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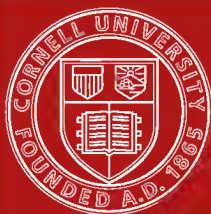


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# RELIGION AND SCHOOLS.

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## NOTES OF HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, UNITED STATES SENATE,

Friday, February 15, 1889, and Friday, February 22, 1889,

JOINT RESOLUTION (S. R. 86) PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES RESPECTING ESTAB-  
LISHMENTS OF RELIGION AND FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

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WASHINGTON:

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

1889.





## RELIGION AND SCHOOLS.

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FRIDAY, *February 15, 1889.*

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., in the Senate reception room.

Present: Senators Blair (chairman), Palmer, Wilson, and George of the committee, and Senator Chandler.

There appeared before the committee Rev. T. P. Stevenson, of Philadelphia, corresponding secretary of the National Reform Association; Rev. James M. King, D. D., of New York, representing the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance; Rev. George K. Morris, D. D., of Philadelphia; Rev. W. M. Glasgow, of Baltimore; Rev. J. N. McCurdy, D. D., of Philadelphia; C. R. Blackall, M. D., of Philadelphia, and William S. Morris, M. D., of Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN (Senator Blair). The hearing this morning is upon the joint resolution (S. R. 86) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States respecting establishments of religion and free public schools, which is as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States as provided in the Constitution:*

### ARTICLE —.

SECTION 1. No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

SEC. 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion. But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

SEC. 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SEC. 4. That Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

### ARGUMENT BY REV. T. P. STEVENSON.

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a public meeting in support of this measure was held in the city of Philadelphia on the 11th of December last. The call for the meeting was signed by nearly one hundred of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, including such names as those of Messrs. Francis W. Kennedy, George M. Troutman, B. B. Comegys, presidents of banks; Jay Cooke, of national reputation; Philip C. Garrett, late chairman of the State Commission on Charities and Correction; John B. Garrett, vice-president of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, and others. The list is a thoroughly representative list of our best citizens.

At this meeting a permanent committee was appointed to draught a memorial to the two houses of Congress and to take such action from time to time as might further the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment. This memorial I herewith submit, bearing the signatures of one hundred of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, including, besides the names I have already referred to, such names as that of George S. Graham, the district attorney of Philadelphia, and through you we desire that it be presented to the Senate of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now submitted for the first time?

Mr. STEVENSON. We bear it this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The memorial will be presented to the Senate and also inserted in the record at this point.

The memorial is as follows:

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled*

This memorial, on behalf of citizens of Philadelphia, sheweth, two grave dangers threaten at this hour the American system of common schools—the atheistic tendency in education and the strenuous demand for a division of the school funds in the interest of sectarian or denominational schools.

Through the former tendency, the reading of the Christian Scriptures and the offering of prayer have been forbidden in the schools of some of our principal cities, while one at least has gone so far as to throw out of her schools every text-book containing any reference to God. This attempt to exclude all religious ideas from the instruction given in the public schools we hold to be unphilosophical and inimical to the public good, because it neglects the moral faculties, which are the most important faculties of man, and the right exercise of which is most important to the state, and because it does not correspond to the character of the institutions for which the common school is designed to prepare the citizens of this Republic.

On the other hand, to accept the proposal for a division of the school funds would be for the state to destroy the whole school system, which we have built up with so much care and at such vast expense; to renounce all responsible or effective control of the work of education; and to become a mere tax-gatherer for the sects. The one great argument by which this proposal is sustained is that Christian parents cannot accept for their children an education which, while ostensibly neutral, is virtually hostile to religion. The adoption of the secular theory of education, therefore, so far from reconciling those who advocate the division of the funds, only stimulates them to fresh efforts, and supplies them with fresh arguments against the public schools. These two adverse tendencies, therefore, assist each other, and between them there is danger that our school system may perish or be seriously crippled at the very time when it is most urgently needed; for, more than any other single institution, it may be regarded as the digestive organ of the body politic, through which we assimilate to the national character the foreign elements which every year brings in increasing volume to our shores.

Against both these dangers we shall provide most effectively by simply keeping our school system on the foundations where it was placed by our fathers. We believe that the time has come when constitutional safeguards ought to be erected in the nation's fundamental law around this most precious institution. We have therefore observed with pleasure the introduction of a joint resolution now pending before one of your honorable bodies (Senate Resolution 86), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which, while it recognizes the Christian character

and purpose of our system of public education, forbids the appropriation of public money to any school or institution in which the peculiar doctrines or ceremonies of any religious sect or denomination are practised or taught; and we earnestly pray that you will speedily submit this or some similar amendment to the legislatures of the several States for their approval.

In this connection we are reminded that General Grant, when President, recommended to Congress the passage of an amendment to the national Constitution "prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination." The Republican national convention, at Cincinnati, June 15, 1876, recommended "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." The Democratic national platform, adopted in the same year at Saint Louis, declared for the maintenance of the public schools "without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the Treasury to any." A joint resolution to this effect, introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. James G. Blaine, was adopted in that body by an almost unanimous vote. Amended in the Senate by the addition of a proviso that it should not be construed against the reading of the Bible in the schools, it was adopted there by a vote of twenty-eight to sixteen, or a little less than the requisite two-thirds. The danger is now more manifest, the need is more urgent, than then. The lapse of a dozen years has strengthened every argument which was then employed in support of this measure.

At a largely attended public meeting, the call for which was signed by a large number of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, the undersigned were appointed a committee to act for their fellow-citizens in this matter. In support, therefore, of the desired action, we lay before you this memorial, and beg leave also to submit the resolutions adopted at the aforesaid meeting, which are as follows:

*"Resolved,* That this nation, in its origin and history, is Christian. Our colonial compacts of government and charters, our State constitutions and statutes, our common law, our days of fasting and thanksgiving, our State and national institutions and usages generally, have given our political being a marked and distinctive Christian character.

*"Resolved,* That the type of Christianity which has characterized our State and national life is that which secures to our people an open Bible, the right of private judgment, freedom of speech and of the press, and the entire independence of our Government as against all foreign domination, whether ecclesiastical or civil. The sovereign people and their government are not amenable to spiritual pontiffs or civil potentates, but to God and his law.

*"Resolved,* That our common schools, as one of the most important institutions of our country, should correspond to the Christian origin, history, and character of the Republic itself. Our schools should teach the history of our country and the character of our institutions, our laws, and the reasons for them, the prerogatives and responsibilities of the sovereign people and their Government, and the loyalty due, under God, to the authority of our own rulers. The Bible ought not only to be read, but taught, in all the schools. The public schools must prove a failure if they do not train our rising generation to be honest, virtuous, and loyal citizens. Such training, as the ordinance for the Territory of the Northwest and Washington's farewell address assures us, can be found only in the principles of religion.

*"Resolved,* That while our schools are and should be Christian, no preference or advantage should be given to any one sect or denomination in connection with the public schools. Above all, no sect can justly or fairly claim any portion of the public money for the support of its own sectarian schools.

*"Resolved,* That against the demand made by a portion of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens for a division of the school fund, there is this additional and invincible argument: that the teaching of that church concerning the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff as the infallible vicegerent of Christ over governments and nations as well as individuals, in all matters of faith and morals, is directly subversive of the principles of liberty on which the Republic has been founded; and to endow or support from the public treasury schools in which this doctrine is taught would be to provide means for the subversion of our free institutions.

*"Resolved,* That in both these respects our school system should be kept on the foundations on which it was placed by our fathers. We seek no change, and we will withstand all attempts to revolutionize, in either of these features, our system of public education.

*"Resolved,* That we approve of the general features of the constitutional amendment now pending in the Senate of the United States 'respecting establishments of religion and free public schools,' in that, while it recognizes the Christian character and purpose of our system of education, it forbids the appropriation of public money

to any school in which the peculiar tenets or ceremonials of any religious sect or denomination are practised or taught.

*Resolved*, That a committee of nine be appointed by this meeting to co-operate with the National Reform Association in its further efforts in behalf of this or any similar measure which may be directed to the same ends, and that this committee shall have power to add to its numbers."

R. C. MATLACK,  
W. W. BARR,  
JOHN ALEXANDER,  
C. R. BLACKALL,  
JOHN LUCAS,  
WILLIAM WATERALL,  
JAMES MORROW,  
T. P. STEVENSON,  
*Committee.*

PHILADELPHIA, ———, 182-.

The CHAIRMAN. The following petition, signed by 3,228 citizens of Massachusetts, is now before us:

*To the honorable Senate and Members of the House of Representatives, at Washington, D. C.:*

We, the undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, sensibly impressed with the importance of education among the people of our land, in the conservation of our Government and the liberties which we so richly enjoy; believing also, as expressed in a late public gathering of patriotic citizens of Boston, in old Faneuil Hall, that "*it has now become necessary to guard well the public school, as the palladium of our liberty*," and being persuaded also that this desired protection will be more fully effected by a provision in the fundamental laws of the land (as urged upon Congress by that eminent and patriotic citizen General Grant while in the Presidential office), would respectfully petition your honorable bodies to speedily frame such article—for submission to the legislatures of the several States, for their approval or rejection—as will prevent the interference of any religious sect with the "common-school system," or the appropriating of any of the "public funds for sectarian uses; such a measure as this being, in our judgment, the only safeguard against religious encroachments, such as now threaten our time-honored and truly endeared methods of teaching and training our youth for the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship, to the end also that there may be preserved to us and transmitted to our children's children "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. The memorial of citizens of Philadelphia embodies the resolutions which were adopted at the public meeting to which I have referred. Those who appear before you this morning are Rev. Dr. King, of New York, representing the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, whose work has been very largely for promotion of religious freedom; and the National Reform Association is here represented, which has been organized to maintain the existing Christian features in the American Government and promote the influence of Christianity in our civil life.

It is but just to say that some few of those whom we represent do not desire to be understood as supporting that part of the proposed amendment which proposes that the United States shall guaranty the support of a system of education in the States. Details such as that we leave to be wrought out by your committee and by the houses of Congress.

Senator GEORGE. Are you opposed to that third section?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; we are not opposed to it.

Senator GEORGE. But you do not advocate it?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; we do not advocate it.

Senator GEORGE. You are neutral on that point?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. We are neutral on that point.

There are three great features of the proposed amendment which command our support. The first is, that "no State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibit-

ing the free exercise thereof." We regard the presence of this clause with great satisfaction, because it disavows for us and for all who may lend their support to this measure, all disposition to favor a union of church and state. There is no feature of American institutions which has our hearty approval more than that which separates the church from the state as two distinct and clearly independent organisms, holding indeed certain mutual relations to each other, but each doing its own work in its own way without control or interference on the part of the other.

Senator GEORGE. Do you know of any State in which there is any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. There is no State which has any such law to-day, but establishments of religion did continue in some of the States, as in Massachusetts, for example, for many years after the first amendment to the national Constitution was adopted, which says that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion. While there is no State which has an establishment of religion, all the States are free to set up religious establishments if they shall choose.

Senator GEORGE. Is it not a fact that in every one of the State constitutions now there is a provision in words similar to that?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. That may be, yet if Utah obtained admission to the Union there is nothing to prevent her establishing the Mormon hierarchy and endowing the Mormon temple out of the State treasury; and if the Territory of New Mexico were admitted, as is proposed by pending legislation, there is nothing to hinder her from establishing the church with which the majority of her citizens are known to be connected as the established church of the State of New Mexico.

Senator GEORGE. Then the practical point you make is as to apprehensions from Utah and New Mexico?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. We regard this as a measure of wise, practical statesmanship, not simply as a matter of sentiment, but as demanded by the exigencies of the hour.

Senator GEORGE. What exigencies demand it? Explain that. That is the very gist of the whole thing. What exigencies demand the incorporation of that provision in the Federal Constitution?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. The possibility of establishments of religion, either formal establishments or virtual establishments of religion, by different States.

Senator GEORGE. Is there any movement in any State looking to that end?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; none that we know of.

Senator GEORGE. Do you know of any society, organization, or party organized for the purpose of attaining that end?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir; a large portion of our fellow-citizens, we believe, do desire and seek for what is equivalent to the establishment of a religion.

Senator GEORGE. Who are they, and what is the specific point from which you infer that they seek the establishment of a religion in a State?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. The proposal which is pressed for the division of the school fund between the sects is, in our judgment, an establishment virtually of a religion of sects.

Senator GEORGE. Where is that proposal; in what States does that obtain?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. The proposal has been made in the State of Pennsylvania, from which I come.

Senator GEORGE. Where else?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. It has been made in the State of New York?

Senator GEORGE. Where else?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. It is made to-day throughout the United States. Bishop Chatard, of Indiana, said recently in the city of Saint Louis that the Roman Catholic Church pays to-day \$9,000,000 for the compensation of teachers in parochial schools, and that that whole sum ought to come back to them out of the public treasury, and will come back to them as soon as reason and justice shall prevail in the minds of the American people. They have 3,024 parochial schools.

Senator GEORGE. The Catholics have?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. The Roman Catholic Church has established 3,024 parochial schools, which is about one-half the number of Roman Catholic churches in the United States.

Senator GEORGE. In the whole Union?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. In the whole Union, and under the penalties of ecclesiastical discipline they are constraining their members to withdraw their children from the public schools and to send them to the schools established by the church.

