the President's indisposition is regarded as of a political nature, and is considered to indicate a triumph of their policy, and it is affirmed that it was after the papal action that the President became indisposed and proposed his message which all indications show would have meant war.

"'I now learn from the best source that besides his action through the American prelates in the United States, the Pope worked especially through France, inducing M. Hanotaux to send to M. Cambon, the French Minister at Washington, most precise and urgent instructions to do his best to prevent war.

"'I am assured also that the Pontiff induced France to take the initiative for collective European action, to take effect at Washington and also at Madrid, but at the latter only nominally. However, the project had to be abandoned, as while Spain has kept the different cabinets informed of her proceedings, the United States on the contrary has maintained a complete silence'" (*New York Herald*, April 5, 1898).

"Madrid, April 3.—The Pope, through a representative at Washington, asked President McKinley whether it would be agreeable if he should advise the Queen Regent

to grant an armistice, and it is understood the President expressed willingness that the Pope should do anything in his power.

"'What happened was that the Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican was approached by Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal Secretary of State, who told him the President of the United States had allowed it to be understood that papal intervention would be acceptable. The Spanish Ambassador telegraphed here to that effect, and thereupon we indicated that, though we had sent a categorical reply to President McKinley, the terms having previously been conceded to the last point consistent with Spain's honor, we were certain the Pope would respect the rights and honor of Spain, and agree to his intervention'" (*New York Tribune*, April 5, 1898).

"London, April 4.—Count de Rascón, the Spanish Ambassador to Great Britain, made the following statement in an interview to-day: 'I am able to assure you that the mediation of the Pope was proposed to His Holiness by the American Government. The Pope agreed to undertake it, and the offer was telegraphed to Spain.'"

"Rome, April 4.—It is believed in Vatican circles that the acceptance of the Pope's mediation by the United States is assured. Mgr. O'Connell, ex-rector of the American College in Rome, had a conversation on the subject this morning with Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, and United States Ambassador Draper, and an answer from Washington is expected to-day.

"Paris, April 4.—The current version, both from Rome and Madrid, of the Pope's projected intervention is that he proposes, at President McKinley's invitation, to intercede between Spain and the Cuban insurgents, stipulating the immediate cessation of hostilities in Cuba as a condition of his intervention. This proposal is understood to have been accepted in Spain" (*New York Sun*, April 5, 1898).

"If there is to be mediation by the Pope it will undoubtedly be between Spain and the Cubans fighting for their independence. Obviously, the Pope could not be a mediator between the United States and Spain or in any international question. So far as his relations to us are concerned he is a spiritual sovereign only, and not in any respect a temporal sovereign" (*New York Sun*, Editorial, April 5, 1898).

"Most of the reconcentrados, now dead and sleeping in unmarked graves, were of the Catholic faith, but the Pope did not offer to stand between them and Spain, to which the United States would have urged no objection.

"Spain must now deal with the United States. Intermediaries should be warned off" (*Evening Sun*, Editorial, April 5, 1898).

"There can be no such thing as papal mediation between Spain and the United States. The authority of the Pope is spiritual and is not recognized by the United States.

"As a mediator in the literal sense, the Pope can deal only with Spain and the Cuban insurgents. If he can bring them to agreement on terms of peace, on whatever authority, spiritual or secular, he will render large service to civilization" (*New York Commercial Advertiser*, Editorial, April 5, 1898).

"Unwarranted and sensational 'news' has done some harm again in connection with the proposed mediation of the Pope between Spain and Cuba. The statement has been put forth that President McKinley asked the Pope to mediate and arbitrate between the United States and Spain. There was never any ground for that statement, and every thoughtful man must have known it from the beginning.

"It is not supposable that the Pope would undertake such a task. It is certain the United States Government would never ask him to do so, nor agree to having his performance of it imposed upon this country.

"The arbitrator between two nations must be their peer. It must be a power equal to themselves in independent sovereignty. And such this Government does not recognize the Pope to be. Spain does" (*New York Tribune*, Editorial, April 6, 1898).

"London, April 5.—A special dispatch from Rome, published here this afternoon, says a telegram received at the Vatican from the United States has announced the failure of the Pope's intervention. It says that President McKinley showed himself extremely sensible of the initiative taken by the Pontiff, but it was impossible for him to overcome the prejudice, even though it may be unjust, entertained by a majority of the American people against the Vatican's intervention in political affairs.

"Washington, April 5.—Archbishop Ireland came to the State Department at 12.30 P. M. to-day. He had evidently arranged for the call beforehand and was expected, for he was shown at once into Assistant Secretary Day's room. To reporters who asked his mission Archbishop Ireland was evasive and said he came simply to pay his respects" (*New York Journal*, April 6, 1898).

"London, April 7.—The Rome correspondent of the *Daily News*, describing the origin of the statement that America sought the Pope's mediation, says: 'This "lie from Madrid," as they openly call it in the Vatican, has upset the calculations of the Pope, and may cause thee ntire ruin of the good offices of the Pontiff, because of the dislike among Americans of intervention by the Pope, not only as the head of the Catholics, but as a European Prince, as he wishes to be considered, his action thus being opposed to the Monroe Doctrine.'

"The *Italia* says that Mgr. Martinelli, the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, has cabled to the Vatican that President McKinley expresses his best wishes for the success of the Pope in obtaining an armistice in Cuba, but that the President considers the question one between Spain and Cuba, while there is a question between Spain and the United States, and the two have nothing to do with each other.

"The Rome correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* says: 'Archbishop Ireland has cabled the Pope that mediation is almost impossible in consequence of public opinion. His Holiness is much grieved by this check to his good intentions'" (*New York Tribune*, April 7, 1898).

