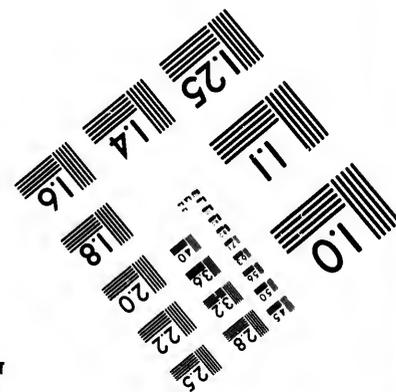
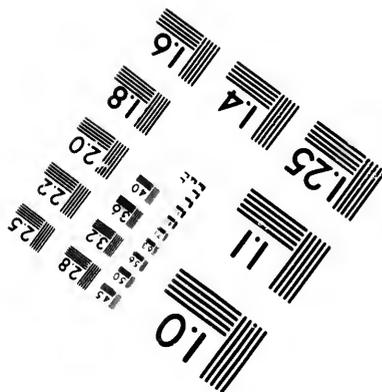
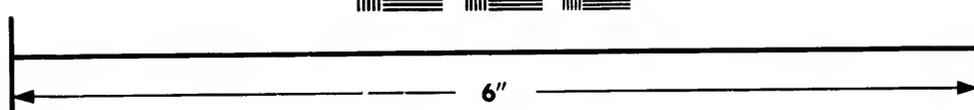
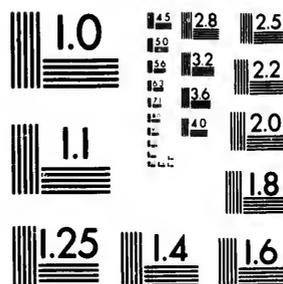


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

18 20 22 25
16 18 20 22 25
14 16 18 20 22 25

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

© 1983

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/
Pages détachées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire) | <input type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/
Transparence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distortion le long de la marge intérieure | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these
have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to
ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à
obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires: | |

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

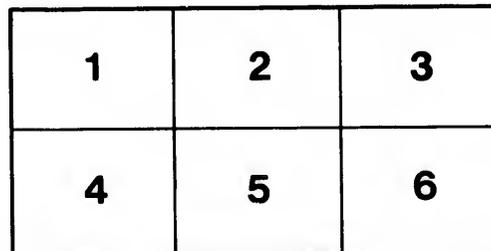
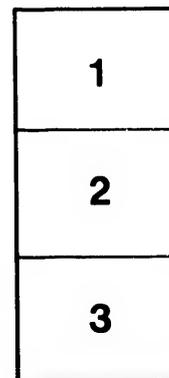
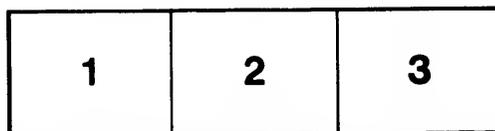
Library of Congress
Photoduplication Service

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Library of Congress
Photoduplication Service

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

aire
détails
es du
modifier
ger une
filmage

ées

re

y errata
ed to

nt
ne pelure,
çon à



32X



Three Essentials to National Perpetuity and Power.

A FREE BALLOT.

A FREE SCHOOL.

A FREE CHURCH.

25.19

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW YORK, ON THANKSGIVING DAY, NOV. 27, 1890,

BY REV. R. S. MACARTHUR, D. D.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
COPYRIGHT
DEC 26 1890
WASHINGTON

Price, 10 cents, sent by mail on receipt of price. \$6.50 per 100, by express.

THE LIBRARY
OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON

NEW YORK:
E. SCOTT, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER,
463 Hudson Street,
1890.

BX 6333
M 3475

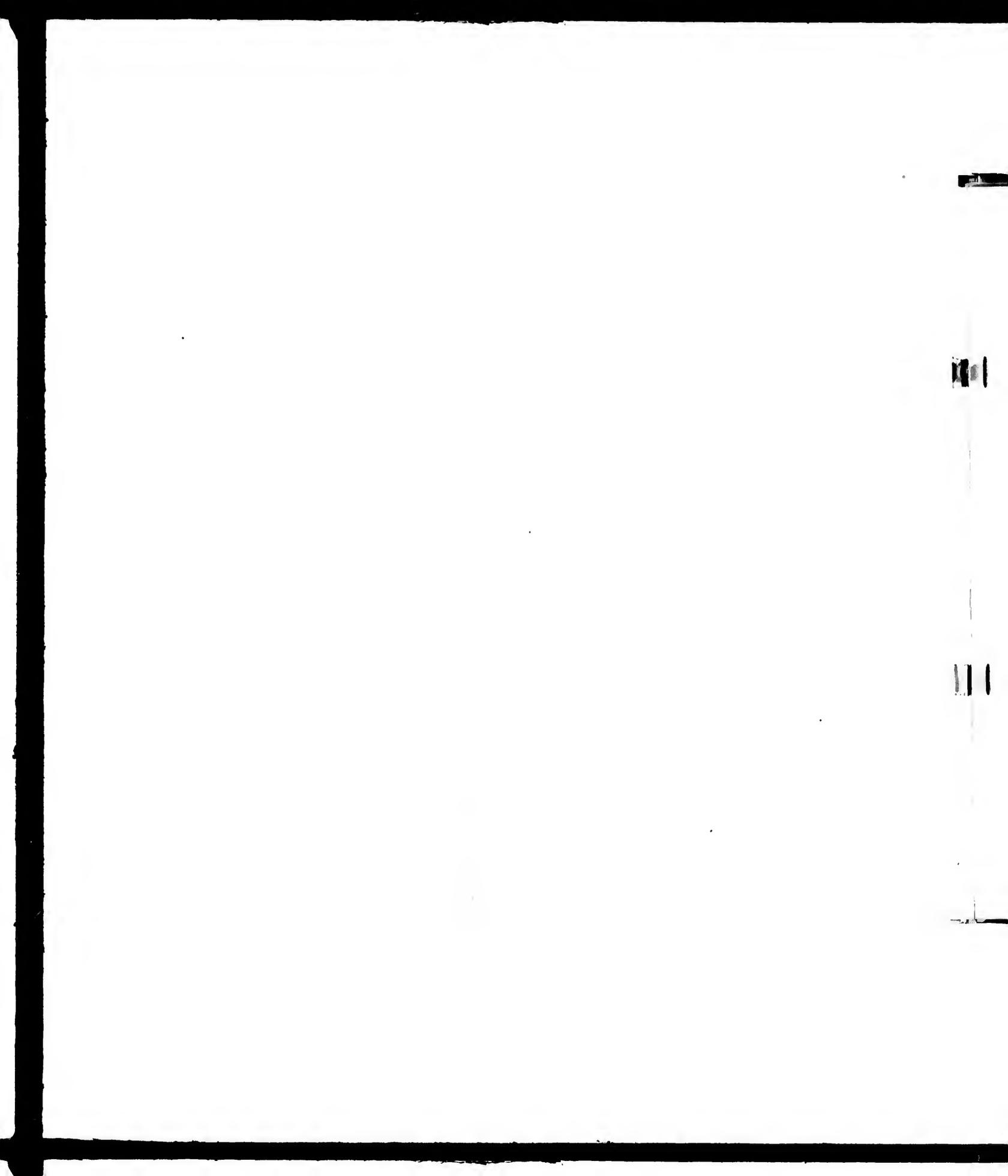
COPYRIGHT
By E. Scott,
1890.