Senator GEORGE. Then the establishment of religion which is threatened comes from the demand on the part of the Roman Catholic Church that the taxes paid by the members of that church shall be set apart by the State in which they live to the support of schools under the control of the Catholic Church?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir.

Equally hearty is our support and advocacy of the second section of the proposed amendment, that every State shall establish and maintain a system of public schools adequate for the instruction of its children between the ages of six and seventeen years "in the common branches of knowledge and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion." This proposes to embed in our fundamental law one of the best-considered and most universally-approved features of our social system. Ignorance on the part of the citizen anywhere is a national peril, and the nation has the right to provide against it. If it be objected that the nation has not the right to constrain in this matter the free action of the States, then we reply that the Constitution is the free and voluntary compact between the people of the States in reference to the General Government and its functions and its action, and by this it is simply proposed to amend that compact by the concurrent action of the people of all the States, so as to provide for this great, this vital common interest.

There are many who do not distinguish between the separation of church and state, and the divorce of the state from religion, and we therefore regard with especial favor the distinct recognition of the Christian religion in connection with our system of public education. In support of this provision we desire to say that it is in harmony with the great body of the laws, institutions, and governmental usages of the American people. Our institutions bear broad and deep the impress of the Christian religion. The morality which is enforced by our laws is Christian morality. The offenses which we restrain and prohibit by law throughout the nation are offenses under the moral standards of the Christian religion. For example, we have laws on the statute books of nearly every State against blasphemy. Those laws guard the sacred names of the Christian religion from profanation. We have laws which guard the sacredness of the Sabbath, the first day of the week, the sacred day of the Christian religion. Our laws for

the defense of social purity, for the guardianship of the family, have been conformed to the Christian standards, though not with absolute consistency.

Senator GEORGE. Except in cases of divorce?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Except in cases of divorce, as we have admitted.

Senator GEORGE. There is a very wide divergence from Christian standards there.

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. There is a very wide divergence from Christian standards, and yet it is the Christian type of the family which we have aimed to establish and maintain by our laws touching that subject in this country.

Now, our schools should conform to the institutions of the country. They should prepare the citizens to obey the laws, and to participate in the administration of the Government. They should inculcate the general principles which have been regarded in the framework of our Government. If there is any sense in which we are a Christian nation, and in which this is a Christian Government, in the same sense and to the same extent our schools ought to be Christian.

Those who object to the recognition of the Christian religion in connection with our system of public education ought to object, in consistency, to every Christian feature in our civil, our national life. They ought to seek the obliteration of every feature of our civil institutions which bears the impress of Christianity. They ought to join in the demands of liberalism which were formulated many years ago by one of the acutest minds of our country, and which are in these terms:

We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from taxation.

We demand that the employment of chaplains in all institutions supported by public money shall be discontinued.

That is, from the houses of Congress, from all our State legislatures, all our penitentiaries and reformatory schools, the Army and Navy, and all other institutions supported by public money.

We demand that all religious services now sustained by the Government shall be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various States of religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

We demand that the judicial oath in all departments of the Government shall be abolished.

We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of Christian morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed simply to the requirements of natural morality.

We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several States but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis, and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

Senator GEORGE. Whose language is that?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. These are the demands of liberalism, the platform of the Liberal League of the United States.

Senator GEORGE. About how many adherents have they, as far as you can understand?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. I do not know.

Senator GEORGE. Is not the number very trifling?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; they have a vast indefinite following. While those who may be formally members of the Liberal League may be comparatively few, they represent a certain well-defined trend in American thought, one side of the great controversy which is upon us as to what shall be the relation of the American nation and the American Government to Christianity.

Senator GEORGE. Do you really apprehend that those persons who stand on that platform which you have read are sufficient in numbers or in importance to carry out the objects which they have? Do you not think that the virtue and intelligence of the great mass of the American people of all the churches is sufficient to meet and overthrow in the forum of debate and on pure reason the liberalists to whom you have alluded?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Most certainly I do. That is why we join the issue here to-day and wherever the opportunity is afforded us. But we judge of the peril, of the need of the discussion of this subject, by the practical successes which they have gained and are gaining. For instance, they have availed to prohibit the reading of the Scriptures in the public schools in the cities of Cincinnati, of Chicago, of Saint Louis, of San Francisco, of Rochester, N. Y., and a multitude of smaller places.

Senator GEORGE. Did not that come from the Catholics?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; by no means.

Senator GEORGE. It did not?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. These two forces were joined together in their assault upon the public schools.

Senator GEORGE. It is a combination between liberalism and Catholicism?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Between liberalism and Catholicism.

Senator GEORGE. In each one of those cities was not the mass of the liberal army, you might call it, furnished by the Catholics?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. I think not.

Senator GEORGE. You think not?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. No, sir; in my judgment it was not. As an illustration of what education could become and will become under this secular programme, I would cite the state of affairs in the city of Chicago to day, where not only has the reading of the Bible been prohibited in the schools, but the offering of prayer, even the recitation of the Lord's prayer.

Senator GEORGE. In the common schools?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir; in the common schools.

Senator GEORGE. You say that is the rule in Chicago?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. That is the rule in Chicago, where they have gone so far as to throw out of the schools every school book which contains any reference to God, where, for example, Guyot's Physical Geography was thrown out from the public schools because it teaches that the globe bears evidence of design in being adapted as a habitation for man.

Senator GEORGE. That is atheistical, then?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir. A design implies a designer, and a designer is a creator, and that is a religious idea which can not be taught under the rule of the school board of Chicago.

Senator GEORGE. Then in Chicago the atheists seem to have impressed their views upon the schools. It is pure atheism?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. So it seems. Two years ago last June, when the high school on the West Side was about to have its commencement,



they secured the First Congregational Church as the most suitable building in the vicinity for the commencement exercises. The graduating class asked that Rev. Dr. Goodwin, pastor of the church, be invited to open the exercises with prayer. The principal told them that it could not be allowed under the rules of the school board of Chicago. They carried their request to the board of education and received the same reply, and they were not allowed to have a word of prayer on commencement day.

The superintendent of public education for the State of New York has decided—three superintendents of education have decided—that the Bible has no legal standing in the common school system of the State of New York. I think that, as a simple question of law, the superintendent of education is mistaken. The history of the common school system of New York, and of the legislation in reference to it, will justify our claim that the Bible has a legal place in the schools of that State, but the fact shows what I have already referred to as the drift and the trend of affairs under the influence of the atheistic or secular theory of education.

We desire to say further, in reference to that point, that such education is, in our judgment, unphilosophical and contrary to the true idea of education. Education pertains to the whole man. Education is the drawing out or development of the faculties of the human being. There is earnestly pressed to-day a demand for physical training, for the culture of the hand and the eye, manual training in our public schools. That demand is based upon the fact that these are human faculties and powers which ought to be educated for the good of the citizen and of the state of which the citizen is a part. So, too, we hold that the conscience, the power to distinguish between right and wrong, is one of the faculties of the human soul; that it is pre-eminently important among the faculties, for it is the regulative faculty on whose right action the right and beneficent action of all other faculties depends; and any system of education which is adapted to cultivate the mind or to train the intellectual or the physical powers, and which leaves out of view the moral nature, provides a distinct peril for the state in which that education is maintained; for knowledge is power, and an increase of knowledge and of other powers apart from the cultivation of the moral sense only imperils the state by the addition of power to its citizens.

Such education further seems to us to be unfair. The neutrality which it proposes is a false and deceitful neutrality. It is proposed in this form:

Let us leave out of the school those things in reference to which American people do not agree. We are all agreed as to the importance of the common branches of knowledge, but we are not agreed in reference to religion. Since the schools are the schools of the whole people let us confine them to those things in reference to which the whole people do agree, and let us rule out from the schools that whole body of ideas in reference to which there is an irreconcilable disagreement among the people, and leave the school system neutral with reference to religion.

Senator GEORGE. Except that it should be Christian?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. They do not propose that. I say this is the form in which this proposition is made, that we shall leave out religion. That is the atheistical proposition.

Senator GEORGE. You are stating the proposition of your antagonists?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir. I am stating the proposition of the other side. Our objection to that proposal is that it is a specious and deceitful proposal, and that such neutrality is impossible.

Let me illustrate. Suppose we teach the English language in our schools. It will be agreed by all that our common schools should teach to the American citizens the right use of our mother tongue. But it is impossible to teach English words and their meaning without trenching upon religious ideas. Webster defines "right" to be "according to the will of God." What other definition shall we give to the word "right?" Any other definition than that will be of necessity atheistic in its character. So, too, with the word "duty." To whom is duty due?

Shall we teach American history in our schools? At once we are confronted with such questions as these: Who settled this country? From what countries did they come? What causes led to their migration? For what purposes did they come hither? What kind of institutions did they propose to establish? No answer can be given to these questions unless we present certain great religious ideas which were vital questions in the controversies of those days.

What morality shall be enforced in our common school system? The teacher is clothed with authority. Shall profanity be forbidden and restrained, and if so, on what grounds? Because it is wicked or because it is vulgar?

Our suggestion is that it is impossible for our public schools to maintain an attitude of neutrality and impartiality between religion and atheism. "He that is not for me is against me." The whole effect of a school system from which all religious ideas have been carefully excluded will be atheistic in its tendency upon the minds of the pupils.

We desire, further, to say that the Bible has been read and the general principles of morality and of the Christian religion have been inculcated in the American common school from the beginning of its history. In this respect we are seeking no change. We are resisting a change which amounts to a revolution. The general adoption of the secular theory of education, and the systematic and authoritative exclusion of religious ideas from the school-room, would be an entire perversion of the public-school system from the designs of the fathers who founded it and of the people who have maintained it hitherto.

We would say, further, that the secularization of the schools will bring us no advantage in our efforts to withstand the division of the school funds among the sects. The one great charge which is urged by our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens against the public schools, on the strength of which they require parents to withdraw their children from their influence, is that these schools are godless. To prohibit all instruction in religious ideas is but to lay the school system more open to these assaults. It is a fundamental principle with Romanists that "education is a function of the church, not of the state, and that they can not accept the state as an educator for their children." While, therefore, by the exclusion of the Bible and of religious ideas from the schools we gain nothing in the conciliation of these opponents, we do, by the same means, greatly weaken the regard of other Christian people for the schools, and prepare them to acquiesce in the demand for the division of the school fund among the denominations. The increasing willingness of many Protestant Christians to accept their share of these funds, and use it for the support of parish schools, is a marked feature of the situation in places where the secular programme has been carried out.

In reference to the proposal to divide the school fund and establish parochial schools I had thought to speak of that last, but the questions which have been asked drew my other remarks out of their designed order.

Moreover, when any school is supported in whole or in part by public money the whole commonwealth acquires an unquestionable right to know what ideas are inculcated in such schools and to judge concerning them. If those ideas are subversive of American institutions in any respect, then the appropriation of public funds to the support of those schools is suicidal, and the demand for such appropriations is unpatriotic, to say the least. Now, among American ideas these certainly hold a place. The individual right of private judgment in matters of religion; the right of the nation to consult for itself the will of God, to decide for itself what is right and what is wrong, without the dictation or interference of any foreign power, any church or pontiff or ecclesiastical authority.

The Roman Catholic Church, from which comes this demand for a division of the school fund, explicitly denies these principles, and teaches in their stead that the Roman pontiff is the vicegerent of Christ on earth; that all homage to God must be rendered through him; that his authority is final and supreme on moral questions; that he and the church of which he is the head are the only authoritative interpreters of the Scriptures, and that since nations are moral persons and the questions they deal with are largely moral questions, the authority of the Pope extends over all nations and governments.

It can not be said that these were the ideas of the Roman Church in the Middle Ages, but that she has changed greatly since then, and that this absurd pretension can not be fairly charged upon her to-day. It was only a few years ago that an ecumenical council of Catholic bishops declared the infallibility of the Roman pontiff to be a necessary article of Roman faith, the belief of which is essential to salvation.

Senator GEORGE. Before that time they allowed the infallibility to rest in a general council?

Rev. Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir; before that time, but the doctrine of infallibility is the logical foundation of the whole claim to universal supremacy. This decree not only affirmed the infallibility of the Roman pontiffs from that day forward, but it declared the infallibility of all Roman pontiffs from the beginning of their history. In other words, it is an official infallibility inseparable from the office. But many Popes have taught and have practically insisted upon the claim of the subordination of all governments to their authority, and the whole Roman Catholic Church throughout the world is, therefore, under pain of supreme and eternal penalties, obliged to believe that that claim is just and right. No Pope can fail to maintain it without impugning his own infallibility and the infallibility of the whole line of Popes who preceded him. But we are not left to inferences. This claim is distinctly taught by the highest Roman Catholic authority. To-day, next to the Pope himself, there is no more authoritative living exponent of Catholic doctrine than Cardinal Manning, and these are the words which he puts into the mouth of the Roman pontiff:

I acknowledge no civic power. I am the subject of no prince, and I claim more than that; I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant who tills the field, and the prince who sits upon the throne; of the household that sits in the shade of privacy, and of the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole supreme judge of what is right and wrong. (Schaff's History of the Vatican Council, p. 72; Note 1.)