"Such activity as is now prevailing at the Vatican has not occurred since the last Papal Conclave. It might be thought that the whole Spanish-American difficulty was being solved there. The courtyard of San Damaso, from which a staircase leads to the apartments of the Pope and Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal Secretary of State, was to-day thronged with the carriages of diplomats, cardinals, and prelates" (*New York Sun*, April 7, 1898).

A correspondent of the Roman Catholic *Freeman's Journal* writes from Rome on March 22, 1898, illuminatively concerning the infallible Pope's relation to Spanish and Cuban affairs. He says: "The Pontifical Nuncio at Madrid was present recently at the departure of Spanish troops for Cuba and solemnly blessed them and their arms, but if there are any chaplains among the Cuban forces they, too, have doubtless offered up prayers and called down blessings on the insurgents, and in neither case is Pope Leo involved.

"What, however, is certain, is this: 1st.—Pope Leo takes the kindliest interest in the Queen Regent of Spain, who is a pious Catholic, a devoted mother, and a good queen. A few years ago he conferred on her the Golden Rose for her maternal virtues; and 2d, the official attitude of the Vatican is necessarily one of recognition of the legitimacy of the war undertaken by Spain in Cuba.

"Rumors having been circulated that the failure of the Pope's efforts was owing

to the attitude of the United States, the Nunciature here has issued the following note: 'The Nunciature has to-day higher hopes than ever of the success of papal intervention. It is not true that President McKinley has rejected the Pope's intervention in favor of peace. Such impoliteness would be the more impolitic not only because it would display a barbarous intolerance, but because, however much any person might be the Pope's enemy, it would be impossible to misinterpret the voice of the venerable old man who recommends the preservation of peace. On the other hand the Catholics of North America would never pardon such a disregard of the Vicar General of their Church.'

"Washington, April 9.—Word that the armistice had been granted by Spain spread rapidly through all official and diplomatic quarters, and aroused great interest and activity throughout the evening. The first word as to Spain's concession came to Monsignor Martinelli, the papal Delegate, at 6.30 P. M., and announced from the Vatican that the papal Nuncio at Madrid had been advised that an armistice was granted. Monsignor Martinelli sent for Archbishop Ireland, and shortly after the message from the Vatican was repeated by telephone to the White House. About the same time the dispatch from Minister Woodford was received" (*New York Tribune*, April 9, 1898).

The official Red Book of the Spanish Government, giving its diplomatic history for many months preceding the declaration of war, contains some interesting history. The following digest is worth perusing:

Under the date of April 2, 1898, appears a message from Spain's Minister at the Vatican, stating that he had conferred with Cardinal Rampolla. The President was declared to be very desirous of having the help of the Pope, and His Holiness was desirous of lending his aid, but wanted to know if the intervention of His Holiness would preserve the national honor, and if this intervention was agreeable to Spain.

Señor Polo on April 4 reported that he had received a call from Archbishop Ireland, who stated that he saw President McKinley, and that the President was desirous of peace, but that there was little doubt that Congress would vote intervention or war if Spain did not assist the President and the friends of peace. He insisted that Spain should accede to the proposition of the United States. Señor Polo stated that he informed him that Spain had done all in her power to maintain peace.

In acknowledging the receipt of the message from Madrid, notifying him of the suspension of hostilities in Cuba, Señor Polo reports on April 10 that he had conferred with an influential Senator, whose name he does not give, and that the Senator had gone to the President, and after an interview had succeeded in inducing the President materially to modify his message to Congress.

"London, April 25.—The Rome correspondent of the *Standard* says: 'The Queen Regent asked the blessing of the Pope upon Spanish arms. His Holiness replied that he sent it from his heart, and hoped to see a vindication of Spain's rights, which had been trampled upon.'

"London, April 30.—The Rome correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* says: 'Archbishop Martinelli, Papal Delegate to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, has cabled the Vatican to abstain from all demonstrations of sympathy with Spain which would incite the Protestant sentiment of the United States against the Roman Catholics'" (*New York Tribune*).

"The only unanswered question is, why the Pope had not intervened on behalf of his suffering subjects in Cuba.

"Then came the Pope's urgent request that we should at least abstain from armed intervention until we had allowed a certain number of days to elapse in which the Vatican, with the co-operation of certain European governments, should bring moral pressure upon Spain to see what concessions might be secured at Madrid in the interests of peace. It was this effort of the Pope, undoubtedly, that led to the postponement of President McKinley's message from Wednesday to Monday.

"It is simply to be remarked here that it would have been safe enough to have allowed the country to know the facts. It was a mistake to countenance the news reports that the message was withheld on account of some possible danger that its delivery to Congress might inflict upon Americans in Cuba" (*Review of Reviews*, May, 1898).

"London.—The Madrid correspondent of the *Standard* says: 'The Church and the Catholics are very anxious as to the fall of the Philippines, on account of these religious orders, which, they consider, have been the best auxiliaries of Spanish rule since the discovery of the islands by Magellan. The Spaniards resent the idea of Protestant powers like the United States, Germany, or England harboring designs against their archipelagoes'" (*New York Herald*, May 17, 1898).

"London.—The Rome correspondent of the *Standard* says: 'Owing to the serious news from the Philippines, the Pope wired the Queen Regent of Spain, placing his services at her disposal if she considered that the time had arrived for the intervention of the Powers in favor of Spain. The Queen Regent in reply telegraphed her thanks, saying that at an opportune moment she would feel the Pope's offer to be very precious'" (*New York Herald*, June 13, 1898).