333
3475

4.8.9 Mus. 1 > 13

PREFACE.

This Sermon is published by request. The subject here discussed is a most vital one, and deserves a fuller consideration than our time on Thanksgiving Day would permit us to give it. With more time for discussion, many points could have been more carefully elaborated.



Three Essentials to National Perpetuity and Power.

TEXT: "*Then the chief captain came and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born.*"
—Acts 22: 27, 28.

The Apostle Paul rejoiced in the privilege of his Roman citizenship. He had informed the Tribune that he was a native of Tarsus, and in answer to the question, "Art thou a Roman?" he answered, "Yea." The Tribune informs him that by a great price he had obtained that privilege, and Paul replied, "But I was free born." He was a Roman citizen in virtue of his birth. The city of Tarsus seems to have been endowed with the privileges of a free city by Augustus Caesar. The free cities were accustomed to use their own laws, to be exempt from Roman guards, and to select their own magistrates. They were obliged simply to recognize the supremacy of the government and to give aid in time of war. Possibly this privilege was conferred upon some of Paul's ancestors as the reward of distinguished military services, but of this we are not sure. It is enough to know that he was "free born," and that he highly prized his privileges. So ought we to appreciate the blessing of citizenship in America. It is an honor to be prized and a privilege to be exercised. If the eminent Apostle felt a just

pride in knowing that he was a Roman citizen, should not any man to-day feel prouder in saying, I am an American citizen? He who wears worthily the badge of American citizenship is greater than he who wore the crown of the Cæsars. Let every citizen of this Republic see to it that he does not misuse his high privilege, or lightly esteem the honor of American citizenship.



ould not
merican
merican
n of the
it that
em the

1.—A FREE BALLOT.

AMONG the essentials to National Perpetuity and Power of which we shall speak, in the first place, is a FREE BALLOT. We do not regard the right of suffrage as an essential, inherent, fundamental right of humanity. As a matter of fact, this right is controlled by the Constitution of the general Government and by the laws of the several States. Discrimination has been made against women, against aliens who have not been naturalized, against minors, and against those who are insane. The State and the general Government thus illustrate their right to declare who shall and who shall not exercise this privilege. It is a privilege which ought to be greatly appreciated, and which ought always to be rightly exercised. We would like to see a law passed making the exercise of the right of suffrage obligatory. It ought not to be left to the option and convenience of individual citizens. If voters were taxed an amount in proportion to the value of their property, which tax would be remitted when they discharged the duty of voting, we would have fewer influential citizens who do not take the trouble either to register or to vote. Such men do not deserve to have good government. Were it not that the innocent suffer with the guilty, we should be glad to see these indifferent citizens paying tribute, as we all now are doing, to the men who graciously condescend to control public affairs in this city. Many of our intelligent and wealthy citizens are largely to blame for the condition of municipal affairs which we now see, and which gives us merited reproach throughout the civilized world.

The freedom of the ballot may also be destroyed by ignorance. We should be glad to see a property or an intelligence qualification before the right to vote should be conferred. The tendency of the time, we know, is toward the extension of the right of suffrage on the other side of the Atlantic; but notwithstanding this tendency, we are free to say that we would rather see this right circumscribed than enlarged. A man who will not take the trouble, in this enlightened age and country, to learn to read ought not to have the right to cast a ballot. Except a man can read the Constitution of the United States and the ballot which he is about to cast he ought to have no ballot in his hand. It was not a little amusing, although altogether saddening, during our last municipal election, to see men carefully coached before going into the booth, and to see the paster which their instructors wished them to vote separated from other pasters and stowed away carefully in their hats because they were unable to read a single name printed thereon. In some instances, some odorous fluid was poured upon the paster which they were instructed to vote so that they might be able to separate it from the others. Thus their noses rendered them a service when ignorance blinded their eyes. These are the men who today are your rulers, O citizens of New York.

In some States, as we shall hereafter see, there is even now an intelligence qualification. The qualification on which we now insist might throw out large numbers of ignorant black men in the South, and almost equally large numbers of equally ignorant white men, some in the South and some in the North. But the country can afford to do without the votes of such men.