We object that this is not a doctrine that ought to be taught to American citizens at the public expense in American schools. We do not deny or propose to abridge the right of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to establish their own schools for the education of their own chil-

dren; but when they ask of us that the public money, raised by taxation from the people, shall be applied to the support of these schools, and when we know that this is a fundamental truth with them and that it is for the sake of this truth that they insist upon it that they can not accept the public schools as an educator, that education is a function of the church, and the church only, then we favor and earnestly support those provisions of this proposed constitutional amendment which declares that no public money shall be appropriated by any city or State or by the General Government to any school or institution in which the peculiar doctrines or ceremonials of any sect or denomination shall be practiced or taught. We ask simply that our school system shall be left on the foundations where it was placed by our fathers—undenominational, unsectarian, and yet Christian; that is, sustaining a relation to general unsectarian Christianity, which is the religion of the American people.

These points will be insisted upon more fully by some of the other gentlemen who will follow me.

### ARGUMENT OF REV. JAMES M. KING, D. D., OF NEW YORK CITY.

Rev. Dr. KING. Mr. Chairman, for brevity's sake I have placed what I have to say in tolerably concise form which will only take a very few minutes to present; but I shall be very glad to be interrupted by questions at any time in the presentation of what I have to say.

I am permitted to-day to represent the Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America, having been associated with that organization not only as an officer for many years in connection with my other professional work, but for the past five years have been chairman of its committee on legislative action, the special office of that committee being the watching of the character of the legislation in the State of New York and other States, and the defense of our civil and religious liberties from the aggressions from different hostile assaults that have been made upon them.

The first question suggested by a proposed amendment to the national Constitution is that of its necessity and fitness. Nothing is more clear to the American people than that amendments to the Constitution should not be rashly adopted, unless it be the fact written in our history that however perfect was our national Constitution when it passed from the hands of the convention presided over by Congress, in the form approved by a majority of the States, many of its most important and valuable features have since been added to it by amendment.

First came the ten amendments, embodying a bill of rights recommended by the New York convention at Kingston, proposed by the First Congress of the United States, held at the city of New York on the 4th of March, 1789, on the ground that—

The convention of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent a misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaring and restrictive clauses should be added, and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best assure the beneficent ends of its institutions.

The first section of the first amendment is in these words:

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

And this clause, which had the place of highest importance among those first amendments to the Constitution, stands first in the proposed amendment before the Senate for applying the same rule to the States,

so as to give to freedom of worship throughout the Republic the same guaranty from encroachment by the States as that amendment gave it from encroachment from Congress.

After the eleventh amendment, exempting the States from being sued, and the twelfth, touching the Presidential election, came, seventy-six years after the adoption of the Constitution, the thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery, and then followed in 1866 the fourteenth, the first section of which defined citizenship, and forbade any State to abridge their privileges or immunities; and the other sections were induced by the changes brought by the civil war and emancipation; and the fifteenth amendment, enfranchising the colored race, adopted in 1869, was the result of actual changes of national importance.

Occasional amendments called for by changes in the condition of the country are essential to make the Constitution the continuing and perfect conservator of the national rights and interests, and this adaptability to change when the occurrence of unexpected exigencies require amendments constitutes one of the chiefest claims of the Constitution to our admiration and affection.

As the civil war, with results that the country had not anticipated, led to the later amendments, so the enlarged immigration that followed, with defective education, foreign and un-American ideas, a profound ignorance of American principles and of the essential importance and true safeguards of civil and religious freedom, all threatening an interruption of our older and peaceful calm between opposing sects and a revival in America of the Old World jealousies in religion and rivalries in governmental ideas between religious sects and hostile civilizations, disturbing at once the harmony and unity of State politics, State legislation, and State schools.

The outcome of such a state of things if not peremptorily checked did not escape our thoughtful statesmen. One of them, General Grant, whose clear, cool, common sense and practical experience gave to his deliberate advice unusual authority, spoke with solemn earnestness to the country when, in his address to the Army of the Tennessee at Des Moines, on the 29th of September, 1873, he said :

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's and Dixon's, but it will be between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other.

In this centennial year the work of strengthening the foundation of the structure laid by our forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington should be begun. Let us all labor for the security of free thought, free speech, free press, and pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for 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 the state forever separate. With these safeguards, I believe that the battles which created the Army of the Tennessee will not have been fought in vain.

That speech, says Grant's biographer in Appleton's Cyclopaedia, was "published broadcast and received with marked favor by the press and the people;"\* and in November of the same year General Grant was re-elected President.

In his message to Congress, December 7, 1875, President Grant said :

We are a Republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government, it is of the greatest importance that all should be pos-

\* 2 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, p. 722.

sessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men can not, for any considerable period, oppose a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue or by priestcraft. Hence, the education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions. They [the public schools] are worth preserving, because they have secured the greatest good to the greatest proportion of the population of any form of government yet devised. All other forms of government approach it just in proportion to the general diffusion of education and independence of thought and action.

As a primary step, therefore, to our advancement, in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration, and most earnestly recommend, that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, irrespective of sex, color, birth-place, or religion; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds, or school taxes, or part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or any other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid or for the benefit of any other object, of any nature or kind whatsoever.

One week later, on the 14th of December, 1875, the Hon. James G. Blaine proposed in the House of Representatives the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as Article XVI:

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by school taxation in any State, for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations.

Congress adjourned leaving the amendment for the consideration of the people. On the 15th of June, 1876, the Republican national convention at Cincinnati declared:

The public school system of the several 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.

The Democratic national platform, adopted at Saint Louis, June 28, 1876, declared:

We do here re-affirm \* \* \* our faith in the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom.

It charged the Republican party with making "a false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife, in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any."

These platforms show that both the national parties distinctly approved in their national conventions of the principle of the amendment. The Republican party recommended its adoption and the Democratic party declared for a total separation of church and state, and the maintenance of the public schools by the States without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

When the amendment came up for action in the House of Representatives the Judiciary Committee of the House added the clause:

This article shall not vest, enlarge, or diminish legislative power in Congress.

And the House passed the whole by a vote of singular unanimity.

*Vote on the Blaine amendment, passed by the House of Representatives, August 14, 1876.*

YEAS, 180.

Abbott, Josiah H., Massachusetts.  
 Adams, Charles H., New York.  
 Ainsworth, Lucien L., Iowa.  
 Atkins, John D. C., Tennessee.  
 Bagby, John C., Illinois.  
 Bagley, John H., jr., New York.  
 Baker, William H., New York.  
 Ballou, Latimer W., Rhode Island.  
 Banks, Nathaniel P., Massachusetts.  
 Banning, Henry B., Ohio.  
 Bell, Samuel N., New Hampshire.  
 Blair, Henry W., New Hampshire.  
 Bland, Richard P., Missouri.  
 Boone, Andrew R., Kentucky.  
 Bright, John M., Tennessee.  
 Brown, John Young, Kentucky.  
 Brown, William R., Kansas.  
 Burchard, Horatio C., Illinois.  
 Burchard, Samuel D., Wisconsin.  
 Cabell, George C., Virginia.  
 Caldwell, William P., Tennessee.  
 Cannon, Joseph G., Illinois.  
 Cason, Thomas J., Indiana.  
 Caswell, Lucien B., Wisconsin.  
 Cate, George W., Wisconsin.  
 Caulfield, Bernard G., Illinois.  
 Chittenden, Simeon B., New York.  
 Clark, John B., jr., Missouri.  
 Clymer, Hiestor, Pennsylvania.  
 Cochran, Alexander G., Pennsylvania.  
 Conger, Omar D., Michigan.  
 Cook, Philip, Michigan.  
 Cox, Samuel S., New York.  
 Cronse, Lorenzo, Nebraska.  
 Cutler, Augustus W., New Jersey.  
 Danford, Lorenzo, Ohio.  
 Darrall, Chester B., Louisiana.  
 Davis, Joseph J., North Carolina.  
 Davy, John M., New York.  
 Dibrell, George G., Tennessee.  
 Dobbins, Samuel A., New Jersey.  
 Dunnell, Mark H., Minnesota.  
 Durand, George H., Michigan.  
 Durham, Milton J., Kentucky.  
 Eames, Benjamin T., Rhode Island.  
 Eaden, John R., Illinois.  
 Evans, James L., Indiana.  
 Felton, William H., Georgia.  
 Finley, Jesse J., Florida.  
 Fort, Greenbury L., Illinois.  
 Foster, Charles, Ohio.  
 Franklin, Benjamin J., Missouri.  
 Freeman, Chapman, Pennsylvania.  
 Frye, William P., Maine.  
 Garfield, James A., Ohio.  
 Gause, Lucien C., Arkansas.  
 Goode, John, jr., Virginia.  
 Goodwin, John R., Kansas.  
 Gunter, Thomas M., Arkansas.  
 Hale, Eugene, Maine.  
 Hamilton, Andrew H., Indiana.  
 Hancock, John, Texas.  
 Hardenbergh, Augustus A., New Jersey.  
 Harris, Benjamin W., Massachusetts.  
 Harrison, Carter H., Illinois.  
 Hartridge, Julian, Georgia.  
 Hartzell, William, Illinois.  
 Raymond, William S., Indiana.  
 Henderson, Thomas J., Illinois.  
 Henkle, Eli J., Maryland.  
 Hewitt, Abram S., New York.  
 Hoar, George F., Massachusetts.  
 Holman, William S., Indiana.  
 Hopkins, James H., Pennsylvania.  
 Hunter, Morton C., Indiana.  
 Hurd, Frank H., Ohio.  
 Hyman, John A., North Carolina.  
 Jenks, George A., Pennsylvania.  
 Jones, Thomas L., Kentucky.  
 Joyoe, Charles H., Vermont.

Kasson, John A., Iowa.  
 Kehr, Edward C., Missouri.  
 Lamar, Lucius Q. C., Mississippi.  
 Landers, Franklin, Indiana.  
 Lane, Lafavette, Oregon.  
 Lapham, Elbridge G., New York.  
 Lawrence, William, Ohio.  
 Leavenworth, Elias W., New York.  
 Levy, William M., Louisiana.  
 Lewis, Burwell B., Alabama.  
 Lord, Scott, New York.  
 Lynch, John R., Mississippi.  
 Lynde, William P., Wisconsin.  
 Mackey, L. A., Pennsylvania.  
 Maish, Levi, Pennsylvania.  
 MacDougall, Clinton D., New York.  
 McCrary, George W., Iowa.  
 McDill, James W., Iowa.  
 McFarland, William, Tennessee.  
 McMahon, John A., Ohio.  
 Metcalfe, Henry B., New York.  
 Miller, Samuel F., New York.  
 Milliken, Charles W., Kentucky.  
 Mills, Roger Q., Texas.  
 Monroe, James, Ohio.  
 Morgan, Charles H., Missouri.  
 Morrieon, William R., Illinois.  
 Mutchler, William, Pennsylvania.  
 Neal, Lawrence T., Ohio.  
 New, Jephtha D., Indiana.  
 O'Neill, Charles, Pennsylvania.  
 Packer, John B., Pennsylvania.  
 Page, Horace, California.  
 Payne, Henry B., Ohio.  
 Phillips, William A., Kansas.  
 Pierce, Henry L., Massachusetts.  
 Piper, William A., California.  
 Plaisted, Harris M., Maine.  
 Platt, Thomas C., New York.  
 Poppleton, Early F., Ohio.  
 Potter, Allen, Michigan.  
 Powell, Joseph, Pennsylvania.  
 Pratt, Henry O., Iowa.  
 Rainey, Joseph H., South Carolina.  
 Randall, Samuel J., Pennsylvania.  
 Rea, David, Missouri.  
 Reagan, John H., Texas.  
 Reilly, John, Pennsylvania.  
 Rice, Americus V., Ohio.  
 Riddle, Hatwood Y., Tennessee.  
 Robbins, John, Pennsylvania.  
 Robbins, William M., North Carolina.  
 Roberts, Charles B., Maryland.  
 Robinson, Milton S., Indiana.  
 Ross, Miles, New Jersey.  
 Rusk, Jeremiah M., Wisconsin.  
 Sampson, Ezekiel S., Iowa.  
 Savage, John S., Ohio.  
 Scales, Alfred M., North Carolina.  
 Singleton, Otho R., Mississippi.  
 Sinickersun, C. H., New Jersey.  
 Slemens, William F., Arkansas.  
 Smalls, Robert, South Carolina.  
 Smith, A. Herr, Pennsylvania.  
 Smith, William E., Georgia.  
 Southard, Milton I., Ohio.  
 Springer, William M., Illinois.  
 Stenger, William S., Pennsylvania.  
 Stevenson, A. E., Illinois.  
 Stone, William H., Missouri.  
 Teese, Frederick H., New Jersey.  
 Terry, William, Virginia.  
 Thomas, Philip F., Maryland.  
 Thompson, Charles P., Massachusetts.  
 Throckmorton, James W., Texas.  
 Townsend, Washington, Pennsylvania.  
 Tufts, John Q., Iowa.  
 Turney, Jacob, Pennsylvania.  
 Van Vorhes, Nelson H., Ohio.  
 Vance, John L., Ohio.