"It was through the Pope even more than through her royal relations that the Queen of Spain labored to avert war without yielding to the just demands of the United States. None can have forgotten the earnest efforts made at Washington by Catholic clergymen of high authority, nor the incessant endeavors of the Pope to bring about influential action by other European Powers. Men who cannot conceive of action that has no selfish motive saw that all the colonies of Spain were intensely Catholic, that they contributed enormously to the revenues of the Church, and that through contracts and grants from the colonial authorities the Catholic institutions and clergy received advantages almost incalculable. War with a nation not Catholic and the possible conquest of any of these colonies by such a nation would inevitably affect the material resources of the Church and all its institutions and organizations" (*New York Tribune*, Editorial, August 3, 1898).

"Rome, August 10.—The *Tribuna* says that the Vatican is in constant communication with Archbishop Ireland, Monsignor Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate in the United States, and Duke Almodovar de Rio, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, endeavoring to secure clauses in the treaty of peace that will safeguard the religious interests of Catholic residents in countries to be ceded by Spain to the United States" (*New York Tribune*, August 11, 1898).

"Justice White's familiarity with the historical and legal facts of the Louisiana purchase, his knowledge of the legal customs growing out of the practice of the Napoleonic code in Louisiana, his acquaintance with the French language, and the fact that he is the candidate whose appointment has been urged by Archbishop Ireland, representing the Catholic Church, were facts that had weight with the President in deciding to appoint him" (The *Sun*, August 26, 1898).

"Washington, November 19.—The immense interests of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines and Porto Rico will likely prove one of the most difficult

problems which this Government will have to face when the treaty of peace with Spain is signed.

"Rome, November 30.—It is stated here that the Pope intends to establish a Papal Nuncio in the Philippines and has summoned Archbishop Ireland to Rome to offer him the office" (*Evening Sun*, November 30, 1898).

VATICAN AND PAPAL AUTHORITIES FRIENDLY TO SPAIN AND HOSTILE TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

If there has been a lingering doubt in the mind of any thoughtful American as to the sympathies of the Vatican and the Papal authorities with Spain, and of their hostility to the United States in the late Spanish-American war and in its results, that doubt must be dissipated by the following quotations from the Roman Catholic and clerical press of Rome, Milan, and Naples, translated and furnished by an eminent scholar residing in Rome. These are only specimens of an unbroken succession in the same spirit. There has been no discordant friendly note sounded for this republic in the inspired Roman Catholic press at the seat of the Papal power to mar the harmony of hatred for the United States.

From *La Voce della Verita*, Rome:

"April 5, 1898.—A telegram affirms that Spain and the United States have accepted the mediation of the Pope. The Nunzio at Madrid assured the Queen Regent that the Pope was seeking to influence President McKinley, to avoid the conflict, through Archbishop Ireland."

"April 6, 1898.—We are assured from Washington that the Government is not opposed to the intervention of the Pope. We are assured too that not Spain but President McKinley took the first official step for the intervention of the Pope."

"April 15, 1898.—There is nothing more to hope. If the haughty President should be compelled to state the reasons which induced him to satisfy his ambition and his mad desire to inflict ruin and misery on his neighbor, certainly it would not be so easy to explain his injustice and violence. The President of the Republic has appealed to his convictions of having done all in his power to maintain the peace. We are curious to know some of those strong motives which convinced him to act to the contrary. The signing of the Ultimatum has rendered America odious, while Spain has the sympathy of all."

From *La Vera Roma:*

"July 17, 1898.—For several days we have been witnessing a very sad spectacle because of the inertia, or better, the malevolence of old Europe. A haughty nation, greedy of conquest, assaults, without any motive in the world, another nation which legally, by right of discovery, of well-doing, and of civilization, possesses a most fertile Island. The European Powers permit at Cuba that justice be strangled by brutal force and they assist impassible, at the sad tragedy, without moving a finger, without offering a syllable for the Latin Sister thus vilely assailed and oppressed. To-day these foreigners devour a part of the patrimony of Europe, the Spanish Colonies; to-morrow they will want to devour those of other European nations. Meanwhile we are as ever the inflexible defenders of the right and admirers of the heroism of a nation truly Catholic.

"After the violent aggression of the United States against poor Spain, which

possessed Cuba and Porto Rico by indisputable rights and the occupation of those two flourishing islands, comes the aggression against the Philippines, also Spanish possessions. But the insatiable hunger of the Americans would devour also these Islands, thus haughtily dispossessing Spain not only in American waters but even in the extreme Orient. In order to render the pill less bitter for the Spaniards they say that the Government at Washington may offer forty millions of dollars. But the honor of Spain is of too much consequence to accept such terms, and the Powers of Europe will not be so indulgent as to allow these American dogs to take this bone."

From *La Voce della Verita*, Rome:

"November 7, 1898.—It is hoped that the elections in the United States, on November 8, may be a victory for the Democrats and go against the Republican Party, which dominates under the presidency of McKinley. Then, too, there is some opposition in the Republican Party itself against McKinley." [Then it cites the speech of Senator Hoar delivered at Worcester.]

From *La Lega Lombarodia et Milano:*

"December 4, 1898.—It was necessary that America should triumph completely against her weak rival, and that she should succeed by the insolence of force to trample under foot again the rights which Spain had over the colonial empire left her by Charles V.; and the very novel attitude of the United States as conqueror was also necessary in order that Europe might open its eyes to the importance of the victory gained over the exhausted Power while the other Powers did nothing but stand and look out of their windows. One of these Powers not only did not help Spain, but became the open friend of the United States in her insolent success."

From *La Liberta Cattolica*, Naples:

"December 6, 1898.—The treaty of peace calls for serious consideration by all lovers of right and justice. It is too true that title to property, even the most certain, becomes of no account when interest dominates and when selfishness is the rule in human affairs. We cannot fail to observe the evolution that has taken place in the Americans since the war began. Ambition has been confounded with duty, and interest has become the rule of right. At first the Americans declared that they simply desired to free Cuba and they have ended with taking as booty all the Spanish Colonies."