The freedom of the ballot may also be prevented by political bossism. This tendency may work in two ways. In one case it may be the bossism of the opposite party which practically disfranchises large numbers of ignorant and

timid voters. That thousands of colored men are practically disfranchised, no one familiar with the facts will deny. Whether they ought to have received the ballot when they did is a question which we will not here discuss; but that now they ought to exercise that right is a statement which no unprejudiced man will attempt to deny. It is a crime against the Constitution and a crime against the liberty of the Republic when large numbers of men are in this way through business threats, through social ostracism, and through danger to limb and life prevented from exercising the rights of suffrage. If it took all the power of the national government to enforce Amendments to the Constitution, I should say, "Let them be enforced, so long as they are laws of the land." Are white men afraid of the supremacy of black men if they have their rights? Surely they will not make so humiliating a confession. I ask no favors for the black man. I demand for him justice. Where is the boasted chivalry of the South? Where is the manliness, where the Christianity of this nation? Dare we longer treat our black brother so unfairly? In the name of honesty, manliness, expediency and Christianity, I demand justice for the Negro. But political bossism operates in another way to destroy the freedom of the ballot: It may cause a party to make nominations which the best men in the party cannot endorse. They must, therefore, either vote with the other party or lose their vote entirely. There are times when a party should rise as one man to repudiate the methods of its leaders. I must say that I give the Republicans of Pennsylvania great honor that they had the courage so to do. When a man who, in the opinion of many, was the tool of another who, in their opinion, had not a clear political record, became a candidate for the highest office in the State, the members of that party rose in their majesty and defeated him in a State where their majority is usually almost

overwhelming. There is a marked difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. In this city, when a man was renominated for the highest municipal office, a man who was spoken of in several of the papers almost daily, and in at least one pulpit, as "a self-confessed criminal" (this language is not mine, I only quote it) his party rose in its majority and re-elected him. In Pennsylvania, the man was repudiated by his party; in New York City, the man is re-elected by his party with an increased majority.

Political parties must have their leaders; we are not joining in a senseless outcry against political leaders. All men who have to do with earthly affairs know that every great enterprise must have leaders; but there are leaders and leaders; and a FREE BALLOT will insist upon leaders who are worthy of the honors which their fellow-citizens thus confer upon them. The late Gen. Hancock gave us a noble phrase when he spoke of "a FREE BALLOT and a fair count." Unfortunately, this idea has remained in certain sections largely a matter of sentiment; unfortunately it has not been reduced to actual experience. Thousands in our country to-day who have a right, according to the law of the land, to cast a ballot, are practically disfranchised. The question of suffrage we know is not yet permanently settled. It ought to receive now fuller and freer discussion than it has hitherto had. Originally, the Constitution of the United States left each State to regulate the franchise for its own citizens; but the 14th Amendment took a step in advance, declaring that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States." The 15th Amendment adds, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States, nor by any State on account of race, or color, or previous condition of servitude." Who will affirm that this Amendment is not violated in every State and national election? Such

violation is now practically accepted without much discussion.

Again I ask: Are white men afraid of the supremacy of black men? Do they not dare give black men an equal chance in this country? Is this not the land of the free? Is this not supposed to be the home of the brave? What right have we to put upon the black man any race disabilities which we refuse to accept for ourselves? Let there be one rule for all. Men are to be judged not by color but by character. The race question applies to the North as well as to the South. Great race questions have to be met and settled in this city of New York every time an election is held. If men may be practically disfranchised in one part of the country on account of race, why may they not be disfranchised in another part of the country for the same reason? It is still the prerogative of the State, with the exception made by the 15th Amendment, to determine who shall enjoy the franchise. In their Constitutions, the different States are to a large extent uniform in regulating the conditions in which the suffrage shall be exercised. In some Western States, the franchise is given to those who have resided in the State for a given time, say one year or more, but have not as yet become citizens in the strict sense. In Connecticut and Massachusetts a rudimentary education is required of the voter, while for many years in Rhode Island, a property qualification was essential to the right of suffrage. In 1879, Massachusetts passed a law which gave women a right to take part in all town matters and to exercise the right of voting at the election of school officers. Similar privileges have been accorded to women in other States. The right to vote ought to be much more highly esteemed than it is by the average American citizen, and should be exercised in the fear of God and with the determination to use this power in the light of intelligence and conscience. A FREE BALLOT is one of the pillars of

our national fabric. To displace it would be to imperil the structure. If the government is to remain stable, men must be able to cast a FREE BALLOT and it must be counted as cast. The ballot-box is the Ark of the Covenant of the American Republic, and the man who tampers with its purity strikes a blow at the heart of American liberty, and at the sacred interests of humanity.

A FREE BALLOT may be prevented also by ecclesiastical despotism. We believe that ministers have a right to all the duties and privileges of other citizens of the United States; but religious denominations ought not, as such, to appear in the political arena. When the Roman Catholic Bishop Katzer, of Wisconsin, said in substance at a recent public meeting, that whoever would not vote against the Bennett Law, he would regard as personally and officially an enemy to the Roman Catholic Church, he went beyond his rights and was using ecclesiastical despotism to interfere with the rights of suffrage of American citizens. Of this we shall speak more fully later.

to imperil the
stable, men
must be counted
covenant of the
peoples with its
liberty, and

ecclesiastical
right to all the
United States ;
such, to appear
Catholic Bishop
a recent public
the Bennett
specially an enemy
beyond his rights
interfere with the
of this we shall

II.—A FREE SCHOOL.