Waddell, Alfred M., North Carolina.  
Walker, C. C. B., New York.  
Walker, Gilbert C., Virginia.  
Walsh, William, Maryland.  
Ward, Elijah, New York.  
Warren, William W., Massachusetts.  
Wells, Erastus, Missouri.  
White, John D., Kentucky.  
Whitthorne, W. C., Tennessee.  
Wigginton, Peter D., California.

Willard, George, Michigan.  
Williams, Alpheus S., Michigan.  
Williams, James, Delaware.  
Williams, James D., Indiana.  
Williams, Jeremiah N., Alabama.  
Willis, Benjamin A., New York.  
Wilson, Benjamin, West Virginia.  
Wilson, James, Iowa.  
Woodburn, William, Nevada.  
Yeates, Jesse J., North Carolina.

### NAYS, 7.

Blackburn, Joseph C. S., Kentucky.  
Bradford, Taul, Alabama.  
Caldwell, John H., Alabama.  
Clarke, John B., Kentucky.

Forney, William H., Alabama.  
Knott, J. Proctor, Kentucky.  
O'Brien, W. J., Maryland.

Ninety-eight did not vote.

The following members were absent, and it was stated to the House by their respective colleagues that they would have voted in the affirmative had they been present:

Bliss, Archibald M., New York.  
Bradley, Nathaniel B., Michigan.  
Campbell, Alexander, Illinois.  
Cowan, Jacob P., Ohio.  
Crapo, William W., Massachusetts.  
Culbertson, David B., Texas.  
Fuller, Benoni S., Indiana.

Magnon, Henry S., Wisconsin.  
Odell, N. Holmes, New York.  
Waldron, Henry, Michigan.  
Walling, Ansel T., Ohio.  
Williams, Charles G., Wisconsin.  
Williams, W. B., Michigan.

These 13 absent voters in favor of the amendment, added to the 180 who did vote for it, made the number of members in favor of the amendment 193, to 7 nays against it.

In the Senate the proposed article was still further amended by the Judiciary Committee, so as to read thus:

ARTICLE XVI. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religions or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit, and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interest or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prosecution and punishment of violation of this article.

This proposed amendment was defeated in the Senate *by a vote of twenty-eight to sixteen* (not a majority of two-thirds voting for it).

*The vote in the Senate August 14, 1876.*

### YEAS, 25.

Allison, William B., Iowa.  
Anthony, Henry B., Rhode Island.  
Booth, Newton, California.  
Boutwell, George S., Massachusetts.  
Bruce, Blanche K., Mississippi.  
Burnside, Ambrose E., Rhode Island.  
Cameron, Angus, Wisconsin.  
Christiancy, Isaac P., Michigan.  
Clayton, Powell, Arkansas.  
Conkling, Roscoe, New York.  
Cragin, Aaron H., New Hampshire.  
Edmunds, George F., Vermont.  
Ferry, Thomas W., Michigan.  
Frelinghuysen, F. T., New Jersey.

Harvey, James M., Kansas.  
Jones, John P., Nevada.  
Logan, John A., Illinois.  
McMillan, Samuel J. R., Maine.  
Mitchell, John H., Oregon.  
Morrill, Justin S., Vermont.  
Morton, Oliver P., Indiana.  
Oglesby, Richard J., Illinois.  
Paddock, A. S., Nebraska.  
Patterson, John J., South Carolina.  
Sargent, Aaron A., California.  
Spencer, George E., Alabama.  
Wadleigh, B., New Hampshire.  
West, J. Rodman, Louisiana.



## NAYS, 16.

Bogy, Lewis V., Missouri.  
 Cockrell, F. M., Missouri.  
 Cooper, Henry, Tennessee.  
 Davis, Henry G., West Virginia.  
 Eaton, William W., Connecticut.  
 Gordon, John B., Georgia.  
 Jones, Charles W., Florida.  
 Kelly, James K., Oregon.

Kernan, Francis, New York.  
 Key, David M., Tennessee.  
 McCreery, Thomas C., Kentucky.  
 McDonald, Joseph E., Indiana.  
 Maxey, Samuel B., Texas.  
 Norwood, Thomas M., Georgia.  
 Randolph, Theodore F., New Jersey.  
 Stevenson, John W., Kentucky.

Absent, 27.

The CHAIRMAN. It requires a two-thirds vote, you might add, to carry a constitutional amendment.

Rev. Dr. KING. Yes, sir; and there was not a two-thirds vote in favor of the amendment, but a strong majority vote of 28 to 16.

Possibly some light may be thrown upon the defeat of the amendment in the Senate by a fact stated by a Senator (Blair) on the floor of the Senate February 15, 1888, who said :

Twelve years ago, when I was a member of the House of Representatives, and when we were undertaking to enact a constitutional amendment which was to prevent the appropriation of the public money to the support of sectarian schools in the country, a friend of mine pointed out to me upon that floor nine Jesuits, who were there logging against the proposed amendment of the Constitution. I did not know. He claimed to know them, and he pointed them out, nine at one time. (Congressional Record, February 16, 1888, p. 1264.)

A similar incident, which occurred in the New York assembly in April, 1885, during the long contest over the so-called "freedom of worship bill," is thus described by one of the representatives of the Evangelical Alliance, by whose efforts the people of the State were advised of the meaning of the bill, prompted by the "Catholic Union," under the guidance of Jesuit advice, in dividing the infant wards of the State into religious classes and subjecting them to the sectarian teachings and discipline of some who openly repudiated freedom of conscience and liberty of worship. He said :

We were confronted by a well-disciplined Roman legion, under Jesuit leadership. The representatives of the Catholic Union, headed by their president and a force of lawyers, priests, and laymen, for weeks at a time hung about the assembly whispering in the ears of members, etc. (Documents Nos. 4 and 5 of the Evangelical Alliance, etc., concerning the so-called "freedom of worship bill," in the assembly of New York, May 27, 1885, p. 29.)

That I know to be the fact, because of six weeks' observation at the session of the New York legislature of the persistent assault that was made by the Roman Catholic authorities upon the members of that legislature.

## THE GREATER NECESSITY OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT NOW.

The historic incident of the amendment proposed in 1876 is one of the most interesting and significant in our annals. It is identified with the names of illustrious Senators, among whom were Allison, Anthony, Burnside, Roscoe Conkling, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Logan, Oliver P. Morton, and Powell Clayton. It exhibits an extraordinary unanimity of sentiment in the House of Representatives and in the national councils of both parties, and showed an overwhelming sentiment of intelligent public opinion in favor of the amendment.

To-day, twelve years later, the occasion for such an amendment has been enlarged and intensified by an extraordinary increase in our foreign immigration, emphasized by a regrettable lowering in its general character. Our cities, in which are reported to be gathered nearly one-

fourth of our population, are losing the American traits by which they have been honorably distinguished, and are exhibiting in some cases the dominancy of an alien element in control of the municipal government, with increasing complaints from citizens and tax-payers that they are taxed three or four times more than the best-governed cities of Europe.

In New York City the proportion of persons of foreign birth or parentage is about 80 per cent., in Boston 63 per cent., in Milwaukee 78 per cent., and in Chicago 80 per cent.

Senator GEORGE. In these percentages do you go further than the first generation when you speak of foreigners and include those descended from them?

Rev. Dr. KING. No, sir; simply the first generation.

Senator GEORGE. The foreigners and the children of foreigners?

Rev. Dr. KING. Yes, sir. The statistics for New York City I know to be true, for I had something to do with the supervision of the collection of facts.

A recent writer\* on the government of cities estimates that 75 per cent. of the saloon keepers are of the foreign class, and quotes De Tocqueville as saying in 1818, when our foreign population was comparatively insignificant, that he looked upon—

the size of certain American cities, and especially upon the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the future security of the democratic Republic of the New World.

Some of our Western States and Territories are being rapidly peopled by foreigners who have not yet become Americanized, and who bring with them ideas, theories, and political methods at variance with American traditions and American principles, and with the broad, tolerant Christianity, demanding perfect religious freedom, which is a part of American law. The task of absorbing and Americanizing these foreign masses, of imbuing them with American ideas and a right appreciation of their rights and duties as American citizens is certainly formidable, and some may think appalling. It is clear that it can only be successfully overcome by a uniform system of American schools, teaching the same political creed of popular sovereignty, with constitutional checks and guards and civil and religious freedom, with an entire separation of the church and state. It is equally clear that State schools of differing character, of different languages, of different creeds, of antagonistic political doctrines, of opposing sentiments, ideas, and methods, some representing the highest elements of American civilization and others the lowest type of foreign advance in the opposite direction, would prepare the way for domestic quarrels between such antagonistic and irreconcilable elements, and here comes the necessity for the same restraint on the States in regard to religion which the first amendment to the (national) Constitution imposed on Congress.

Already new States of gigantic extent are waiting for admission. The Dakotas, Montana, and Washington are at the door of Congress, and soon Utah, New Mexico, Idaho, Wyoming, and Arizona will demand recognition, with the possibility of the multiplication of States by the division of those admitted, and perhaps by the addition of Canada, Mexico, and Central America. These new features in our history, with their peculiar creeds, customs, and constitutions, demand some corresponding change in the Constitution to make it meet the new requirements and to continue us in the future, as in the past, a united, homo-

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\* Washington Gladden in "America." Chicago, January 31, 1889.

geneous people, the citizens of an undivided republic, the United States of America. However divided into States, however varied our State institutions, it is for the interest and honor of all that we raise an educated people, with a common system of training for American citizens, and that that training should be marked by the Christian ethics to which we owe our high civilization and which are only guaranties of civil and religious liberty. Let one State establish schools inculcating the Mormon faith and polygamy, of socialism, communism, or the gospel of dynamite, or by persons holding allegiance to some foreign potentate and acting under foreign direction and to carry out a foreign and perhaps anti-American policy—in every and all of these cases our free suffrage becomes our greatest danger, the easy instrument for our overthrow, and it becomes clear as the sun at noonday that American education and American suffrage must go hand in hand.

Few, comparatively, of the newly arrived foreigners speak our language; fewer still understand or appreciate our institutions or the Christian and philanthropic spirit that inspired them. It is difficult to instruct them or to establish sympathetic relations; they are apt to fall into the hands of political managers of one party or another, and soon they find that, strangers as they are, they wield the political power, and thus, instead of their coming to learn and practice our principles, they undertake to rule, all unfitted as they are by their hereditary instincts and foreign education to understand the blessings of free institutions.

#### CHRISTIANITY A PART OF AMERICAN LAW.

There has never been a period—

said Mr. Justice Story in his inaugural address as the Dane professor in 1829—

in which the common law did not recognize Christianity as lying at its foundations. It repudiates every act done in violation of its duties of perfect obligation. It pronounces illegal every contract offensive to its morals. \* \* \* The error of our Government, it has been asserted, is in reality of a different character; it tolerated nothing but Christianity.

Another judicial writer, Chief-Justice George Shea, of the marine court of the city of New York, in quoting these words of Story in an address on "The Nature and Form of the American Government founded in the Christian Religion,"\* delivered before the General Theological Seminary of the United States (April 18, 1882), said:

Story might have added to this enumeration that laws in pursuance of the spirit of the Constitution prohibit, under penalties, the name of God being publicly blasphemously uttered,† and will not allow the name of God to be wantonly or openly reviled to the annoyance of believers and bad example to the public. The sacredness of the Lord's Day is acknowledged, and contracts made on that day invalidated. The conscience of each public servant is bound by "that adamant chain, an oath," to the throne of God, in the legislative, the judicial, the executive departments; from the President of the United States, from the Chief Justice of the United States down to the humblest officer in the nation, State, municipality, or village. The Constitution expresses in these visible signs the substantial idea; it makes the reality of its Christian character; and it finally and affirmatively declares in express terms that the enactments which compose the Constitution were "done \* \* \* in the year of our Lord 1787." It was the deliberate issue of religious traditions, circumstances, convictions, and acknowledgments.

And then comes the other great fact of our history, that—

the original thirteen States inherited and continued in legal succession and amplitude of jurisprudence the common law, and as to the courts of the national Govern-

\* Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1883, pp. 60-64.

† The People v. Ruggles, 8 Johnson, 290, 298.

ment, their limitations concern subjects of jurisdiction, and not the applicability within that jurisdiction of the common law\*—

of which Kent says:

It is the common jurisprudence of the United States and was brought with them as colonists from England and established here.†

The Christian character which has, from the beginning characterized our common schools, and which properly belongs to the schools of a Christian people, is thus alluded to by the Evangelical Alliance in a recent circular to the American people:

Touching the management of our common schools, on the purity of whose teaching depends the character of the nation, this Alliance would respectfully and earnestly entreat all who would maintain in their purity and beneficence our American institutions, to have a constant eye to the schools in their own immediate neighborhood; to cherish them with affectionate and jealous care; to guard them from partisan and sectarian manipulation; to see that the teachers are fitted for their work morally as well as intellectually, and that they worthily appreciate the grandeur of their task in training children for their high duties as American citizens. They should clearly understand that while those duties are based upon the broad, tolerant Christianity which our country holds to be, in a modified sense, a part of American law‡—the Christianity revealed in the Bible, and whose divine origin and birth are judicially recognized—a Christianity not founded on any particular tenets, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men: the Christian ethics and influence thus authorized and demanded in our schools, must never be narrowed or perverted in our State institutions, and least of all in our public schools, by the admission of denominational dogmas or doctrines, or of decrees or maxims at variance with American rights, American principles, or American law; or inconsistent with the fundamental American principle of a complete separation of church and state.

