which the people themselves deliber- deference to the agitation in the N. E. personally a sincere Abolitionist, but as with the great aggregations of capital. ated, had not one feature of good gov- States. During the war of 1812, the ernment. There very character was Secessionist feeling in the North Easttyranny." In his great speech on the ern States steadily grew stronger; and Constitution he said that he had no if New Orleans had fallen, a declaration scruple in declaring, supported as he was by so many of the wise and good, that the British government was the best in the world, and that he doubted much whether anything short of it of what it produced, grew very disconwould do in America. . . As to the executive, it seemed to be admitted that no good one could be established on republican principles. Was not this giving up the merits of the question? Some damaed of all aristocracies." for without a good executive, can there | South Carolina took the lead in " nullibe a good government? The English fying" the tariff. Calhoun was then model was the only good one on this Vice-President, and could not speak in subject. "We ought, in order to obtain the Senate, and the defence of his stability and permanency, go as far (towards monarchy) as republicanism Senator from S. C. In 1830, ensued the will admit." In his conversations he famous debate between him and Webconstantly held up the British mon- ster. South Carolina claimed not merely archy as the only model, though he de- the right of popular revolution, but the spaired of introducing it into America. Adams had said that the British gov-ernment, if reformed, might be made excellent. Hamilton replied : "With all its supposed defects as it stands at proceeding of the majority of the mere will of a majority of all its supposed defects as it stands at proceeding of the mere will of a majority of all its supposed defects as it stands at the mere will of a majority of the mere will of a majority of and the mere will be mere will of a majority of the mere will be mere present, it is the most perfect govern-ment which ever existed. Purge it of is a dead letter, and has utterly failed crown) and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an unworkable government." On another occasion he declared to force the only arbiter in all cases of

Dickinson wished the Senate to consist the duties within that State would be of the most distinguished characters-distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property, and bearing as or a consolidated government; a conish House of Lords.

ican Constitution too republican and or on the unrestrained will of a majority too little monarchial to be stable. Both . . . Aristocracies and monarchies executive should be a monarch elected form than absolute popular govern-for life, or during good behaviour, re- ments." In these debates any unpre- ceeded, Jefferson Davis would be movable only by an impeachment.