No intelligent American will deny that the FREE SCHOOL is another essential to the perpetuity of our nation. This is not the time nor place for going into details as to what is to be taught in the public school ; but we may say, in general, that its object is to fit American citizens for the discharge of their duties as citizens. The State must protect itself and guard against dangers to its existence and proper functions. It is very certain that sectarian education ought not to be given in public schools, or in any way at the expense of public funds. There are, however, certain great moral principles which will be admitted by Gentile and Jew, by Protestant and Romanist, by atheist and believer alike. These great principles of ethics can be taught in our public schools. All will agree that a life of truthfulness rather than of falsehood, and a life of purity rather than of vice, is to be commended, and the principles which lead to such a life can be taught without doing violence to any man's conscience. Such a work on ethics might be prepared for use in our public schools which would receive the endorsement of all intelligent men and women in our community. We do not insist upon the retention of the Bible in the public schools ; read in the perfunctory manner in which it is often read, the reading is of little value. We insist upon an entire separation of distinctive religious instruction from secular study in our public school. This is the only tenable position for us to take against the Romanist on the one side and the secularist on the other. Religious

education can be cared for by the various churches, and to them this duty belongs ; but every one who is to be a citizen needs a sufficient amount of general instruction to enable him to perform his duties as such. He must be sufficiently instructed to be competent to enact and enforce laws for the protection of the community ; to understand the nature and rights of property ; and to carry on and develop all forms of industry. Such an education as this, the public school can give, and must give if it is true to its highest purposes. In a government like ours which is "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the gain of such an education as this cannot be over-estimated. Can any better system of education be substituted for that now enjoyed by the American people ? We are opposed even to the technical and professional education of citizens at the expense of the community as a whole. Whether our Normal Schools and Free Colleges should continue to be supported by the State, is a question to which opposing answers can well be given. My own thought is, that only rudimentary education is the function of the State ; that the community has no more right to be taxed that young men and women may have technical and professional education as they enter their social and business careers, than if the community were taxed to furnish each young man or woman with a capital of hundreds of dollars. If we take the position here assumed in regard to the public school, it does not seem possible that any one can urge a reasonable objection against it.

But we must acknowledge the fact that the Church of Rome is the deadly foe of the public school system. We have no desire here to say anything unkind nor unfair against that Church, and so long as she confines herself to the teaching of religion, we shall not utter a single word against her. As religionists, we have no criticism to make on our Roman Catholic citizens ; but when they become

politicians, and endeavor to destroy American institutions, we have a right to raise our voices against them, and thousands of American citizens will raise their voices with authority against their present intrusions and usurpations. That no one may think I am speaking without authority, I shall, at this point, quote from distinguished ecclesiastics in that Church in proof of all the statements that I shall make. Hear what the late Pope has said:

"The people are not the source of civil power."—*Pius IX., Enc. 39.*

"The Romish Church and her ecclesiastics have a right to immunity from civil law"—*Pius IX., Enc. 30.*

"Education outside the control of the Roman Catholic Church is a damnable heresy."—*Pope's Syllabus.*

"The Romish Church has a right to exercise its authority without having any limits set to it by the civil power."—*Pius IX., Enc. 19.*

"The Romish Church has a right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of teachers for these schools."—*Pope Pius IX., Enc. 45.*

"Public schools open to all children for the education of the young should be under the control of the Romish Church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age."—*Pope Pius IX., Enc. 47.*

Similar statements from the present Pope, Leo XIII., could be given also.

Monsignor Capel, a very distinguished Roman Catholic, said:

"I am pursuing a careful study of your school system. The result is there is going to be a fight. There are a good many Catholics in this country. * * Your school system is inadequate for them and they are going to leave it. Suppose the Church should send out a command to start schools in every parish, to establish and support parochial schools and send all Catholics to them. * * It can be

done by the utterance of a word as sharp as the click of a trigger."

Listen now to Archbishop Perche, of New Orleans:

"Our public school system * * is emphatically a social plague. It is no system of education at all, but the simple and direct negation of such, since it excludes all creed, without which education * * is impossible. The public school system is not imperfect only, it is also vicious.

* * Your very blood would curdle in your veins at the bare recital, * * of the scandals of which they are the scene." (pp. 94 and 95 J. of F.)

Listen, also, to another authority of the Romish Church, Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati:

"On this subject we have no new instruction to give. The declarations of the Holy Mother church have been of late years so numerous and clear that there is nothing for a Catholic but to obey them or renounce his religion. 'He that will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican.' * * Where Catholic schools can be established it is a sin to send Catholic children to other schools. * * God grant that our fellow citizens may see, before it is too late, how this method of rearing children (that is in public schools) is helping the desolating march of dishonesty and every immorality through the land." (pp. 82 and 83, J. of F.)

Our friend Dr. C. O. Brown, in his admirable tract entitled "The Public Schools and Their Foes," says:

"Now as to the significance of this world-wide movement; what does it mean here in America? What is its bearing on our cherished free-school system? It means first of all that the Catholic authorities are preparing the way and withdrawing Catholic children as rapidly as possible. Hundreds of thousands have already been withdrawn, and the work is to go on, if they can have their way, until not a Catholic child remains in the public schools. How is this to be done? By that tremendous engine of Rome, the power of the keys. Absolution is to be denied—is now as far as prudent being denied—to parents who refuse to take their children out of the public schools. Hear the decree of the synod held in Louisville, October 22, 1879;

'Absolution is to be denied to parents or guardians who presume to send their children under nine years old to a public school in a place where there exists a Catholic school.' Archbishop Gilmore, of Cleveland, in his Lenten pastoral of 1873, devoted largely to education, says: 'If parents either through contempt for the priest or disregard for the laws of the church, or for trifling reasons, refuse to send their children to a Catholic school, then in such cases * * * we authorize confessors to refuse the sacraments to such parents as thus despise the laws of the church and disobey the command of both priest and bishops.'

"Bishop Rosecrans said, in 1873, 'The faithful are required by conforming to the words of Christ's Vicegerent (the pope) their head and the head of all the faithful, to break down these schools, by doing their bounden duty,' etc. But lest you should say, 'these are subordinates,' hearken now to the words of the Pope, the 'infallible' head of the Roman church, he says: 'The Roman church' has the right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools and in the choice of the teachers of these public schools. Public schools open to all children, for the education of the young, should be under the control of the Roman church and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age.'" (Encyclicals XLV and XLVII.)