The American public school, with the Christianizing and mollifying influence of the Golden Rule and the spirit of equal rights, civil and religious freedom, and of the high responsibility of American citizens, blending the children of different races, bringing those who represent the lower civilization of foreign lands under the gentle and elevating influence of the children of American citizens inheriting the blood and the spirit of the founders of the Republic—these are the features that induced Henry Ward Beecher to say, and we all feel how much of truth there is in the remark, that “children of all the nationalities of the world enter our public schools and come out Americans.”

\* C. J. Shea's address, pp. 63, 64; and Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, pp. 140, 141.

† Kent's Commentaries, p. 543.

‡ “It is well settled,” says President Dwight, of the Columbia College Law School, “by decisions in the courts of the leading States of the Union, that Christianity is a part of the common law of the State.”

The judicial authorities bearing on this point are of the highest authority and embrace the opinion of C. J. Kent, in the Ruggles case, concurred in by Judges Smith Thompson, Ambrose Spencer, William Van Ness, and Joseph C. Yates, of the supreme court of the State of New York; and that of Mr. Justice Allen and his associates, Clark and Sutherland, J. J., in the case of Lindemüller; of Chief-Justice Clayton, of Delaware, in the case of Chandler; of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, in *Updegraph v. The Commonwealth*; of Chief-Justice Story, in *Vidal v. Girard's Executors*; and in Story's “Commentaries on the Constitution.”

They are generally alluded to also by Chief-Justice Shea in his “Nature and form of the American Government founded in the Christian Religion,” Boston, 1833; in Dr. James M. King's “Religion and the State,” Phillips & Hunt, New York, 1886, quoting also Daniel Webster, President Dwight, and Dr. Woolsey; and in “Church and State in the United States; or, the American Idea of Religious Liberty and its Practical Effects,” by Phillip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., American Historical Association, Vol. II, No. 4, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1888, with elaborate passages from the leading opinions referred to; and also from Dr. Franklin, Dr. Francis Lieber, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, and Chief-Justice Waite.

Some authorities and information touching the organized attempt to subvert the common schools and religious freedom may be found in the documents of the Alliance Nos. XX, XXIII, and XXIV.

We all know what need we have of calm, intelligent, deliberate wisdom for the discussion and decision of the difficult and exciting questions that are constantly arising in one shape or another between capital and labor, and which are now used by astute politicians and wire-pullers to arouse and influence the passions of the populace, and to create prejudice and doubt, hate and fear, and to enable cliques and party managers to guide the tumult they have helped to create in furtherance of their aims for wealth and power.

For the sake of economy of time I ask permission to leave with you a printed address on "Religion and the State," in which the history and character of the public schools are discussed, and proof is adduced to establish the fact that we are a Christian but not a sectarian nation; and that purely secular instruction of the youth in preparation for the duty of citizenship has in it the elements of imminent peril. Appended to this address will be found a digest of judicial decisions and opinions bearing upon the relation of Christianity to our State and national governments.

I have also prepared an argument to prove that the great peril to our civil and religious liberties is to be found in the aggressions of Jesuitical Romanism, with its abject submission to a foreign power, and its uncompromising hostility to the public schools.

#### JESUIT ATTEMPTS TO MISREPRESENT AND BLACKEN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Their declaration that the public schools are infidel in principle is in absolute violation of the truth of history and in contempt of judicial decisions that Christianity is a part of American law. Our morals and religion as a people are declared by our courts to be those of Christianity, and Christian morality has always formed a part of our common-school education. But the ultramontanes demand the right to teach their denominational dogmas, and we draw the line at sectarian teaching, and exclude all the doctrines on which Christians differ. But this rule does not exclude the teaching of the Ten Commandments or of the Golden Rule, or of the perfect morals inculcated in our Saviour's teachings, especially in His sermon on the mount.

The Jesuit fallacy on this point has been shared by others whose arguments, based upon a patent fallacy, ignore the long array of judicial decisions, and have sometimes been deluded into almost admitting that Christian morals can not be taught in our public schools, while under our judicial decisions their teaching becomes the plainest of duties. In New York, for instance, and other States where by the constitution of the State or by special statute one may be indicted and punished for saying "in the presence of divers good and Christian people, etc., of and concerning the Christian religion and of and concerning Jesus Christ certain false and blasphemous words in contempt of the Christian religion and in contempt of the law of the State," would it not be absurd to contend that the State was forbidden in the public schools to let the children know anything of the Christian religion which was a part of its law and for blaspheming which they would be punished?

An elaborate work on "Public-School Education" by the Rev. Michael Müller, of which a new and revised edition has been published in New York by D. & J. Saddler & Co., with indorsements by P. T. Balter, Bishop at Alton, and by other Roman Catholic authorities, says:

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. \* \* \*

Yet the wicked, detestable, irreligious system, diabolical in its origin and subservience of all political, social, and religious order, is imposed by the State upon all Christian denominations, whether they approve of it or not. Now, the State has no right whatever to force such a godless system upon its subjects.

#### JESUIT ATTEMPTS TO DRIVE THE BIBLE FROM THE SCHOOLS.

The Ultramontanes have used every effort to drive the Bible from our public schools, where from the early colonies it has had its honored place. The chief argument used by its opponents was that there was an essential difference between the Douay translation and that of King James, and that it was unfair to compel Roman Catholic children to listen to a translation which their parents and spiritual teachers believed to be erroneous; and to this argument no little weight was given by those most anxious to retain the Bible as "the noblest of classics—the book of the ages—the word of God."

The controversy resulted not in the exclusion of the Bible by law, but in its exclusion from certain schools, and the objection based upon a supposed erroneous translation or of sectarian selection of passages was thus definitely disposed of by the *Freeman's Journal*, November 20, 1869:

If the [Roman] Catholic translation of the Books of Holy Writ, which is to be found in the houses of all our better educated [Roman] Catholics, were to be dissected by the ablest Catholic theologians in the land, and merely *lessons* to be taken from it, such as [Roman] Catholic mothers read to their children; and with all the notes and comments in the popular edition, and others added with the highest [Roman] Catholic indorsement; and if these admirable Bible lessons, and these alone, were to be ruled as to be read in all the public schools, this would not diminish in any substantial degree the objections we [Roman] Catholics have to letting [Roman] Catholic children attend the public schools.

So that the one great effort to make the schools heathenish and Godless came from the Ultramontanes themselves; and they backed it by the Jesuitical and groundless argument, first, that the state has no right to teach Christian morality in the public schools; and next, that the state has no right to educate at all excepting by the permission and with the approval of the Pope.

In a paper in the [Roman] Catholic World, for September, 1875, on "The rights of the [Roman] Church over education," the third proposition says:

The superintendence and direction of the public schools, as well those wherein the mass of the people are instructed in the rudiments of human knowledge as those wherein secondary and higher instruction are given, belong of right to the [Roman] Catholic Church. She alone has the right of watching over the moral character of those schools; of approving the master who instructs the youth therein; of controlling their teaching, and dismissing, without appeal to any other authority, those whose doctrines or manners should be contrary to the purity of the Christian doctrine.

This so-called "Christian doctrine" includes, as now taught in the Jesuit text-books, many of the doctrines which the [Roman] Catholic Church, by the brief of abolishment issued by Pope Clement XIV, condemned as immoral and scandalous, and which, in their demoralizing influence, naturally lead to the startling proportion of vice and crime which marks the statistical results of the Ultramontane schools in America as compared with those of the public schools; and it is easy to imagine the extent and character of the revolution which such a transfer of the education of our youth from the state to the ecclesiastical power of Rome, and such an utter transformation of its character would effect in the future of our Republic.

# DR. BROWNSON'S TESTIMONY TO THE LOW CIVILIZATION OF THE CATHOLIC COLONY IN NEW YORK.

"By their fruits shall ye know them," said our Lord to His disciples; by our fruits non-Catholics do and will judge our Church. \* \* \* The worst governed cities in the Union are precisely those in which Catholics are the most influential in the 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 larger cities. The majority of the grog-sellers in this 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.* In ordinary life we do not find Catholics more honest, more truthful, more conscientious than the non-Catholic community. \* \* \* We expected to find Catholics willing always to pay homage to truth and justice, liberal and tolerant in matters of opinion, rigid and uncompromising in matters of faith. We have found them in but too many instances the reverse. We have found people whose ancestors during fourteen hundred years have been Catholics, *who have yet to be taught the simplest principles and precepts of Christian morality, and who scarcely have any conception of duty,* except going to confession and receiving Holy Communion. We have found those who seem to think if they escaped the censure of the priest, they need give themselves no further trouble. \* \* \* Yet in moral culture and general intelligence the Catholic population are below the better class of non-Catholics.

Dr. Brownson's picture of the training in the parochial schools, and the thought of the Jesuit morality taught in the present Roman Catholic text-books, leave no further explanation necessary of the statistics gathered from the census of 1870, as collated by Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, and in which it is believed no error has been shown to exist. It seems that there are furnished to every ten thousand inhabitants—

By—	Illiterates.	Paupers.	Criminals.
Roman Catholic schools.....	1,400	410	160
Public schools of twenty-one States.....	350	170	75
Public schools of Massachusetts.....	71	69	11

It was also shown that in the State of New York the Roman Catholic parochial-school system turned out three and a half times as many paupers as the public-school system.

## THE ALLOWANCE OF A CONNECTION OF CHURCH AND STATE ENLARGES PAUPERISM AND INCREASES TAXATION.

This was strikingly illustrated after the passage in 1875 of the children's law, promoted by the Charities Aid Association for the removal of pauper children from the poor-houses to asylums, with an amendment against which that association protested "as being contrary to the traditions and usages of this country in recognizing religious distinction in State legislation." It provided that such children should be sent to asylums or reformatory institutions controlled by persons of the same faith with the parents of the children.

This provision, violating the American principle, "No connection between church and state," and the approved rule that the State shall educate only in its public schools, and never in sectarian institutions, and that the money of the people should be expended in fitting the children for their duties as American citizens, and not in teaching the religious dogmas of rival sects, increased largely the pauperism which the original bill was intended to arrest. This naturally resulted from the fact that each additional pauper entitled the sectarian institution which secured him to a new bounty. In Kings County, for example,

the number of children subject to removal increased the first year more than 100 per cent., and it rose from 348 in 1875 to nearly 1,600 in 1880. The proportion in different asylums being given—

Roman Catholic.....	1,288
Protestant.....	266
Jewish.....	17

Of the children, 720 were represented as having both parents living; so that hundreds of families had been broken up and children removed from the care of their parents to be maintained in sectarian schools and boarding-houses at the public expense. The cost to the people of Kings County rose in five years from \$40,000 to \$172,000, at \$110 for each child, a price so large that Commissioner Ropes said that the overcrowded asylums farmed out those whom they had no room for.

The importance to tax-payers of the absolute avoidance of the religious question in the management of the public charities, is shown also by a comparative table published by the State board of charities, which exhibits the contrast in this respect between the cities of Philadelphia and New York. In Philadelphia, for thirty years from 1850 to 1880, the increase of population had been 135 per cent. and the increase in the cost of charities 112 per cent.; while in New York, during the same period, the increase in population has been 134 per cent. and the increase in the cost of charities 539 per cent.

#### THE HOSTILITY OF THE JESUITS TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

The testimony of statesmen, political economists, and historians, who have never been charged with the *odium theologicum*, warns us as a people to beware of the Jesuits and ultramontanes. Lafayette, himself of the Roman Catholic faith, whose devotion to the young Republic whose freedom he assisted to establish and of which he was made a citizen and whom Washington regarded as a son, said :

If anything disturbs your liberties look out for the invisible hand of the Jesuit.

Adam Smith, the great political economist, said :

The Church of Rome is the most formidable combination that was ever formed against the authority and security of civil government; as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind.

Dr. Robertson, the accomplished historian, said of the Church of Rome :

The implicit submission to all her decrees which the Roman Church extracts, prepares and breaks the mind for political servitude. Their system of superstition is the firmest foundation of civil tyranny. (Robertson, History of Scotland, p. 59, Edinburgh, 1829.)

Mr. Gladstone, with an extensive learning and a practical experience and wisdom that give force to his grave counsels, said of the ultramontane authority :

(Vaticanism, p. 111)—“That its influence is adverse to freedom in the state, the family, and the individual;” and (p. 119) “In the churches subject to the Pope, clerical power, and every doctrine and usage favorable to clerical power, have been developed; while all that nurtured freedom, and all that guaranteed it, have been harassed and denounced, cabined and confined, attenuated and starved;” and again (p. 95), “To secure rights has been, and is, the aim of the Christian civilization; to destroy them, and to establish the resistless, domineering action of a purely central power, is the aim of the Roman policy.”

However amiable may be the personal character of the present Pope, his policy as the Sovereign Pontiff is in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the American Government.