The fear of the tyranny of a majority (as the lecturer confessed he had had) worked in two ways. In each State the some prejudice in favor of Websterpropertied minority feared the majority and wished for a strong government; but each State feared for its own interests made it clear that there was a constitu-tional right of secession in the people a manfacturers' war to retain the Southat the hands of the rest, and especially of each State; but the Northern States ern market, and the South has been the small States were fearful of a strong persuaded themselves that Webster had made in several ways to pay for the war. such as Jay, who wished to fuse the peoples of the thirteen states into one people and nation, were obliged to cloak the cuerced for the triff was lowered, and the cuerced for the thirteen states now are just as much as the people and nation, were obliged to cloak their design under the title of Federal-Jackson introduced the Spoils System ism. Jay, two years before the conven- His predecessor, John Quincy Adams, tion of 1787, had written: "It is my first removed only two officials. Jackson by wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of one great nation whose territory is divided into immediately made 179 alterations and different States merely for more conven- in his first year dismissed 491 postient government." The difficulty about masters, when the population was only this was that it would have necessitated one-fifth of what it is now. This system a temporary dissolution of the govern- immensely increased the influence of ment of each State, leaving the people for the moment resolved into the elements of society, to be combined into a mentator on the Constitution, wrote : new society that is a revolutionary act "Though we live under the form of in each State. This objection to unionism was urged by Luther Martin, Attorney General for Maryland. He wrote to Miss Martineau: "There may ates over the House of Representatives conceived "that the people of the States be a despotism excercised in a republic having already vested their powers in as irresistible and as ruinous as in any their respective legislatures, could not form of monarchy." In 1841, Channing resume them without a dissolution of their Government . . . To resort to the citizens at large for their sanction subtle and strong as to make governto a new government will be throwing ment the monopoly of a few leaders and them back into a state of nature. . to insure the transmission of the execu-The people have no right to do this without the consent of those to whom regularly as in a monarchy. So that we they have delegated their power" i.e. have to watch against despotism as well a general control, such as that of dis-the legislatures. The new constitution as — or more than anarchy." "Our placing a Ministry, but a particular was therefore not really a national government", wrote Brownson, "in its control over all important acts and government, but a federation of States. original and constitutional form is not appointments of the President. The The question about a constitutional a democracy but a limited elective Cabinet Ministers in the United States right of secession, as distinct from the aristocracy. But practically the gov-non-constitutional right of revolution ernment framed by our fathers is Britain or Canada; they are only heads against tyranny, was not mentioned in rapidly disappearing. . . . Our of departments of the administration. The real ministers are the Chairmen of orally explained that a State which felt cracy, under the will of the majority for the Committees of the Senate and of the itself unjustly treated by the rest of the the time being, — with nothing to pre- House, especially of the Senate. For Union might again withdraw. Without vent it from obeying the interest or example, the real Minister of foreign such an assurance, the completion of the interests which for the time being can affairs is the Chairman of the Senate Union would have been impossible. It is to be noticed that the House which The question of the abolition of plans have been suggested for diminish represented the States as States was slavery arose when slavery ceased to be ing the power of the Senate and increasmade more powerful by far than the House which represented the people of the States. The Constitution of the United States contains no provision for became more profitable in the South. House which represented the people of the States contains no provision for became more profitable in the South. House which represented the people of the States contains no provision for became more profitable in the South. House which represented the people of the States contains no provision for became more profitable in the South. religious liberty ; this being left to each Slavery ought to be abolished; but the ance over the House. Mr. Burke Coch-State. Lord Acton remarks that from North never offered compensation to the ran has rightly pointed out that the the standpoint of Liberalism, the Amer- slaveholders; and by grossly exaggerat- true and only way is to lengthen the ican Constitution is a fraud. But I fear ing the evils of the system, and by cal-that this criticism would not have much umniating the South, the abolitionists The present term—two years—is only troubled the framers of that Constitu-tion. (as Channing observed) irritated the high spirit of the Southerners. The high spirit of the Southerners. The From the first, the right of secession Abolitionists, at least the more zealous may have to make way for some one else. was claimed by discontented States. In 1800, at the time of Jefferson's election, the Federalists had intended to pass some law, right or wrong, that would have favored the re-election of their several Northern States "nullified" own party. But the Middle States, federal laws by passing acts in direct under the leadership of Jefferson, "de- contradiction. Seward was simply an clared that the day such an act passed, they would arm, and would not submit to such usurpation even for a single day." Jefferson, when President, set the example also of democratic tyranny. its addition to the U.S. When the rights of the whole ; and also to protect had returned from France Prince of Wales was visiting the U. S., with his republican notions deep-ened and strengthened, especially with the notion that the people are "sovereign" even to the extent of do-"I shall be Secretary of State ing whatever they like; and that the in the new Administration; and I shall thought to infringe on "the rights of the President as representative of their think it my duty to insult Great Britain subject," as you say in English law. will is absolute. He hated the Supreme Court as the guardian of constitutional law. In 1807, he induced the Congress in such a manner that she will not be able to avoid war." When Lincoln's cabinet was formed, at the first meeting the people against their own impulses. to lay an embargo on all American ship- Seward proposed that a quarrel should ping as a means to injure Great Britain | be picked with Great Britain in order to which he was then bitterly hostile. to cause North and South to forget The New England States questioned the their differences, especially the dissenconstitutionality of the law and pro-claimed the nullification theory, which afterwards became so famous in the such a proposal and simply ignored it. south, i. e., that a State has a right to At the time of the Mason and Slidell alteration is secured by judicial interprotect its people against tyrannical incident, Seward asked the British am- pretations. Thus when the Income Tax acts of the federal government. This theory was a kind of intermediate idea between submission and secession, and needed persuasion. He actually spent in the transition of the termination of termination of the termination of the termination of the termination of the termination of termina was put forward by men averse to break the time trying to persuade the French would appoint judges who would deup the Union. But this being found in- ambassador to agree to a war for the clare Congress competent to enact such ambassando to agree to a war to the congress competence to enact such a tax. paring to secede, and Randolph warned the Administration that it was treading in the footsteps of Lord North. The embargo was at length removed in favor of intervention. Lincoln was