Dr. Brown further adds :

"Americans are not easily disturbed. They are slow to arouse to a great danger. But when such utterances as these, which I have quoted this evening, are fairly before them, they wake up. When they hear the authorities of Rome, coolly proposing to sell our school property under the hammer and to be themselves the purchasers, they will want to know about that. When they hear our schools assailed by the vilest calumnies and epithets, they will enquire whence the slander proceeds. When they hear the highest Roman authorities declaring that all education belongs to their church and that it is the duty of Catholics to 'break down' our public schools, to the end that their church may control education in this country, — they will be angry. The masses of the people will soon comprehend the breadth and the significance of this movement against

our schools. Then let the power which has invaded our civil rights, to assail the schools, be quick to withdraw to its own spiritual domain! Americans are long-suffering: but there is one thing they will not tolerate: they will not endure ecclesiastical interference with our civil rights. What would become of American liberties if the views, which I have this evening quoted, could become operative in this land? Where would be our liberties if every Protestant clergyman was endowed with power to order his people what to do and what not to do, on pain of losing their souls, as Catholic priests order their flocks? Where will be our liberties when the right, claimed by the Pope, to interfere in all the affairs of our public schools, is once admitted?"

"If Leo XIII. is testing this matter, of his supremacy over millions of our citizens, by this movement on our schools, it is well that we are coming to understand it. Why did Father Hecker say in 1870, 'there is, ere long, to be a state religion in this country and that state religion is to be Roman Catholic?' What mean such utterances? What is their bearing on this simultaneous movement against our schools throughout the land? Let each free American citizen draw his own conclusions.

"The third plenary council of Baltimore (1855), in its decree on 'ways and means of promoting parochial schools,' says: 'Let priests love their schools * * Let them teach the catechism and Bible history themselves.' But the prime doctrine of that 'Catechism' is the supremacy of the Pope on earth. That is taught to all who learn the catechism. Listen then to one of the utterances of Pius IX. and see if it is proper teaching for those who are being trained for citizenship in a country where freedom of speech and worship are the very sheet-anchor of our liberties. January 1, 1870, Cardinal Antonelli for Pius IX. wrote the bishop of Nicaragua that 'freedom of education and worship are both contrary to the laws of God and the church.'

"We must press another question which will disclose another reason why we can never consent to a division of the fund. Rome asks the state to hand over to her millions of dollars from the public fund for teaching purposes. When a person applies for a vacancy in the teaching force

has invaded our
to withdraw to
e long-suffering;
ce: they will not
our civil rights.
es if the views,
become operative
ies if every Pro-
wer to order his
ain of losing
flocks? Where
ed by the Pope,
schools, is once

of his supremacy
ovement on our
o understand it.
re is, ere long, to
t state religion is
such utterances?
neous movement
? Let each free
is.

ore (1885), in its
parochial schools,
* * Let them
hemselves.' But
the supremacy of
ll who learn the
rances of Pius IX.
e who are being
freedom of speech
of our liberties.
Pius IX. wrote the
ducation and wor-
of God and the

hich will disclose
to a division of
over to her mil-
teaching purposes.
he teaching force

of our schools, his record and capacity are examined. He must stand or fall by the record. Rome has been in the teaching business a long time. What is her record? Ireland has been under her tutelage for centuries. What is the percentage of illiteracy in Ireland? Portugal has been largely subject to Rome for centuries. What of proportionate intelligence and ignorance there? What of Spain? What of Brazil? What of Mexico? What of our own New Mexico, where, until a few years ago, Rome had been undisturbed in her school teaching? New Mexico, after three centuries of Romish teaching, reported in 1880 sixty per cent. of her population over ten years old who could neither read nor write. Even that represented a very rapid improvement over the report of 1870, on which the 'agent in charge of statistics of education' remarks: 'The change in New Mexico may be safely attributed to the establishment of common schools.' When the common schools come there is great improvement at once. (Compend. 10th census. II, 1637.) Rome's record as a school teacher does not warrant her demand for millions of our school money. Compare with New Mexico the States where Catholicism has not been permitted to control education—where the public school has prevailed."

Dr. Brown also calls attention to the fact that near Dubnque, Iowa, there are public schools in which text books are used which are filled with the distinctive teaching of the Roman church, books with this prayer: "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death.—Amen." And catechisms with lessons "on confirmation," and other instructions to show that the Catholic church is the only true church, with instruction regarding power to grant indulgence and other abominable teachings of the Roman church. What must American citizens think of such usurpations? Are we still to sleep on while our sacred rights are thus trampled on by these sisters and priests?

I have given these quotations in full from recognized authorities in the Roman church. I might have made

them very much fuller still. The fact is that it is now decreed that the public schools, so far as the Roman church is concerned, shall practically be destroyed. If Romanists insist upon taking their children out of the public schools, we should be glad to have them insist also on taking teachers who are Romanists out of their places in the public schools. On the contrary, they take the utmost pains, using every available means, to get Catholic teachers into our schools, and, as is clearly shown by the last quotation made, they endeavor to smuggle in their Catechism and to have it taught in schools supported by public money. I am no alarmist, but the time has come when we must recognize these facts and sound a warning to all our citizens. President Grant wisely said at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1876 :

“If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon’s, but it will be between patriotism and intelligence on the one side and superstition and ambition and ignorance on the other.”

“Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall be applied to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that any child in the land may get a common-school education, unmixed with atheistic, pagan or sectarian teachings. Keep the church and state forever separate.” (Speech before Army of Tennessee, 1876.) It was he who first proposed a constitutional amendment, directly forbidding such abuses as we have examined this evening. President Garfield, whose monument has just been dedicated, was also ‘alarmed’ when he wrote, in his letter of acceptance July 12, 1880, ‘It would be dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenue of the Nation or of the State to the support of sectarian schools.’ Lafayette, that noble spirited son of France, himself a Romanist, was ‘alarmed’ long years before either when he said, ‘If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy.’—*Our Country*.

is that it is now de-
the Roman church
oyed. If Romanists
f the public schools,
also on taking teach-
laces in the public
the utmost pains,
tholic teachers into
y the last quotation
eir Catechism and to
public money. I am
en we must recognize
our citizens. Presi-

Iowa, in 1876 :

in the near future of
the dividing line will
l be between patriot-
and superstition and

ve that not one dollar
ed to the support of
y child in the land
unmixed with atheis-
Keep the church and
efore Army of Ten-
proposed a constitu-
g such abuses as we
dent Garfield, whose
, was also 'alarmed'
eptance July 12, 1880,
stitutions to apply any
or of the State to the
ette, that noble spirited
t, was 'alarmed' long
f the liberties of the
l they will fall by the
Country.

What religious body dare interfere with the public school system which has been so long recognized as one of the institutions of this Republic? Shall ignorant foreigners, from ignorant Romish countries, thus destroy distinctive American institutions? Against Romanists as fellow citizens, I have no word of criticism to offer; but against Romanism as a system, in the name of all that is American, I say let us lift up our voices; let us close against it every door, and determine that this country consecrated long ago to freedom by the blood of our fathers and more lately by the blood of fathers, brothers and sons, shall stand for freedom even though to preserve it blood must be shed again.

III.—A FREE CHURCH.

By a **FREE CHURCH**, we mean a church that shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of conscience without the interference of any civil authority. The union of church and State has been productive of harm in every country in the world where such union exists or has existed. The separation between church and State in England must come about before many years shall pass. Already the Church of England is disestablished in Ireland, and the Church of Scotland must shortly be disestablished in Scotland. It is a gross injustice that non-conformists in England must support their own churches by voluntary offerings, and at the same time be tithed for the support of a church in whose principles they do not believe. The horrible condition of what General Booth calls "the submerged Tenth" shows that the Church of England is not making good use of its enormous wealth and great prestige in that relation. This country has shown the possibility of maintaining a free state alongside of a free church. For this object our Baptist fathers suffered fines, imprisonments and personal violence again and again in this country. They were at one time almost the only defenders of the separation of church and State. This doctrine which is now considered as distinctively American was at one time almost exclusively Baptist. Many of the Puritans who fled from persecution had no distinct conception of true religious liberty. They desired liberty for themselves and they were willing to inflict punishment upon all who differed from them. One has only to remember that in 1651, Dr. John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and James

Crandall suffered almost untold tortures because they refused in the exercise of their Christian liberty to recognize the authority of the State.

We know that Clarke was fined £30, Holmes £30 and Crandall £5. Should they refuse to pay they were to be horsewhipped at sight. Clarke stood stripped at the whipping-post till the sight so moved a kind-hearted gentleman that he offered a sum of money to save him from the torture. * * * Bancroft asserts that he was whipped "unmercifully," and Gov. Jenks says, "that for some days, if not some weeks, he could not rest except upon his knees and elbows."

Dr. Taylor thus describes the treatment meted out to the Baptist ministers in Virginia: they "were fined, pelted, beaten, imprisoned, poisoned and hunted with dogs; their congregations were assaulted and dispersed; the solemn ordinance of Baptism was rudely interrupted, both administrators and candidates being plunged and held beneath the water till nearly dead; they suffered mock trials, and even in Courts of Justice, were subjected to indignities not unlike those inflicted by the infamous Jeffreys." At Culpepper our fathers suffered persecution beyond description. Clay, Pickett and the Craigs are names which shine undimmed by time in Baptist history. On the very spot where stood the prison which held the heroic Ireland, and through whose iron gates he preached the gospel to the people, there is now a Baptist meeting-house in which the word of God is proclaimed to those whose religious liberty was obtained at the price of blood.

We know also that Roger Williams endured exposures and sufferings that are now almost inconceivable in his determination to secure for himself and for the world, the priceless boon of soul liberty. We are now confronted with opposite doctrines concerning the relation of the church and the State. We have a section of the Protestant Episcopal Church in-

CHURCH.

church that shall be free
dictates of conscience
authority. The union
ative of harm in every
n exists or has existed
d State in England
shall pass. Already
ished in Ireland, and
y be disestablished in
at non-conformists in
churches by voluntary
ed for the support of
do not believe. The
Booth calls "the sub-
ch of England is not
lth and great prestige
shown the possibility
le of a free church.
ffered fines, imprison-
d again in this coun-
the only defenders of

This doctrine which
American was at one
Many of the Puritans
distinct conception of
liberty for themselves
ishment upon all who
ly to remember that
n Holmes and James

sisting upon appropriating for that body the name "The American Church." We are glad to believe that this desire applies to only a part of that church. The name, should it be adopted, would be simply a misnomer. There cannot be in this Republic such a body as the American Church. What does such language mean? Certainly nothing which can receive the endorsement of sound common sense or fraternal Christian feeling. But we have the Church of Rome going still further. The recent election in the State of Wisconsin shows that that church made a determined effort as a church to control the State for its own purposes. The issue was there distinctly made between Americanism and foreignism, between Romanism and Protestantism, between a free State or a State under the control of the church. Governor Hoar was the candidate of all friends of the American system of education. He insisted upon Home Rule, not Rome Rule; upon an American and not an Italian education. All questions of tariff and political economy, and matters of that sort were entirely set aside. He discussed nothing that was purely and solely a party issue; but he canvassed the State on behalf of the public schools, and he urged the need of an American education for every American citizen. He well knew that in large portions of the country, children were growing up to manhood ignorant of the language and laws of the country. He knew that in a little time these ignorant boys would be voters and virtually law-makers. He knew that this rapidly growing population was non-American in language, non-American in sympathy, and would be non-American in its exercise of the suffrage.

Under this impulse, he made his campaign on behalf of the school-house and the rights and duties of American citizenship. His judgment and his conscience were in the issue, but it is supposed that he is beaten; it is feared that the friends of ignorance and fanaticism have triumphed.