From *L'Osservatore Cattolica di Milano:*

"December 13, 1898.—As the intervention of the Pope before the Spanish-American war was not without its beneficial effect for Spain, so his intervention among the Peace Commissioners at Paris, in the person of Mons. Chapelle, Archbishop of New Orleans, has obtained great advantages for the Church in the newly acquired American Possessions, that is, the religious orders and Catholic Institutions are to be free and are to retain possession of all the property which they now have. These rights have been recognized by a clause in the treaty of peace so that the United States will guarantee them even in case of a revolution. This great advantage has been the result of the intervention of the Pope through his representative, Mons. Chapelle."

From *Osservatore Romano:*

"December 15, 1898.—Of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States at Paris last Saturday, the general terms are well known since the signing of the preliminaries at Washington, except the lionlike interpretation, or better, the monstrous sophistication, of the third article of the Protocol on the basis of which

America has had the courage to tear with violence from Spain the entire archipelago of the Philippines.

"December 18, 1898.—What peace is that just signed in Paris? The stripping of Spain by the same method that was adopted by Piedmont in reference to the States of the Church in Italy. After having fomented and supplied with arms and money, under the auspices of the Spanish-American Masonry, the insurrection in the Spanish colonies, the Government at Washington, protesting its false motives of humanity, claimed the independence of Cuba and then turned its humanitarian thought toward Porto Rico, the Philippines, etc. Now we hear of an Anglo-Saxon Alliance, a new triple Alliance, England, United States, and Germany, a triple Protestant Alliance which threatens Latin Catholicism."

THE POPE'S LETTER ON "AMERICANISM"; THE SUBMISSION OF ARCHBISHOP IRELAND AND THE PAULIST FATHERS.

No American citizen of ordinary intelligence and candor can doubt after reading the letter of Pope Leo XIII. to Cardinal Gibbons, bearing date of January 22, 1899, that Rome never changes; that there is no such thing as liberal Roman Catholicism; that any liberal and patriotic sentiments uttered in this country by prelates and priests have been absolutely without authority; that Father Hecker of the Paulist Fathers, a convert from Protestantism, misrepresented the spirit of Rome when he claimed that Romanism was in sympathy with American institutions; that the present Pope is absolutely under the domination of the Jesuits, who have owned him since they took his education in charge when he was eight years of age; that politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is the abiding peril to civil and religious liberty in this and in all lands.

Extracts from the letter of Leo XIII.:

"It is known to you, beloved son, that the life of Isaac Thomas Hecker, especially as interpreted and translated in a foreign language, has excited not a little controversy, because therein have been voiced certain opinions concerning the way of leading a Christian life."

The Pope then says that "the underlying principle of these new opinions is that the Church should regard the spirit of the age, and relax some of her ancient severity, and make some concessions to new opinions." These ideas he condemns and quotes the Constitution:

"For the doctrine of faith which God has revealed has not been proposed, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human ingenuity, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our Holy mother, the Church, has once declared, nor is that meaning ever to be departed from under the pretense or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them." —*Constitutio de Fide Catholica*, chapter iv.

He says that he and his predecessors have continued, and all his successors must, "in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, and one and the same judgment."

The Pope then says: "From the foregoing it is manifest, beloved son, that we are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called

by some 'Americanism.' For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive and *would have the Church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.*

"But the true Church is one, as by unity of doctrine, so by unity of government, and she is Catholic also. Since God has placed the center and foundation of unity in the chair of blessed Peter, she is rightly called the *Roman Church*, for 'where Peter is, there is the Church.' Wherefore, if anybody wishes to be considered a real Catholic, he ought to be able to say from his heart the self-same words which Jerome addressed to Pope Damasus: 'I, acknowledging no other leader than Christ, am bound in fellowship with your holiness; that is, with the chair of Peter. I know that the Church was built upon him as its rock, and that whosoever gathereth not with you, scattereth.'"

And Americans are expected to believe that the translation of the biography of Father Hecker so absolutely changed the character of his teachings that they merited elaborate papal condemnation.

The following notices appeared in the daily press of Rome, Italy, February 2, 1899:

"MONS. IRELAND AND THE VATICAN.

"Specific orders have been given by Cardinal Rampolla to the Catholic press of Rome and of Italy that there be no discussion of American Catholicism such as might disturb the favorable disposition of the mind of Mons. John Ireland, who has come to Rome already prepared, so it would seem, to declare himself fully submissive to the will of the Jesuits and hence to the policy of the Vatican.

"He will condemn in skillfully worded diplomatic language those American ideas which are contrary to papal authority and to the union of Catholicism which the Hecker party, protected by Ireland, threatens.

"Mons. Keane is charged with the duty of removing all the difficulties in the way of the Archbishop of St. Paul in order that he may fully accept the will of the Pope."

The *Osservatore Romano* of Rome on February 24, 1899, published the letter from Archbishop Ireland to the Pope regarding the Pontiff's letter to Cardinal Gibbons on "Americanism," from which we make the following extracts:

"With all the energy of my soul I repudiate all the opinions the Apostolic letter repudiates and condemns—those false and dangerous opinions—whereto, as His Holiness, in brief, says certain people give the name of Americanism.

"Most Holy Father, they are enemies of the Church in America and false interpreters of the faith who imagine there exists, or who desire to establish in the United States, a church differing a single iota from the Holy Universal Church, recognized by other nations as the only Church Rome itself recognizes or can recognize as the infallible guardian of the revelation of Jesus Christ."

Archbishop Ireland concludes with begging the Pope to accept his assurances of love and devotion, and to give him the Apostolic blessing.