Jefferson: "I own it is my own opinion collision between the States and the Washington always thought the Amer- basis of the sovereignty of the States . . . Aristocracies and monarchies

judiced reader-or even one who had Jackson introduced the Spoils System. promising the spoils to the victors won his election; and on entering into office

President he had no intention of pursu- Also the new over-sea dependencies ing such a policy officially, and endeavored to persuade the Southerners of his intention. In his letter to Horace Greely during the war, he publicly said that whatever he did about slavery was by making the President a kind of elecdone for the sake of the Union alone. Brownson relates that Lincoln told him that he issued the Emancipation pro- can democracy is conservative and clamation for fear that the Liberal government of Britain might join with British Liberals who had sympathized France in behalf of Southern independ-ence. If the war were made appear a war of Emancipation of the slave, the peoples of Britain and France would not let their governments intervene. It was therefore those people that really emancipated the slave. The war was a violation both of the Constitution and and was a triumph of emancipation and of the principle of American independence that the right of government depends on the consent of the governed. In the debate on the question of the Phillipine Islands, when the Declaration of Independence was invoked, Sena-tor Lodge was heard by the lecturer to reply: "That principle was stamped out in blood by our armies during the years between 1861 and 1865. In fact we never acted on it, even when we preached it, for the Revolution was the work of energetic minorities in each State who subjected the Loyalists and the waverers." Senator Platt of Connecticut being asked by Senator Hoar if he believed that the right of government de-. . that the present (American) constitution is not that which will answer the ends of society by giving stability and protection to its rights, and it will probably be found expedient to go into the British form." Mr. Lecky has pointed out, the South thought of society by giving stability and protection to its rights, and it will probably be found expedient to go into the British form." Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina con-fessed that he believed the British Con-stitution to be the best in existence, but it could not be introduced into America for centuries to come. Mr. Carolina announced that the levying of who ought to be delivered from the tyranny of the Secessionists. Virginia had at first not intended to secede, but when the right of secession was denied fought in defence of that right. Propstrong a likeness as possible to the Brit- stitutional or an absolute one; a govern- erly speaking the people of Virginia ment resting ultimately on the solid never seceded; no constitutional convention issued an ordinance of secession. Virginia was rushed into secession as too little monarchial to be stable. Both he and Hamilton wished that the chief more readily assume the constitutional into the South African war by a few de-

ceeded, Jefferson Davis would be honored as a second Washington; Lincoln would have as bad a name as George III. and Lord North ; and the North would have been governed by the Democratic party. The war was largely perial government ;" the new immigrants have had no notion of a divided allegiance; and the division of the American Empire into States is simply a division of political labor. The points to be grasped in the Amer-

ican constitution are (1) that the central government has always had a veto over the State legislatures, but this veto is not exercised by the Executive but by the judicial department, the Supreme Court. (2) In the American "imperial parliament," the predomin-ant House — the House which controls of the people more than the House of Commons does over the House of Lords, or more than the Canadian Commons over the Canadian Senate. And the American Senate does not represent the people of the States but the legislature of the States. And though the President is to insure the transmission of the execu- called the Chief Executive, yet the real

necessarily increase the power of " the imperial government." Moreover, the Senate is growing stronger, and people seem to feel that it can be resisted only tive monarch, not the head of a party, but a national representative. Ameriimperialistic. After the Civil War, the principles, pretended to think that the war had been fought by the North mainand was a triumph of emancipation and liberty. Besides the British general lection was coming on, and it would not do to have allowed the electorate to believe that Toryism had triumphed in the United States lest the British voters might be influenced by the example of the Americans. It is very little to the credit of the British historians of the United States that they should so systematically misrepresent in favor of the American Revolutionists and against the Southern Secessionists.