In his Encyclical (Tablet, Nov. 14, 1885) Leo XIII again expressed his approval of the Syllabus. He denounced the Reformation as "the origin of the recent principle of *unbridled liberty*;" he repudiates the idea of "equality;" or that "each man should be allowed *freely to think* on whatever subject he pleases;" and he condemned any Government in which "*every one will be allowed to follow the religion he prefers*." In a letter addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, under date March 25, 1879, he asserts: "That he understands the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff to signify removing from Rome the means of practicing and propagating whatever in the opinion of the Roman Church is heretical; and that, if he possessed the liberty he claims, *he would employ it to close all the Protestant schools and places of worship in Rome*." (Times, April 11, 1879.)

The minister of public instruction in France, under Gambetta, uttered not merely his own judgment, but also that of the great statesman himself, when he said:

The Jesuits, wherever they have found an opportunity, have provoked a civil war. They recognize no civil or political obligations to the state which are not subordinate to their order, of which they must be the final judges. They corrupted the youth for three hundred years. They countenanced debauchery, theft, incest, robbery, and murder, and teach as morals a set of doctrines which strike at the very foundation of human society. They have been hunted like rattlesnakes out of every Christian country in Europe, even out of Rome itself, and in other places have been put under the ban of the church.

The Abbex Arnault, in the same vein, asks this significant question:

Do you wish to excite troubles, to provoke revolution, to produce the total ruin of your country, call in the Jesuits.

#### ULTRAMONTANE BOASTS OF THEIR RAPID INCREASE OF WEALTH, AND ITS EXPLANATION.

Father Hecker, in his ingenious pamphlet on the "Catholic Church in the United States" (New York, 1879), remarks that—

The Catholic Church in the Republic finds her strength in relying for her material support upon the piety of her faithful, and the spirit and generosity with which her children respond to this test of the sincerity of that faith is an example which has a meaning at this moment for the whole Christian world.

It certainly has a meaning for the tax-payers of America, and especially of New York and other large cities, when we examine the financial statistics which enabled Father Hecker to boast (p. 22) that the wealth of the Roman Catholic Church had increased from \$9,256,758 in 1850, to \$26,774,119 in 1860, and to \$60,985,565 in 1870; and he added that while in the last decade "the wealth of the whole country gained 86 per cent., the Catholic Church gained 128 per cent."

The figures given by Mr. Hawkins show that in 1869 nearly \$800,000 were paid to it by Mr. Tweed, the master thief in New York politics; and that from 1869 to 1885 Roman Catholic institutions got from the treasury of New York \$10,915,371.81. (See paper by General R. E. Hawkins in the American Citizen, February 9, 1889.)

Dr. Brounson says:

We often boast of the progress of our religion in this country, but we deceive ourselves. As yet the church has made little or no progress in converting the American people, and what we call her progress is only the augmentation of the foreign colony. Catholic missions to the American people have not yet been opened. The missions in the country are to the foreign colony of Catholics settled here. No doubt a few converts are made, but they number, all told, we should judge, not a tithe of the conversions of Catholics that take place. Besides, as we have just intimated, the majority of these converts join the foreign colony, become far more assimilated to the

foreign colony than Catholic foreigners settled here do to the American people proper. So that in reality our Catholic progress consists not in Catholicizing, but in foreignizing the country. \* \* \*

But hitherto the church has been presented to us not as the Catholic Church, but as a foreign church. We need the Catholicity but not the foreignism, for that foreignism which Catholics bring with them and perpetuate in their foreign colony is uncatholic and *antagonistical to the American idea*, and has thus far *done more injury to our American order of civilization* than the Catholicity they also bring has yet done to aid it. The spread of Catholicity associated with the foreign civilization throughout the country, would destroy the American order of civilization and reproduce in our New World that of the Old World, on which ours is, in our judgment, a decided advance. The American people see this, and hence the little or no progress of the Catholic religion among them.

#### THE FORCE OF GRANT'S SUGGESTION.

But the culminating argument in behalf of the amendment is that which General Grant suggested to the Army of the Tennessee at Des Moines, September 29, 1876, when he said :

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's and Dixon's; but it will be between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other.

And with that possibility in the near future, can we hesitate at the wisdom of an amendment which will securely place the public-school system on the side of patriotism, intelligence, and Christianity, arrest the effect inspired by a foreign potentate and organized by his agents in our own to array the schools on the side of superstition, ambition, and ignorance?

Could there be greater folly than to divide our nation with antagonistic schools, teaching patriotism in the one and disloyalty in the other?

The Jesuits hope to accomplish their ends by corrupting our legislatures by a deal of votes for principles; and some of them seem also to anticipate the war whose possible shadow suggested to Grant his words of wisdom. Three years later, on the 24th of May, 1879, the Catholic Herald is quoted as saying :

That a most dreadful conflict, an awful conflict, between the power of good and evil, is in the near future, and that the fate of the Republic depends upon the result.

Rome has not failed to provide in advance convenient rules for such an event. She is not content with claiming power to "amend and to cancel the civil laws or the sentences proceeding from a civil court whenever there may be collision with the spiritual weal," but that—

*She has the faculty to check the abuse of the executive and of the armed forces, or even to prescribe their employment whenever the requirements for the protection of the Christian faith may require it.*

In this view the organization of regiments under ultramontane guidance may not be without significance, and orders from Rome checking the abuse of the executive and the armed forces, and prescribing the employment of the Government troops may present a novel incident unprovided for in the tactics of the American army, but not unworthy the thought of statesmen capable of arresting such foreign interference by preserving the integrity of the American school.

Great injustice has been doubtless done to the liberal and loyal American Roman Catholics by the unlimited boasts of the Ultramontanes, intimating that every Irishman was in heart favorable to the ultramontane schemes. This idea seemed to be conveyed by the late Archbishop Lynch, of the Roman diocese of Toronto, who, in a letter to Lord Randolph Churchill, quoted in the New York Churchman of April

2, 1887, declared that "the Irish vote is a great factor in America;" that "the power of their organizations is increasing every day;" that "*they hold already the balance of power in Presidential and other elections.*" A further remark of the Archbishop is of national and almost world-wide interest in view of the Irish question, and of the part which our Republic and our Irish fellow-citizens are expected to play in accomplishing the foreign policy of the Vatican. His Grace said:

Should a misunderstanding happen between England and the United States, Canada would in a few days be overrun by American troops. It would cost that Republic very little, as Irish-American military organizations would supply very largely both men and money.

There is no reason to suppose that our citizens, native or adopted, of whatever faith, who are sincerely loyal to American principles and institutions are ready to back the ultramontanes in involving the Republic in a war with England, or in undermining the public schools and religious freedom.

The New York Herald, edited by a gentleman of the Roman Catholic faith, whose princely generosity to the poor of Ireland entitles him to their eternal gratitude, and to whom the Roman Catholic missions in America have been largely indebted, has given to the ultramontanes of New York the frankest warnings. It said (October 14, 1880):

The people have an opportunity to see just what sort of an institution the [Roman] 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 religions to which they object, and will not permit, and the vice of the [Roman] 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 (October 30, 1880), the editor, recurring to this subject, wrote: "In all it then said the Herald has the sympathy of many loyal and devoted [Roman] Catholics."

But the loyal Roman Catholics of whatever nationality are unable by themselves to stem the Jesuit tendencies now dominant in their church; and Congress in approving and recommending the amendment will take a step that will tend to perpetuate our institutions and secure the happiness of our people; but the first persons to be benefited by the amendment will be the Roman Catholic children who are now prevented from attending the public schools.

It is time to end in the American Republic all foreign decrees against our public schools like that issued by Bishop McClosky at Louisville, Ky., January 3, 1880, in these words:

Now, *it is our will and command* that when there is a Catholic school in the parish parents and guardians in such place should send their children or wards who are under nine years of age to such Catholic schools; and we hereby direct that the obligation be enforced under the pain of refusal of absolution in the sacrament and penance.

**ARGUMENT OF REV. GEORGE K. MORRIS, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.**

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the responsibility of addressing the committee on this important matter was thrown upon me at so late a period that I have not been able to reduce anything to writing and I shall limit myself to a single remark or two.

I ask your attention to the fact that on this matter of the proposed constitutional amendment the country stands divided principally along a line indicated by the evangelical church bodies on the one side and the Roman Catholic Church on the other; but this must be said with some qualifications. There are some members of the evangelical churches, a very limited number, who do not see eye to eye with the great masses of these churches upon this point for reasons which they may be trusted to advance, and, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church is not a unit in its demand. What has been spoken of as the ultramontane element in that church is at the bottom of this agitation. We have no means of ascertaining how large a proportion of the entire Catholic Church they represent; but we are quite confident that they represent the most skillful, the most adroit, the most powerful, the most energetic, and the most determined; that they are inspired by the Jesuit Society which is abroad in America, and whose subtle workings may be recognized in more ways than one as touching the political life of our great country.

There are, however, very many Roman Catholic citizens who have no sympathy with the movement and who never willingly send their children to parochial schools, but who do so under angry protest when compelled by the spiritual authority which they dare not openly resist, and who, as soon as the grip of the priest is relaxed, permit their children to fall away from the parochial school, whose curriculum is limited and unsatisfactory, and to go again to our public schools.

Now, the fact that the public sentiment of the United States stands divided along the line suggested gives importance to the question as to the relative strength of the two bodies—the body demanding respectfully the adoption of this amendment on the one side, and the body which, if united in their objections, would stand on the other side as opposing it.

According to the latest statistics, in the year 1886 the Roman Catholic population was 7,200,000. That estimate includes every man, woman, and child of the Catholic faith in the United States of America at that time, and does not admit of the addition of 50 per cent. nor any other per cent. in order to include other persons of Roman Catholic sentiment not members of the Roman Catholic Church.

You will need to remember, Mr. Chairman, that the Roman Catholic method of estimating the number of members differs from that of the evangelical churches. All their children are baptized into the church, and every person of the Roman Catholic faith is a member of the Roman Catholic Church and is so enumerated and reported, while, on the other hand, the evangelical churches count only communicants, persons who profess the actual experience of religion; they distinguish in their enumeration between those who believe the doctrines, who accept the creeds of the several evangelical churches, and those who are strictly members or communicants in the church.

Along that line the Roman Catholics in 1886 were represented to be 7,200,000 citizens, including children. The evangelical population at

that time—not the church membership simply, but the population—numbered 42,646,279.

To give you an idea of the relative growth of these two bodies who are before you or will be, allow me to state that in the sixteen years immediately preceding 1886 the Roman Catholic population increased by the number of 2,000,000, while the evangelical population increased 19,289,293. So that in 1870 the evangelical population was  $60\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., while in 1886 it was 73 per cent.; an increase of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in sixteen years. The Romanists have gained since 1870 more than in the previous fourteen years 12 per cent., while the evangelical population in the same time have gained 87 per cent.

I have called your attention to these statistics because political considerations have very much to do with the decision of these questions in a country like ours, where the majority on all questions, it is conceded, is entitled to rule.

Senator GEORGE. Your idea is that the Roman Catholics are not gaining in proportion to the others?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. That is distinctly and clearly shown by these statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. You count men, women, and children?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. In all cases.

The CHAIRMAN. And entirely regardless now of what is called experiencing religion?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; in each case, Catholic and evangelical, we give the population; those who entertain the doctrines of the church.

The CHAIRMAN. In that do you count all who are Catholics on one side and all who are not Catholics on the other?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. No, sir. We count all who are Catholics on the one side and all who are of the evangelical faiths on the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a residuum or fraction is remaining which makes up the entire people?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Unfortunately I have not prepared myself upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did you estimate the evangelicals numbered in 1886?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Forty-two million six hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-nine.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Catholics?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. The Catholic population 7,200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Forty-two and seven-tenths per cent.?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Nearly 43 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. The total being 50,000,000 in 1880, the gain between 50,000,000 and the true population in 1886 would represent all the other classes who belong to no church whatever?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. The atheists, those who entirely reject the Christian faith.

The CHAIRMAN. You substantially include everybody in the evangelical estimate except the Catholics?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. I have not looked closely into that question.

The CHAIRMAN. There were 50,000,000 of people in 1880, and in 1886 there may have been 58,000,000 perhaps.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes; I understand that this estimate allows for the population which is supposed to be purely atheistic, rejecting all Christian faiths. They are comparatively a small number.

Senator GEORGE. Exclusive of the Mormons, too?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. No, not the Mormons. They would be evangelical in one sense.

Senator PALMER. You assume all who are not atheistic and who are not Catholic to be evangelical?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; pretty nearly so.

The CHAIRMAN. You include all who are known as agnostics perhaps as evangelicals, then?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. The agnostics, properly speaking, are so small in number, that they have scarcely entered into the computation.

The CHAIRMAN. But the fact seems to be that there is a great body of people who are not communicants of churches, who have no special, active, affirmative faith in the evangelical creeds or in Roman Catholicism, which, I suppose, is very nearly one-third of our people; I think it is.

Senator PALMER. The agnostics are a religious people, more so than many of our people.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ingersoll is an agnostic. He leads a type of agnosticism in the country.

Senator PALMER. He is atheistic.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an agnostic.

Senator GEORGE. That raises a very interesting question as to what is the Christian religion.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. There are statistics showing that there are nearly twenty millions of American citizens who are members of Christian churches, from which it would appear that much less than one-third of our people are unbelievers.