There can be no doubt that Archbishop Ireland has negatived all his liberal utterances in America while at Rome, and that the Pope in his letter to Cardinal Gibbons has designed to crush liberality among American Romanists in his condemnation of "Americanism," and has designedly couched the letter in such rhetorical verbosity that while prelates and priests will understand its repressive meaning, Archbishop Ireland and the Paulist Fathers can still go on claiming to the American people that American Romanism is liberal. The Pope's letter indorses and intrenches Jesuitism, Corriganism, and Bourbonism, and condemns and destroys the so-called

liberalism of Father Hecker, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and their following. Rome never changes.

A letter of the infallible Pontiff, pronouncing upon the merits of a heated controversy where both parties claim a victory, forces infallibility into the position of Mohammed's coffin.

The New York *Tribune* of February 26, 1899, said of the Pope's letter: "The truth probably is that the sharp and sometimes bitter controversy which for some years has rent the American Catholic Church made it necessary for the Pope to say something.

"He took the erroneous views embodied in the translation of Father Hecker's 'Life,' and out of them constructed a beautiful and symmetrical man of straw, which he then proceeded to demolish. By thus doing he will probably satisfy both parties and allay the controversy. For the conservatives will say: 'there, you see; the Holy Father has condemned the false Catholics who deny the "faith."' While the liberals will say: 'yes; and so do we. Where are the impious "wretches"?' And in the common hunt for the mythical straw man old differences may be forgotten and new bonds of unity and sympathy created."

And this is the infallible Pope, the Vicegerent of God on the earth. For one moment imagine Jesus Christ writing such a letter for such purposes.

The Paulist Fathers have promptly repudiated Father Hecker, whose writings and character gave them standing before the world. The daily press of March 10, 1899, gives the following official statement as to the action of the Paulist Fathers on the publication of the recent letter of the Pope on Americanism, which touched on the teachings of the late Father Isaac T. Hecker, the founder of the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle:

"It makes a detailed statement of the absolute obedience of the Paulist Fathers to the letter and spirit of the Pope's teachings, quoting their rule as to the thorough spirit of obedience and loyalty to Rome prescribed for the Fathers.

"When a new edition of the 'Life of Father Hecker' is prepared, it will emphasize the Pope's teaching and conform to his judgment in every respect."

"THE TRUE AMERICAN CATHOLIC.

"Organ of the Roman Committee for the Anti-American Campaign." Dated, Rome, February 4, 1899.

"OUR AIM.

"The object we have in view in commencing the publication of *The True American Catholic*, is to protect the true Catholic faith from the infernal machinations of a sect; which under the name of Americanism attacks and attempts to destroy the real foundations of Christianity. But the attacks of the above sect, made to forward the interests of the enemies of Christ and of His Catholic Church; namely Jews, Masons, and International Protestants, will be thoroughly frustrated by our daily constant intervention.

"These new American Catholics have raised the banner of rebellion and treason, and in the name of Christ and Paul, with the protection of the millionaire bishop without conscience and without religion, attack the true Church of Jesus Christ and the Papacy.

"We tell you at once, oh Monsignor Ireland, that your sacerdotal garb of Archbishop of the Holy Roman Catholic Church will never allow you to become unfaithful to that pure faith which shines brilliant on the brow of the shepherds intrusted by God with the mission of leading the flock of Jesus Christ.

"The miter that you wear renders you incompatible with the place of combat you have taken against the whole organization of the Church of Rome.

"Put the mask aside, oh Monsignor Ireland! For, acting as you do is utterly unbecoming of a gentleman and a priest.

"In any case let us remind you that here in Rome, Apostolic seat of Peter and Paul; on this soil rendered sacred and venerated by the blood spilled by the first Christian martyrs, you would bring in vain the sacrilegious echo of an American schism. Here in Rome where Christ himself is Roman, where the old and the new world centers, rises sublime and makes itself felt the only true holy spirit of the man of Nazareth. And the mighty voice of this sublime spirit enjoins to you, through the medium of his poor and humble followers, in the name of the Almighty God and of the Archangel Michael to bow down before the Vicar of Jesus Christ and deny the blasphemous theories of the heretical sect styled with the name of American Catholicism, which is embodied by you.

"Trying to reconcile the American Catholicism to the aspiration of Protestantism, as is dreamed by the Archbishop of St. Paul of Minnesota and by the followers of the dictates of the Paulists, of Father Hecker, would mean the destruction of the true Catholic faith in America and its substitution by Protestantism.

"This is the true, and only meaning of the great question which is now agitated in the United States.

"It is a real war, much more terrible and disastrous than that recently fought with Spain. For that war was waged for worldly ends and material interests, and this is carried on for the conquest of souls in the name of religious beliefs; in a word it is naught else but a religious war.

"It is well known that following the theories of the party of Father Hecker and the Paulists, as well as those of Monsignors Ireland and Klein; the American or National Catholic should, instead of the orders and counsels of the bishops, in matters of religion, follow his own personal inspiration. He, the National Catholic, should follow only his inner impulse which he, good or bad, believes in, and says he feels within himself, as if he could dispose in a permanent way at his pleasure of the Divine inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

"While Monsignor Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn., proclaims with great daring, the so-called principles of liberty and independence of the American Church from the Church of Rome, what is the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Holy See doing? Which are the measures taken by Cardinal Rampolla in order to put a stop to the spread of the ambitious ideas of the apostate of St. Paul?

"The Jesuits, the only ones who have upheld the interests of the Holy See in this question of the National Catholicism in America, are looked upon by the Secretary of State with diffidence, and everything is done in order to lessen their influence with the Pope.

"Cardinal Rampolla, who is the only one responsible for this sad state of affairs cannot and probably will never say to the Archbishop of St. Paul, you lie! And Ireland becomes daily more proud and daring, casting right and left the dollars of which he is the fortunate possessor, and the corrupted crowd which is represented by Cardinal Rampolla and his satellites, blinded by this shower of gold, prefer to the glory of God and the real interests of the Papacy the sound of the American yellow precious metal."