There is a bare possibility that, by a recent discovery, the legislature may have a majority of one which will preserve the Bennett Law. It would seem that no intelligent American citizen, apart from all party question, can for a moment doubt that that law is a desirable piece of legislation. Who can doubt that the English language should be maintained as the language of this country? Who can doubt that our public schools should be taught in the use of the English tongue? Are we to continue to give men the ballot without requiring them to read the language of our country? Are we to permit such men to reverse the legislation of past generations? Shall they be allowed to strike down all that is distinctively American, and to Europeanize this land? Believe me, the present outlook is not hopeful. Believe me, that the plan is to secure a division of the school fund and to give Roman Catholics and others the opportunity of teaching their distinctive dogmas at the expense of the State. It is a serious matter when the majority of Germans are willing to follow the lead of Lutheran and Roman teachers going along such a line as this. It is a serious matter when the Pope of Rome can determine who shall be Mayor of a city, Governor of a State, and, perhaps, President of the United States. It is a serious matter for all Americans to consider when the laws issuing from the Vatican are to determine the decision of great national questions in the American Republic. It is a serious matter when a so-called missionary organization in Washington under the direction of the Roman Church is practically a system of lobbyists to secure money from the public treasury for the support of Roman Catholic schools among the Indians.

We do not wonder that the venerable Bishop Coxe should use such strong language as the following quotation contains:

"It makes my soul burn," said Bishop Coxe, in closing,

“when I read the action of the United States Senators who last winter appropriated \$400,000 for Romish missions among our Indians, and \$150,000 for other denominations, saying that the Romish were the best. The action of those Senators was infamous. If they think Romish missions are the best, all I would say is, look at Hayti.”

What has the Church of Rome to show in the way of the improvement of the people among whom it labors to justify it in its claims to give education to American citizens? To what country will it turn as a proof of the beneficent effects of its years of domination? Every country in which it is dominant is ignorant, poor, and vicious. This statement can be abundantly justified by historical references.

The Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, Nov. 1, has the following significant fact from Berlin, Wis.:

“The Polish priest at Berlin, which has the largest Catholic church in the State, has distributed the following circular letter in German to his people who are ignorant enough to believe it:

“‘The time is not far when the Roman churches, by order of the Pope, will refuse to pay the school taxes, and sooner than pay the agent or collector, put a bullet through his breast. This order can come at any time from Rome, and it will come so suddenly as the pulling of the trigger of a gun, and, of course, this will be obeyed, as it comes from God Almighty.’”

This man took his cue and part of his language from Monsignor Capel, whom we have already quoted.

The *Herald and Presbyter* gives us the following as illustrating the same unpatriotic purpose:

“‘You are Catholics first and Americans afterward.’ So said a Roman priest in Chicago to his flock recently. This suggests that if a man is a ‘Catholic first’—that is, owes his civil and spiritual allegiance to Rome—what business has he with American citizenship at any time?”

Father Walker of New York says:

“The public schools are godless, and they who send their children to them cannot expect the mercy of God. I would

as soon administer the sacrament to a dog as to such a Catholic."

Bishop Coxe further says as illustrative of the point that I now make :

"For 400 years," said Bishop Coxe, "has the name of Christ been known upon this island, and for 400 years have the people been in the hands of the Romish church, and yet I was informed upon good authority that two-thirds of the men who packed the cathedrals were heathen, devil-worshippers, voodooists and cannibals, who worshiped there within the very walls of the cathedrals their heathen god, Voodoo.

"The belief of the lower class Haytiens, the bishop said, is that there are two devils, the black one and the white one. By baptizing a child it is made proof against the wiles of the white devil, but to protect it from the black one, a sacrifice must be made to Voodoo. So, some time before the 1st of January, a child is taken and fattened, and then, about New Year's day, it is sacrificed to Voodoo, and its flesh is eaten by those taking part in the ceremony. This is supposed to propitiate their heathen god. One president of the island, in trying to put a stop to these performances, had eighteen men shot, but he was shortly obliged to leave in order to save himself from the fury of the people."

Again I say that I have no unkind feeling toward Romanists as fellow citizens. I would take from them none of their rights; but by the grace of God I shall not permit them to take from us our rights. We have come into conflict with them on American soil, and in every such conflict they have been beaten. The moment the issue is fairly joined, their non-American, mediæval, and Italian ideas must go to the wall. The danger is that they shall steal a march upon us unawares. To be forewarned in this case is to be fore-armed. A recent writer in the *Homiletic Review* reminds us that they came into conflict with us in the early history of America when the South was largely held by the Spaniards and the French. There was at the

same time a great Catholic Empire stretching over the North. Jesuit explorers had "built a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Ohio, and claimed all the West for France and the Mother Church." At that same time, France, Spain, Austria and Poland were united in a league against Prussia, and a part of the hope was the extinction of Protestantism in America. Then it was that England came to the help of Frederick. And this writer adds that God raised up William Pitt, a figure of solitary grandeur, to be His instrument to throw the whole force of England on the side of Frederick and to make possible the victory of Rossbach and the Germany of to-day. It was Pitt who carved out a British Empire from India. It was Pitt who met Louis XIV on the Heights of Abraham and put an end to the dreams of a French Empire in America. Once more did the dream of a Catholic Empire in this Western world emanate from the brains and stir the hearts of European Romanists.

In the dark days of '62 and '63, when we were struggling for national life, were violent hands laid upon a sister republic in the name of the Roman church. We have no fear of the Roman church if only Protestants will be alive to their duty. Romanists feel the necessity of speaking some patriotic words, hence their recent utterances in the Catholic Congress at Boston. To-day, if either the Methodist or Baptist denomination were counted according to the methods of computation employed in the Roman church, it would outnumber the Roman church. But that Church moves as a unit. It is a tremendous machine. It is a two-edged sword whose point, as Joseph Cook has said, is everywhere and whose hilt is in the Vatican.