Senator GEORGE. What becomes in your calculation about church membership of the Baptist children of what are called the Pedo-Baptists?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. I estimate no person as a member of an evangelical church whose name has not been entered upon the church roll.

Senator GEORGE. After arriving at the years of discretion?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. After the years of discretion have arrived, and by his own act.

Senator GEORGE. Though he may have been baptized in infancy?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Though he may have been baptized in infancy.

To resume, this growing minority—that is, this minority growing backward, becoming more and more a minority—present this claim for a division of the school fund, and the great mass of what remains of the population—that is, the great mass of American citizens—are opposed to this division of the school fund as demanded by the ultramontane side of the Catholic Church.

Senator GEORGE. Those figures, I suppose, are assuring to us politicians, that in getting after the Catholics and all that sort of thing we are not getting in a minority?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Well, sir; you are at liberty to make a very wise inference from the facts which are before you without comment so far.

And, now, that brings us to a consideration of the peril arising to the country from the method adopted by this minority, this acute, adroit, determined, and united minority, to accomplish their purposes. They seek to secure them not so much by the American method of intelligent agitation before the great jury of the public, presenting the facts and discussing the principles in the open light of broad day, but by political methods, at the handling of which they are adepts.

Senator GEORGE. Let me ask you a question there. Is not this pro-

posed amendment and are not these proceedings here rather an imitation of what is charged against the Catholics, of obtaining their ends by political methods?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. It would be very strange sir, if we would not follow an enemy into any battle-field to which he might resort to accomplish his purposes. We admit that, and you will see why, perhaps, in a moment or two further on. They seek by political methods to accomplish their purposes, and I ought to say, in the opposition we are making to the demands of the Ultramontanes we are not actuated at all by antagonism to the Roman Catholic faith nor to Roman Catholics as Christians. We are very careful in our dealings, so far as I am familiar with the matter, to avoid anything calculated to stir up denominational bitterness in the masses of our people. Let me say we believe in the religious character of the religious Roman Catholic and have not a word to say against the Roman Catholic Church as a church. We must mention its name here, but in doing it, so far, at least, as I am concerned and those whom I know myself to represent in sentiment are concerned, we mention the name without ecclesiastical bitterness. There is no ill-feeling towards the church as a church. We are entirely willing that the Roman Catholic Church shall stand on terms of perfect equality in this great, free country of ours, and shall have its say on every great question, and we are entirely willing that it shall press its claims by legitimate methods before the public and win the fight if it can.

We seek to arouse no hostility toward that church as a church, but if we can succeed in showing, as I think the facts which have been laid before you tend very strongly to show, that any measure of this church or of any other church, if any other church were concerned, is inimical to the best interests of the country, then, aside from ecclesiasticism, we would be justified in antagonizing the intent of the church as to that measure.

Now, we hold that the Roman Catholic Church is pursuing a measure which is destructive of the best interests of this great country, and therefore without regard to its faith at all, but with sole reference to the political method that it is pursuing, we meet it here. Outside of this conflict I should be glad to meet with Catholics, with Catholic priests, as citizens of this country, and as believers in the same Lord Jesus Christ, and as lovers of the same God, on terms of Christian fraternity. We have not been educated to regard with superstitious horror the Roman Catholic as a Christian, but on the other hand we hold that both their aim and their method of pursuing it are productive of perils that ought to alarm every true patriot.

Senator GEORGE. Let me ask you a question right there. You regard the purposes to which you have alluded of the Roman Catholic Church as so essentially a part of that ecclesiastical organization that it is not likely to be abandoned, except by the destruction of the church?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. No, sir; it is not an essential part of the church at all, as we look at it from the outside, and as we are taught, as I have been taught by some who profess to speak from an inside view, but it represents, as I have said, the Jesuitical element in that church. There are Romanists loyal to their church who believe that it is a mistake, and who will feel that the church as a church is stronger before the nation when this thing shall have been settled.

As to the question of methods, Mr. Chairman, they pursue this conflict by carrying the question, the religious question and the ecclesiastical question, into ward and county and city politics. They are intro-

ducing a religious or ecclesiastical line into party politics in a manner that is not only calculated to stir up religious animosities, but that has actually done so, and that is destined to do so more and more, creating inconceivable bitterness. In New York City—I am not a resident of that city, but I used to be, and I am interested in it as the metropolis of our country, and I read with some interest what goes on there, and I know as a result of the attempts of this church to secure similar measures, measures involving the same purposes and intended to accomplish the same ends before the legislature at Albany, they have aroused a degree of political bitterness that is simply appalling and that will produce results, if it be not arrested, that no man can calculate, and the agitation following which the country can not afford to sustain.

Now if this amendment shall pass it will remove the question out of politics. It is a question that politicians have cause to fear. So long as it remains as a live political question, it will seriously disturb political calculations, but if this amendment is adopted and the whole thing is removed entirely from politics, that settles it, and the country becomes quiet. There may after that be agitation along other lines, but so far as politics are concerned there is an end of the battle and political forces may marshal themselves along the lines of questions of state of great importance without fear of being disturbed by the mandate of a foreign pontiff.

We understand very well, and it might as well be stated here, that there are great masses of voters in the United States whose ballot is determined by the Roman pontiff.

Senator GEORGE. Do you mean to say that the Roman pontiff, through his ecclesiastical agencies, dictates to Roman Catholics of this country the ticket which they shall vote?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. I mean to say that I have information, which has come to me in common with other citizens, and there is the clearest reason for assuming that fact, that while I would hesitate to put it in that distinct form, yet there might be no reason to hesitate to say that the political machinery of that church is so perfect, its relation to the political actions of its members is so complete, that there is not the slightest danger that the political action of any large number of its members shall in any case run counter to the will of the pontiff.

Senator GEORGE. You speak of the "political machinery" of the church. Is that a deliberate expression?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Not as it would be interpreted by politicians, but the machinery of the church controlling political machinery in the State—there is a confessed relation between the two.

Senator GEORGE. Do you mean that their ecclesiastical machinery has been perverted to the control of politics?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; that is the idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean, doctor, that that is a perversion, or that it is a political machine organized for political as well as religious ends, and attaining religious ends through political agencies as well as religious?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. I mean both. That is to say, when you think of the Roman Catholic Church as a church, it is a perversion as claiming to be a church; it is a perversion of what belongs to a church; but when you think of the Roman Catholic Church as a branch of a great state, claiming to cover the whole world, governed by an Italian priest, then it is not a perversion, but the simple normal action of that church.

Senator WILSON. Does it not all spring from the claim of temporal power?



Rev. Dr. MORRIS. It all springs from the claim of temporal power, to which I have referred without using the term.

Senator GEORGE. You mean that the ecclesiastical organization of the church, taken in connection with the claims of the church—some gentleman has alluded to it here—as to infallibility and all that sort of thing, necessarily makes it a political machine?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Necessarily so. This Roman pontiff, as you have heard it read, says, or it has been said for him by his representative:

I acknowledge no civic power. I am the subject of no prince, and I claim more than that: I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant who tills the field, and the prince who sits upon the throne; of the household who sit in the shade of privacy, and of the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole supreme judge of what is right and wrong.

Senator GEORGE. Who made that declaration for him?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. You will find it in Dr. Schaff's History of the Vatican, and it was made by Cardinal Manning.

The CHAIRMAN. He is speaking for the Pope?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. He is speaking for the Pope. He impersonates himself as the Pope.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Cardinal Manning's idea of the power and nature of the papacy?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir. When he says, "I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men," we see very clearly a justification for the charge so often made that he claims the right to decide how a man's conscience shall tell him to vote; and in everything that touches the interests of the Roman Catholic Church we are sure that the Roman pontiff will not slumber. In minds that are strongly inclined to demand fair play—and to the honor of American citizens I am glad to say they are nearly all for fair play—there will arise objections in looking upon the surface of this question that perhaps the Roman Church has not a fair show and perhaps this division of the school fund is requisite in order that the church shall be dealt fairly with. If that could be shown, Mr. Chairman, my mouth would be closed from this time forward. I ask nothing that is unfair to any citizen, not to say any organization.

Senator GEORGE. Are you aware that the Romish Church, as it is sometimes called, is claiming in this country any larger proportion of the school fund than is paid into the public treasury by members of that church? How is that? I do not understand it.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. I have considered that question since I came into the room this morning, and am not able to recall any data for a judgment; but my memory, running back over earlier agitations, does not touch any limitation to the demand, that is, that it shall include only the amounts paid in by Roman Catholic tax-payers. Of course, unless it does that it is atrociously unfair, for the reason that as a church they are hopelessly in the minority, and as a people they are the child-bearing people of the country, and they have a number of children entirely out of proportion to the other citizens, the native citizens.

Senator GEORGE. You mean they are more prolific?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. That is claimed to be the fact. They pay a proportion of the taxes that is scarcely worth naming in comparison with the taxes paid by the evangelical population.

But while that is an important question it is not the consideration on which alone we antagonize this movement. We antagonize it because it has in it the germ of the destruction of the public school, and we

regard the public school as the great assimilator of the offspring of immigrants. The public school is the only means by which the children of populations coming from every quarter of the Old World are assimilated. They are thrown together on the campus and in the school, they look into each other's faces, they exchange thought one with the other in the public school, and the next generation of our immigrants is American. In my city of Philadelphia you will see this process going on among the Italian children. You will go by the school there and see a few Italian children dressed as they have been accustomed to dressing in Italy set upon by a few thoughtless American children, laughing at what is peculiar in their dress, and the Italian child, not enjoying being teased, on the morrow comes dressed like any American boy. That is the assertion of a principle which is as deep as the springs of human nature.

Senator GEORGE. This is a very important subject and I want to understand you. You have given a great deal of thought to it and I have not given it much. Your argument is, then, that there is still another objection, a very fundamental one, to the separate schools of the Roman Catholics, for the reason that when they are thus kept separate it prevents that contact and intermingling of foreign Roman Catholic children with the American children which is necessary to give them a healthy, proper idea of American institutions?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. That is a very good way to put the thought that was in my mind.

Senator WILSON. It interrupts the assimilating process?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; it entirely destroys it when you destroy the public schools.

Senator GEORGE. I should like to know if you would go a step further. As this assimilation is so essential—I admit that, and I admit the necessity of assimilating different races in this country in order to have a homogeneous people—would you take this further step in order to secure this great good; would you have compulsory attendance at the public schools?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Well, sir, I would hesitate to put myself on record as answering that question without qualification, but I will not hesitate to say that my opinion has always been that attendance upon the public schools ought to be compulsory. I am not prepared to go into a careful analysis of the reasons that would lead me to that conclusion, but in answer to that question that is my opinion.

Senator GEORGE. The reflections to which you have given expression in relation to assimilation, when applied to a community in which there is a large infusion of foreigners, would constitute in my mind the strongest argument, probably, I have ever heard urged in favor of compulsory attendance.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; it so presents itself to my mind.

Senator GEORGE. I do not admit that it is a conclusive argument, however.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. As time is passing I will simply say a word further about the question of fairness.

The CHAIRMAN. I should like to ask you one question before you leave on that particular topic, and that is, if the claim of Catholics be granted that they shall take from the general fund raised by taxation that proportion which belongs to them numerically, or upon the basis of their actual payment into it, and they have parochial schools, is or is not that the necessary commencement of the general establishment of denominational schools?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. That is what is in my mind as underlying the claim I have made that this movement will destroy the public schools.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that additional reason, then?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator GEORGE. The Baptists, the Methodists, and other denominations probably might assert the same claim?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose they do that, what becomes of the mass of children who are so unfortunate as to belong to no church whatever?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. That raises a problem very difficult of solution, and one the proportions and importance of which ought to give the country pause in view of this proposed division of the public-school fund.

Senator WILSON. It is only another argument in favor of the equality you advance, however?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Yes, sir. Now, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and other denominations have tenets peculiar to themselves as churches. They do not ask that these tenets shall be taught in the public schools. They establish schools of their own. There is the Sabbath-school, then we have the church schools and the seminaries, and we are founding them at private expense all over the country, and are caring for the indoctrinating of our children in the peculiar doctrines which we esteem important. Now, is it unfair to say that the Catholic Church shall be prevented from drawing on the public funds to establish the doctrines that are peculiar to it as an ecclesiastical organization? Is it unfair to say that the Catholic Church shall stand upon precisely the same level before the public as an ecclesiastical organization as that upon which all the other denominations stand; that they may teach their doctrines in the private Sunday-schools, in their parochial or private schools, or schools and seminaries, such as they are at liberty to found, just as the other denominations are doing?

The argument of fairness is entirely on the side of the adoption of this amendment. To permit the division of the public-school fund is unfair to the other denominations for reasons that have been suggested in a variety of forms here to-day. To adopt this constitutional amendment is not unfair in its operations in any degree or in any sense to the Roman Catholic Church. It is as American citizens, loving the principle of equality, favoring what is right for all alike, that we ask you to adopt this constitutional amendment.

Senator GEORGE. Allow me to ask you another question of some importance to my mind. I find on the second page of this amendment, in lines 16 and 17, the words "principles of the Christian religion," as indicating a part of what is to be taught in the common schools, in public schools of the country—

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Please read the connection. I have a different copy here.

Senator GEORGE. I will read it all:

SECTION 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion.