Archbishop Ireland abjectly submitted to the Pope's condemnation of "Americanism," and the paper from which we have quoted was satisfied and proceeded to die.

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION.

From Dorchester's "Christianity in the United States."

[By permission of Eaton & Mains.]

ARRIVALS, BY NATIONALITIES AND BY DECADES, OF ALIEN PASSENGERS AND IMMIGRANTS [ALIEN PASSENGERS FROM OCTOBER 1, 1820, TO DECEMBER 31, 1867, AND IMMIGRANTS FROM JANUARY 1, 1868, TO JUNE 30, 1892]. (See footnote.)

COUNTRIES WHENCE ARRIVED.	1821 to 1830.	1831 to 1840.	1841 to 1850.	1851 to Dec. 31, 1860.	Jan. 1, 1861, to June 30, 1870.	Fiscal years 1871 to 1880.	Fiscal years 1881 to 1890.	Fiscal years 1891 and 1892.	Total.
Austria-Hungary.	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,800	72,969	353,719	151,178	585,666
Belgium.....	27	22	5,074	4,738	6,734	7,221	20,177	7,4[illegible]	51,3[illegible]
Denmark.....	169	1,063	539	3,749	17,034	31,771	88,132	21,252	163,709
France.....	8,497	45,575	77,262	76,358	35,984	72,240	50,464	13,241	379,621
Germany.....	6,761	152,454	434,626	951,667	787,468	718,182	1,452,970	244,342	4,748,470
Italy.....	408	2,253	1,870	9,231	11,728	55,759	307,309	138,141	526,699
Netherlands.....	1,078	1,412	8,251	10,789	9,102	10,541	53,701	13,496	108,370
Norway and Sweden.....	91	1,201	13,903	20,931	100,293	211,245	568,362	177,157	1,092,183
Russia and Poland	91	646	656	1,621	4,536	52,254	265,688	192,015	517,507
Spain and Port'gal	2,622	2,051	2,753	10,353	8,493	9,893	6,535	5,657	49,356
Switzerland.....	3,226	4,821	4,644	25,011	23,286	28,203	81,688	14,210	185,468
United Kingdom:									
England *a*.....	22,167	73,143	263,332	385,643	568,128	460,479	657,488	104,575	2,534,955
Scotland.....	2,912	2,667	3,712	38,331	38,768	87,564	140,866	24,977	347,799
Ireland.....	50,724	207,381	780,719	914,119	427,778	436,871	655,432	111,173	3,584,247
Total United Kingdom...	75,803	283,191	1,047,763	1,338,023	1,042,674	984,914	1,452,839	240,825	6,475,102
All other countries of Europe.....	43	96	155	116	210	656	10,318	4,954	16,548
Total Europe.	98,816	495,688	1,597,502	2,452,657	2,064,407	2,261,904	4,721,602	*b*1,152,457	14,845,033
British N. American Possessions.	2,277	13,624	41,723	59,309	153,871	383,269	392,802	(*c*)	1,046,875
Mexico.....	4,817	6,599	3,271	3,078	2,161	5,362	1,913	(*c*)	27,201
Central America..	105	44	363	449	96	210	462	576	2,210
South America ...	531	856	3,579	1,224	1,396	928	2,304	1,344	12,162
West Indies.....	3,834	12,301	13,528	10,660	9,043	13,057	20,042	5,673	98,138
Total America	11,564	33,424	62,464	74,720	166,567	403,726	416,523	7,593	1,186,616
Isl'sof the Atlantic	352	103	337	3,090	3,446	10,056	15,798	2,484	35,666
China.....	2	8	35	41,397	64,301	123,201	61,711	5,564	296,219
All other countries of Asia.....	8	40	47	61	308	622	6,669	1,826	13,581
Total Asia...	10	48	82	41,458	64,609	123,823	68,380	16,390	314,800
Africa.....	16	52	55	210	312	220	437	382	1,683
Isl's of the Pacific.	2	9	29	158	221	10,913	12,574	3,862	27,768
All other countries and islands.....	32,679	69,801	52,777	25,021	15,232	1,540	1,299	235	199,484
Aggregate....	143,439	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,314,824	2,812,191	5,246,613	1,183,403	16,611,060

a Includes Wales and Great Britain not specified.

b Includes 777 from Azores and 5 from Greenland.

c Immigrants from British North American Possessions and Mexico are not included since July 1, 1885.

NOTE.—The immigrants for years 1820-1892 have been reported at..... 16,611,060
The immigrants for year ending June 30, 1893, have been reported at. 497,930
The immigrants for year ending June 30, 1894, have been reported at. 311,404

17,420,394

Total 1790 to 1820..... 234,000

Aggregate 1790 to June 30, 1894..... 17,654,394

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN EACH STATE OF THE UNION.

(Communicated to the "World Almanac" and corrected to date by the Attorneys General of the respective States.)