We go a step further than even some Baptists would follow. We claim entire separation between church and State. The Baptist and the American principle carried to its practical application would so separate between church

and State that church property would not be free from taxation. We have no right to tax atheists for the support of Christian churches. We know that they receive benefits from them, but we still insist that the churches will gain vastly by standing aloof from the State. This is the logical outcome of our position, and for one, I am quite prepared to press the principle to this extreme. This is to be one of the live subjects for discussion for the next five years. It is already upon us. Let us meet it in the spirit of an enlightened patriotism, and in a common love for what is right. The subject is too grave to be left to mere sentimentalizing.

New York *Herald* says :

“Church property should not be free. The church building should pay for the protection of the law quite as much as the counting-house or dwelling of the private gentleman.”

The New York *Independent* quotes the above and adds :

“This is simply just. There is no sufficient reason why church property should be exempted from all taxation, and thereby an increased tax-burden be imposed upon other tax-paying property.”

We affirm that no consistent Romanist can be a loyal citizen of the American Republic. Doubtless there are loyal Romanists but their American loyalty is at the expense of their ecclesiastical consistency. When a Romanist takes the oath of allegiance to our Constitution in becoming an American citizen he does so with mental reservations. He must do so. His first allegiance is to the Pope, who is himself the subject of a foreign government.

Cavour gave us a fine phrase when he spoke of “a free church in a free state ;” and a greater than Cavour has said, “Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things which are God’s.”

STATEMENTS.

That it may clearly be seen that we have not exaggerated the spirit or too strongly accentuated the methods of the Romish Church as a political system vigorously at war with the genius of American institutions, we append the following statements, which speak for themselves :

Voice of the Cardinals.

"Stand by the Catholic schools."—*Cardinal McCloskey.*

"We must take part in elections."—*Cardinal McCloskey.*

"The Catechism alone is essential for the education of the people."
—*Cardinal Antonelli.*

"The church alone is endowed with the power to educate the young."—*Cardinal McCloskey.*

"The common school system of the United States is the worst in the world."—*Cardinal Manning.*

"A ripe knowledge of the Catechism, minus Massachusetts education, is preferable to her education, minus the Catechism."—*Cardinal Antonelli.*

"We must take part in the elections. Move in solid mass in every State against the party pledged to sustain the integrity of the public schools."—*Cardinal McCloskey.*

"Rationalism, or rather Atheism, of the State consists in the exclusion from the civil government of a religious influence; above all, that of the Church of Jesus Christ, or, in other words, the separation of the State from the Church, absolute independence of the State with regard to the Church, which means the oppression of the Church by the State"—*Cardinal Manning.*

Voice of the Councils.

"All who maintain the liberty of the press, *Sit Anathema*" (Let them be damned).—*Gregory, 1831, and Pius, 1864.*

"Those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship, *Sit Anathema.*"—*Pius, 1864.*

"All who advocate the liberty of speech, *Sit Anathema.*"—*Syllabus, March, 1851; Prop. lxxv, Encyclical, 1864.*

"All who insist that marriage not sacramentally contracted has binding force, *Sit Anathema.*"—*Ibid.*, Prop. lxxii.

"All who maintain that in countries called Catholic, the free exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed, *Sit Anathema.*"—*Ibid.*, Prop. lxxiii.

"All who assert that the Pope ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization, *Sit Anathema.*"—*Ibid.*, Prop. lxxx.

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1860, ascribed to the public schools "that corruption of morals which we have to deplore in those of tender years."

The Second Provincial Council of Oregon, 1881, said that "swearing, cursing, and profane expressions are distinctive marks of public school children."

The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, in its instructions to the American Bishops, 1875, assigns as a reason why the Roman Catholic Church is hostile to the public schools, that "teachers indiscriminately of every sect are employed, who are left free to sow errors and the seeds of vice in tender minds."

Voice of Romish Priests.

"The public schools have produced nothing but a godless generation of thieves and blackguards."—*Priest Schauer.*

"Unless you suppress the public school system as at present conducted, it will prove the damnation of this country."—*Father Walker.*

"I frankly confess that the Catholics stand before the country as the enemies of the public schools."—*Father Phelan.*

"You (Catholics) must refuse to give a vote for any man who is not for free denominational education."—*Father Boylan.*

"These so-called public schools are not public schools, but infidel and sectarian. Catholic parents who send their children to such schools are guilty of mortal sin."—*Rev. Dr. Frül.*

"The duty of all loyal, God-fearing, Christian men (Roman Catholics) then, I repeat it, is to make common cause against this common foe."—*Father Gleason, of Oakland, Cal.*

"When the State steps in and assumes the role of school teacher, then there is the invasion of the individual right, the invasion of the domestic rights of the church, and the invasion of the divine rights.

The public school is subversive of the rights of the individual, subversive of the rights of the family, subversive of the rights of religion, subversive of the divine rights of God himself."—*Rev. Father McCarthy.*

The Voice of Statesmen.

Daniel Webster once said, "The public schools are a preventive of anarchy, pauperism, vice and crime."

"Keep your minds open to the light, and your schools bright to the historic and divine truth."—*Cheever.*

"Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church and the private school supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the State and the church forever separate."—*U. S. Grant.*

"In a country where the organic law, like ours, proclaims absolute freedom of religion, we have no right to appropriate any of the public money or land to sectarian schools."—*Deater A. Hawkins.*

"Resolved, That universal education is a necessity of our Government, and that the American free school system should be maintained and preserved as a safe-guard of American liberty."—*American Party Platform.*

"It seems to me that this (school) question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way, and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for Non-Sectarian Schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards, and at any cost."—*James G. Blaine.*

linal, sub-
hts of re-
T." - Rev-

reventive
right

urch and
on. Keep

s absolute
f the pub-
r Govern-
be main-
American

s'ed in
ment that
ols. I am
l hazards,