It is for you to judge what weight you attach to the example of the United States. You may think it to be avoided; you may think it to be followed; you may think it in some respects to be avoided and in some to be followed. But first of all understand what their In the war of Southern Independence, as example is, and know that the verdict of the United States has been pronounced plainly and emphatically in favor of conservative and imperialistic democracy.

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at large. Coming to Boston shortly after reaching America, he began a life notable for its varied activities. Beginning as a reporter on The Pilot he eventually rose to the editorship and became part owner with Archbishop Williams. made the Pilot the foremost Catholic organ in America and the mouthpiece of the Irish race. His brilliant and forceful editorials, and his fearlessness, com-





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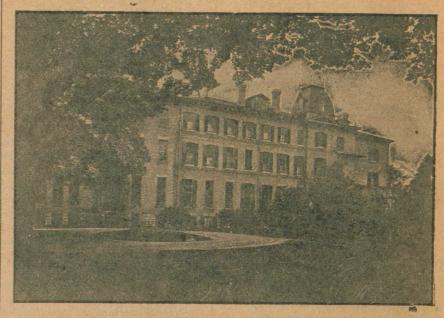
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himself all the time, to support him in any contest with the Senate. (3) Note that the President is a real branch of the people against the politicians. (4) This veto is intended to protect minori-The decisions of the Supreme Court are of course not always based on mere law. They are sometimes influenced by the spirit of the party which has appointed

ed with rare judgment and keen in sight, soon made him the acknowledged counsellor and guide of the Irish and Catholic people, and this position he held undisputed until his death. Under nis wise direction The Pilot was indeed The Irishman's Prayer Book."

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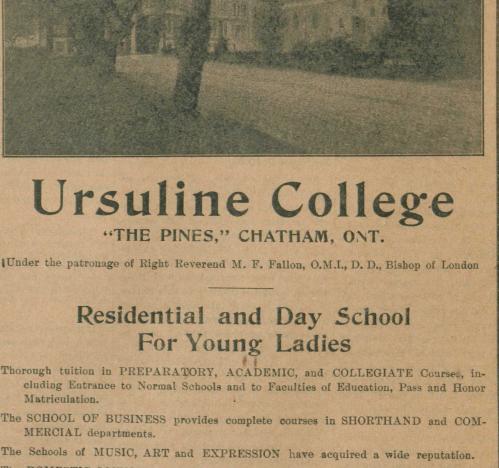
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Always a faithful son of the Church . . A great, loving, generous heart he was a leader in movements having for their object her advancement. Says field of labor except within her unsta-James Jeffrey Roche in his biography of the poet: "The least bigoted of men, he yet carried the sign of the Faith with him wherever he went, as simply and un-ostentationsly as he did that of his country, for he was unassumingly proud as the magnificent, sacrificial, devotion-of both." A writer in The Atlantic al Faith of the hoary but young Catho-Monthly quotes from O'Reilly's correspondence with a Western friend on the same theme:

"And yet your letter makes me smile. America had a formidable foe, and he Puritan you, with your condemnation of was unrelenting in his warfare on them. the great old art-loving, human, music-breathing, color-raising, spiritual, TREASURER mystical, symbolical Catholic Church ! barriers of intolerance.

His services to the Irish people in

As God constituted Himself the ultimate and eternal end of a man, so it is impossible that man can find rest and happiness separated from God. As St. Augustine says: "Thou didst create us for Thyself, O God, and our hearts are not at rest until they rest in Thee.'