In all the States except Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming the right to vote at general elections is restricted to males of 21 years of age and upward. Women are entitled to vote at school elections in several States. They are entitled by law to full suffrage in the States of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

States.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	Previous Residence Required.				Persons Excluded from Suffrage.
		In State.	In County.	In Town.	In Precinct.	
Alabama.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr.	3 mo.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Convicted of treason or other felonies, idiots, or insane.
Arizona Ter.	Citizen of United States (a)	1 yr.	90 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Indians and Chinamen.
Arkansas.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, until pardoned, failure to pay poll-tax.
California.*	Citizen by nativity, naturalization (90 days prior to election), or treaty of Queretaro.	1 yr.	90 dys.	. . . . .	30 dys.	Chinese, idiots, insane, embezzlers of public moneys, convicted of infamous crime. †
Colorado.*	Citizen or alien, male or female, who has declared intention 4 months prior to election.	6 mo.	90 dys.	30 dys.	10 dys.	Convicted of crime, bribery in public office.
Conn.*	Citizen of United States who can read English language.	1 yr.	. . . . .	6 mo.	. . . . .	Convicted of heinous crime, unless pardoned.
Delaware.*	Citizen who shall have paid a registration fee of $1, and who is duly registered as a qualified voter.	1 yr.	3 mo.	. . . . .	30 dys.	Insane persons and paupers or persons convicted of felony.
Dis. of Col.	See foot note on following page.					
Florida.[2]	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	6 mo.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Idiots, duelists, convicted of felony or any infamous crime.
Georgia.*	Citizen of the U. S. who has paid all his taxes since 1877.	1 yr.	6 mo.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, idiots, and insane.
Idaho.*	Citizen of the United States, male or female.	6 mo.	30 dys.	3 mo.	10 dys.	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony or treason.
Illinois.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Convicted of felony or bribery in elections, unless restored to citizenship, idiots, lunatics.
Indiana.*	Citizen or alien who has declared intention and resided one year in United States.	6 mo.	60 dys.	60 dys.	30 dys.	United States soldiers, sailors, and marines, and persons convicted of infamous crime.
Iowa.*	Citizen of the United States.	6 mo.	60 dys.	(e)	(e)	Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crime.
Kansas.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	6 mo	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Felons, insane, rebels not restored to citizenship (d).
Kentucky.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	6 mo.	60 dys.	60 dys.	Convicted of felony, idiots, and insane.
Louisiana.*	Citizen of United States (f)	2 yrs.	1 yr.	. . . . .	6 mo.	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony or treason, unless pardoned, with express restoration of franchise.
Maine.*	Citizen of the United States.	3 mo.	3 mo.	3 mo.	3 mo.	Paupers and Indians not taxed.
Maryland.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	6 mo.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, lunatics, persons "non compos mentis."
Mass.*	Citizen who can read and write (b).	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	6 mo.	Paupers and persons under guardianship.
Michigan.*	Citizen or alien who declared intention to become a citizen prior to May 8, 1892 (b)	6 mo.	20 dys.	20 dys.	20 dys.	Indians with tribal relations, duelists, and accessories.
Minnesota.*	Citizen of United States who has been such for 3 months preceding election.	6 mo.	. . . . .	. . . . .	30 dys.	Convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, under guardianship, insane, Indians untaxed.
Mississippi.*	Citizen of the United States who can read or understand Constitution.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	1 yr.	1 yr. (c)	Insane, idiots, Indians not taxed, felons, persons who have not paid taxes.
Missouri.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention not less than 1 year or more than 5 before election.	1 yr.	60 dys.	60 dys.	60 dys.	Persons in poorhouses or asylums at public expense, those in prison or who have been convicted of infamous crimes.
Montana.*	Citizen of the United States (b)	1 yr.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, idiots, insane, U. S. soldiers, seamen, and marines, Indians.
Nebraska.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention thirty days before election.	6 mo.	40 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Convicted of felony, unless restored to civil rights, persons "non compos mentis."
Nevada.*	Citizen of the United States.	6 mo.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Idiots, insane, unpardoned convicts, Indians, Chinese.
N. Hamp.*	Citizen of the United States (b)	6 mo.	6 mo.	6 mo.	6 mo.	Insane or paupers.

* Australian ballot law or a modification of it in force. † Or a person unable to read the Constitution in English and to write his name. (a) Or citizens of Mexico who shall have elected to become citizens under the treaties of 1848 and 1854. (b) Women can vote in school elections. (c) Clergymen are qualified after six months' residence in precinct. (d) Also those under guardianship, public embezzlers, guilty of bribery, or dishonorably discharged from the United States service. (e) Only actual residence required. (f) If unable to read and write as provided by the Constitution, then he shall be entitled to register and vote if he shall at the time he offers to register, be the bona fide owner of property assessed to him in the State at a valuation of not less than $300 on the assessment roll of the current year in which he offers to register, or on the roll of the preceding year, if the roll of the current year shall not then have been completed and filed, and on which, if such property be personal only, all taxes due shall have been paid.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING—*Continued.*

States.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	Previous Residence Required.				Persons Excluded from Voting.
		In State.	In County	In Town.	In Precinct.	
N. Jersey.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	5 mo.	.....	.....	Idiots, paupers, insane, convicted of crime, unless pardoned or restored by law.
N. M. Ter.	Citizen of the United States.	6 mo	3 mo.	.....	30 dys	Convicted of felony, unless pardoned United States soldier or camp follower, Indians h
N. York.*	Citizen who shall have been a citizen for ninety days prior to election.	1 yr.	4 mo.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Convicted and sentenced to a State prison or penitentiary for felony or other infamous crime; persons who have received or offered to receive or who have paid or promised to pay, compensation for giving or withholding votes, or who have laid any bet or wager upon the result of an election.
N. Carolina.	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	90 dys.	.....	.....	Convicted of felony or other infamous crime, idiots, lunatics, and those who deny the being of Almighty God.
N. Dakota.*	Citizen of the United States, alien who has declared intention one year and not more than six years prior to election, and civilized Indian.† (a)	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	30 dys.	Under guardianship, persons "non compos mentis," or convicted of felony and treason, unless restored to civil rights.
Ohio.*	Citizen of United States. (a)	1 yr.	30 dys.	30 dys.	20 dys.	Idiots, insane, and felons.
Okla. T. (a)	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	6 mo.	60 dys.	60 dys.	30 dys.	Indians having tribal relations
Oregon.*	White male citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention. (a)	6 mo.	30 dys.	30 dys.	.....	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary
Penna.*	Citizen of the United States at least one month, and if 22 years old or more must have paid tax within two years.	1 yr.	.....	.....	2 mo.	Convicted of perjury and fraud as election officers, or bribery of voters.
Rhode I.*	Citizen of the United States.	2 yr.(b)	.....	6 mo.	.....	Paupers, lunatics (g)
S. Carolina.	Citizen of the United States. (e)	2 yr. (c)	1 yr.	4 mo.	4 mo.	Convicted of felony or bribery in elections, unless pardoned, idiots, insane, paupers.
S. Dakota.*	Citizen of the United States or alien who has declared intention. (a)	6 mo.§	30 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Under guardianship, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, U. S soldiers, seamen, and marines.
Tenn.*	Citizen of the U. S. who has paid poll-tax of preceding year.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	.....	Convicted of bribery or other infamous offense.
Texas *	Citizen of the U. S. or alien who has declared intention six months prior to election.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	(d)	Idiots, lunatics, paupers, convicted of felony, United States soldiers, marines, and seamen
Utah.*	Citizen of the United States, male or female, who has been a citizen ninety days.	1 yr.	4 mo.	.....	60 dys.	Idiots, insane, convicted of treason or crime against elective franchise, unless pardoned
Vermont.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	.....	3 mo.	30 dys.	Those who have not obtained the approbation of the board of civil authority of the town in which they reside.
Virginia.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	3 mo.	3 mo.	.....	Idiots, lunatics (f)
Wash'n.*	Citizen of the United States.	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Idiots, lunatics, convicted of infamous crimes, Indians not taxed.
West Va.*	Citizen of the State.	1 yr.	60 dys.	.....	(d)	Paupers, idiots, lunatics, convicted of treason, felony, or bribery at elections.
Wisconsin.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr.	1 yr.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Indians having tribal relations, insane, convicted of treason or felony.
Wyoming.*	Citizen of the United States, male or female.	1 yr.	60 dys.	.....	.....	Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crimes, unable to read State Constitution.

* Australian ballot law or a modification of it in force. † Indian must have severed tribal relations. § One year's residence in the United States prior to election required. (a) Women can vote in school elections. (b) Owners of real estate, one year. (c) Ministers in charge of an organized church and teachers of public schools are entitled to vote after six months' residence in the State. (d) Actual residence in the precinct or district required. (e) Who has paid six months before election any poll-tax then due, and can read and write any section of the State Constitution, or can show that he owns and has paid all taxes due the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more. (f) Or convicted of bribery at election, embezzlement of public funds, treason, felony, and petty larceny, duelists and abettors unless pardoned by legislature. (g) Or persons "non compos mentis," convicted of bribery or infamous crime, until restored to right to vote, under guardianship. (h) Except Pueblo Indians if "acequia" officers.

Residents of the District of Columbia never had the right to vote therein for national officers, or on other matters of national concern, after it became the seat of the general government. But from 1802 to June 20, 1874, the residents of Washington, and from January 1, 1790, to said date the citizens of Georgetown were entitled to vote on municipal subjects and for certain municipal officers; the citizens of the portion of the district outside of Washington and Georgetown were entitled to the same privilege from April 20, 1871, to June 20, 1874, but that suffrage was abolished in the District of Columbia and was rescinded June 20, 1874, by the Act of Congress of that date.

THE FLAG.

Washington, during the early days of his Presidency, aided by a committee authorized by the Continental Congress to design a suitable flag for the nation, presented a rough drawing to Mrs. Betsy Ross, which, upon her suggestion, was redrawn by General Washington in pencil in her back parlor at her residence, 239 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; and there Mrs. Ross made the Stars and Stripes under the personal supervision and direction of Washington, between the dates of May 23 and June 7, 1777.

The flag thus designated was adopted by Congress, and was the first Stars and Stripes to be officially recognized by the thirteen States of the Union.

The first recorded "legislative action" by the American Congress in session at Philadelphia, Pa., for the adoption of the Stars and Stripes, was in resolution offered Saturday, June 14, 1777, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

The Stars and Stripes remained unchanged for about eighteen years after their adoption in 1777. By this time two more States (Vermont and Kentucky) had been admitted into the Union; and on January 15, 1794, Congress enacted:

"That from and after the first day of May, 1795, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."

This flag was the national banner from 1795 to 1818, during which period occurred the War of 1812 with Great Britain.

Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi, having been admitted into the Union, a further change in the arrangement of the flag seemed necessary.

After considerable discussion in Congress on the subject, the act of March 24, 1818, was passed and approved by President Monroe, April 4, 1818, which is as follows:

"*Section* 1. Be it enacted, that from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union have twenty stars, white in a blue field.

"*Section* 2. And be it further enacted, that on the admission of every new State into the Union one star be added to the union of the flag, and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth day of July next succeeding such admission."

Since 1818 there has been no act passed by Congress altering the flag. It is the same to-day as then adopted, except as to the number and arrangement of the stars.

By this regulation the thirteen stripes represent the number of States whose valor and resource originally effected American independence, and the additional stars will mark the increase of the States since the present Constitution.

The first flag of the present design was made by the wife of Captain Samuel Chester Reid, United States Navy, assisted by several patriotic young ladies, at her residence on Cherry Street, New York City, and was first unfurled over the Capitol of the United States, April 13, 1818.

November 8, 1867, the Stars and Stripes were first unfurled in Alaska, and in 1898 on the following islands captured by the United States of America from Spain: May 1, and August 13, Philippines; May 12 and August 17, Cuba; and July 25, Porto Rico; officially raised on Hawaii Islands, August 12, 1898.

[By permission of Captain Wallace Foster.]

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