The question I want to propound is this: Having regard to the seven millions of our fellow-citizens who belong to the Catholic Church, are not their principles, or is not their religion of such a character, if I may use that term, that teaching all the principles of the Christian religion as we Protestants understand them, would be in their judgment a

teaching in contravention of what the Catholic Church teaches as the true religion?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. By no means. The Catholic Church is committed by all its history and by all its teachings to precisely the same fundamental principles of the Christian religion as those which are held by the Evangelical churches. Your question would relate to ecclesiasticism. They claim that the teaching of these fundamental truths by any other authority than the papal authority is out of harmony with the principles of their church, with ecclesiasticism. For us as a Government to grant that, is to recognize the Roman Catholic Church as the state church.

Senator GEORGE. Is it not a fundamental principle of the Catholic religion that the Pope is the true successor of St. Peter, to whom was given the keys of heaven and earth and the power to bind and to loose, which includes, as I understand it, the power of absolution given by one man to another of his sins? Now, is not that fundamental in the Catholic Church?

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. It is fundamental in the teachings of the Catholic Church, but it is not a fundamental principle of the Christian religion even as they would claim.

Senator GEORGE. Right on that point we Protestants take the antipodes. We say that each responsible creature is to be dealt with between himself and his God, and is responsible to his God and to nobody else, and nobody can bind him but God and nobody can loose him but his God. As I understand it, that is our idea.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Your question is an important one, and it is fundamental.

Senator GEORGE. If we pass this amendment every Protestant in this country would teach it as fundamental to the child that "you are a child of God, and you are responsible to Him for your conduct; He will save you or he will allow you to be condemned"—I will put it in that way—"according to the way you may perform your part in life." I can not express it in the very elegant and precise language of the theologians, but I have got that idea; it is fundamental with me at any rate and would be fundamental with us, and yet, if I understand the subject, which I may not, because I have not given a great deal of attention to these ecclesiastical matters—

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. You have a very clear conception of the point between us.

Senator GEORGE. If I understand it, the Catholic hierarchy, the Catholic priests, the Catholic Pope, the Catholic organization takes exactly the reverse position. So that now, to bring it to a point, if this amendment should be adopted and if you go to teaching in the common schools of this country what you understand to be fundamental and which I understand to be fundamental principles of Christianity, then would there not be a very just claim on the part of the conscientious Catholic that his children ought not to be sent to a school which teaches what he regards as fundamental heresy; and if his children were excluded on that ground, would there not come then, with some plausibility, the claim that he should be exempt from the burdens of taxation to keep up these schools? I have thought that out to show some of the difficulties that occur in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Before that question is answered I will call attention to the amendment. Treating the amendment by a single clause or a sentence among those who are interested in its support gets them into infinite trouble. The amendment does not require the teaching of

the principles of the Christian religion without limitation. It is only the great body of the principles of the Christian religion upon which all agree, the fundamental principles. When you come to that which is peculiar to sect, or to one or two sects, and which is disagreed to by others, it is specifically and emphatically excluded, and that is the main purpose of the entire instrument, if it should be adopted, to guard against the application of public funds to instruction in sectarianism. Immediately after that clause, "and the principles of the Christian religion," the amendment goes on to limit the force of the expression, as it would be, if the clause stopped at that point:

But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

Now, take the illustration suggested by the Senator of the belief in papal infallibility, as to the Pope's interposition between God and human beings as a necessary Siamese link of connection. That is a tenet, doctrine, or teaching peculiar to the Catholic Church, disapproved and denied by every other sect of the entire class of sects who go to make up the adherents of the Christian faith, and is expressly excluded by the amendment. The principles of the Christian religion not thus excluded, whether they be peculiarities of the Methodists, of the Catholics, or others, the principles of the Christian religion which the amendment as a whole requires to be taught in the public schools. That is my view of the amendment, and I think by reading the entire clause you may perhaps be aided in your reply to the question.

Rev. Dr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Chairman, I have already covered the ground, I think, in saying there are great fundamental principles of the Christian faith to which the Roman Catholic Church is committed by its history and by its present teaching, such, for instance, as the existence of God, the justice of God, the omnipotence of God, the omnipresence of God, and the other attributes of the Deity, the birth and death and resurrection and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and salvation by faith is conceded, though there are points of difference when we come to that, but Christ as the source of salvation is recognized by the Roman Catholic Church as by us.

Now, when you say in this amendment "the fundamental principles," or "the principles," which mean the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, you are using a term which is guarded and is modified. In other principles the Methodist Church differs from the Baptist Church, and the Presbyterian from the Episcopalian, and all from the Catholic. All the respects in which we differ, the one from the other, are not required to be taught by this amendment in the public schools of the land. The question is a very important one, and I am glad it has been asked, for it will have very much to do with the decision of this question.

## ADDITIONAL REMARKS BY REV. JAMES M. KING, D. D., OF NEW YORK CITY.

Rev. Mr. KING. I will take but a moment to state that I proposed, if an opportunity offered, to say that the body of men whom I represent, with great unanimity of sentiment would be very glad to have an additional word in this amendment.

Senator GEORGE. Where?

Rev. Mr. KING. We should like to have not only a prohibition against all sectarian appropriations to institutions and churches, but to all institutions under sectarian control. By that we mean this: This contention is not, with us in the State of New York and in some other States of the Union, a contention simply against the aggressions of Romanism. This amendment with that addition would strike many Protestant schools and Protestant institutions, and I, for one, and the body of men that I represent, want to see the day come when Protestantism as well as Romanism shall never get a dime or a dollar of public money of any kind for the support of its institutions.

In the State of New York during the past year, I can answer the question as to the relative proportion of money that Romanism received for the support of its institutions as touching on the fairness of the case referred to by a member of your committee. I received from Albany, the day before leaving my home, a response to a request I sent to Albany as to the appropriations for the past year to various institutions, not only where people are helped who are hurt and sick, but where children are instructed, and these are the figures:

Out of the treasury of the State, the municipality, and excise funds of the city of New York during the year, the Jews received \$166,000, the Protestants \$516,000, and the Roman Catholics received \$988,000. Not one-half of the institutions that are for the relief of human suffering are under Roman Catholic control or patronage, and yet that is the ratio. We have reason to suppose that Romanism would get a pretty fair ratio in other directions if it made the attempt.

The point I make is that every school, every academy, every institution in the different States under denominational control shall be cut off from public moneys by an amendment that has added to it a section in which that prohibition is secured.

Senator GEORGE. You would exclude hospitals?

Rev. Dr. KING. I would exclude everything that was under denominational control.

The CHAIRMAN. Educational or other?

Rev. Dr. KING. Yes, sir; and I would have every church paying its taxes just as private citizens do theirs.

The CHAIRMAN. On church property?

Rev. Dr. KING. Yes, sir; I believe in the absolute separation of church and state.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say to the committee that Dr. Dunn, of Boston, with a delegation, desire to be heard on this same subject one week from to-day, and I suppose they will be here at that time, and the hearing will go on in this room. That will be the day of the regular meeting of the committee.

Mr. Corliss, of Battle Creek, Mich., is present and desires to be heard in opposition to the amendment, but as Mr. Corliss is stopping in the city, I presume it will be as convenient to him to come in a week from to-day.

Mr. CORLISS. At your pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN. What church are you connected with?

Mr. CORLISS. I represent the Seventh Day Adventists.

The committee adjourned.

FRIDAY, February 22, 1889.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the Senate reception-room.

Present: Senators Blair (chairman) and Payne, of the committee.

There were also present Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Rev. Dr. James B. Dunn, Rev. Dr. J. O. Corliss, Rev. Dr. J. H. Beard, and others.

The CHAIRMAN (Senator BLAIR). As several of the members of the committee have other committees to attend this morning, it may be that they may not be present with us for a little while; and meantime we may as well begin. No doubt other members of the committee will be here later, and can ask such questions as may occur to them.

We will now hear Dr. Moxom, of the Committee of One Hundred, of Boston.

### ARGUMENT OF REV. DR. PHILIP S. MOXOM, OF BOSTON.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: I will present, first, a petition which comes especially from Massachusetts:

*To the honorable Senate and Members of the House of Representatives, at Washington, D. C.:*

We, the undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, sensibly impressed with the importance of education among the people of our land, in the conservation of our Government and the liberties which we so richly enjoy; believing, also, as expressed in a late public gathering of patriotic citizens of Boston in old Faneuil Hall, that "it has now become necessary to guard well the public school as the palladium of our liberty;" and being persuaded also that this desired protection will be more fully effected by a provision in the fundamental laws of the land (as urged upon Congress by that eminent and patriotic citizen, General Grant, while in the Presidential office), would respectfully petition your honorable bodies to speedily frame such article, for submission to the legislatures of the several States for their approval or rejection, as will prevent the interference of any religious sect with the "common-school system," or, the appropriating of any of the "public funds" for sectarian uses, such a measure as this being, in our judgment, the only safeguard against religious encroachments, such as now threaten our time-honored and truly endeared methods of teaching and training our youth for the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship; to the end, also, that there may be preserved to us and transmitted to our children's children "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

It is scarcely necessary to enter into any argument at length on the important relation which the common-school system of America sustains to the well being of the state. It is one of the demonstrated propositions that the integrity and strength of the Union as a whole depend upon the intelligence of the people; that the morality of the people depends upon their intelligence, and that that institution which comes closest to the life of the nation as an educational force is the characteristic common school of America.

Now, sir, this institution is threatened. The threatening is not new. There has been from a certain quarter opposition, carried on through a good many years, and opposition that grows more bold, more resolute, more systematic, and more determined as time goes on. This opposition emanates substantially from a single quarter. A twofold process

is going on, as facts which will be brought out before this committee will fully prove.

In the first place an effort is now making, and it has been making, especially in our large cities, on the part of a certain religious sect which is a unit in its opposition to the public schools of America, to gain possession, by political methods, of the forces and instruments of our school system. In a number of cities this effort has been to a certain degree successful. It was so far successful in Boston that every important committee pertaining to the management of the public schools in the city was in the hands of the representatives of this sect. The effort is making, through the control of these schools, to secure such a degradation of the public-school system as will weaken its hold upon the public at large. That effort has been successful to such an extent that quite a large number of people, through dissatisfaction with the sanitary condition of school buildings, and dissatisfaction with the management, or rather the mismanagement of the schools, have withdrawn their children from the public schools and put them into private schools, and so, to a certain extent, have grown indifferent to the public schools.

Side by side with this apparently systematic effort to pull down the existing systems is another effort to build up a rival and hostile system of parochial schools. These parochial schools are entirely under the control of the Roman Catholic Church and are administered by priests. Not only are the teachers in the parochial schools in absolute subjection to this sect, but the methods of instruction and the text-books from the lowest grade to the highest are entirely formed and shaped as to their method of treating facts, as to their statement of assumed facts of history, and as to their methods of inculcation, by the spirit of this sect. The text-books used in these schools almost universally are text-books whose misstatements of history are so gross that if they were not so serious they would be so ludicrous as to raise a laugh over the whole country. Specimens of those text-books and selections from them will be submitted to this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You can have them incorporated into your remarks, if you desire. You can point them out later on and have them incorporated.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. I shall be glad to do so, for I do not wish unnecessarily to consume the time of the committee.

We come from the presence of a definite, specific struggle with these influences that I have outlined: on the one hand the effort to possess and to degrade the public schools; on the other hand, the effort to build up not only a rival system but a hostile system—a system that, in its methods and spirit, from beginning to end, is positively antagonistic to the institutions of our American nation, to the principles which underlie the Constitution, and to the principles on which our whole structure of citizenship and liberty is built. This opposition is not disguised. It is not occult simply. It is not secret. It has many secret channels through which it works, but the purpose is openly avowed by the representatives of this sect who put themselves in the attitude and adopt the methods of a political power. It is as a political power that I speak of this sect. With any man's religion we, as a committee, have nothing to do; nor has the Committee of One Hundred had anything to do with any man's religious faith. But with the ecclesiastical system that intrudes itself upon the political life and functions of the people we have to do; for it is through the use of political means and forces that this sect has accomplished what it has accomplished toward the degradation or destruction of our school system. Rev. F. T. McCarty (S. J.), in



a lecture which was published in the Boston Journal, December 23, 1887, said:

GOVERNMENTS HAVE NO RIGHT TO EDUCATE.

There is no state which has ever received the commission to educate. "God never gave a commission to any state to educate. \* \* \* It is not the interest of the individual or of the family to have the state as an educator. \* \* \* They will talk about this being an American and national institution; *it is a national fraud.* There are some eight millions of Catholics in the United States now. They protest against this institution, and their protest is enough to make it evident that this legal system of education is illegal. \* \* \* In the synod which was held within the past year and a half in this diocese, the Archbishop expressly declared that *in all parishes Catholic schools were to be built; that they were to be built as soon as possible; that they were to be under way at all events within two years, and if a pastor having ability to build such schools failed to do it, it would give sufficient canonical cause for his removal from that parish.* This is the utterance of the highest ecclesiastical authority in this State of Massachusetts. •

Coupled with this effort is the open, explicit, repeated denunciation of the schools. But that subject will be set clearly before you by another representative of the committee. More than that, the ultimate object which is aimed at in the building of the parochial schools is to demand and secure—I will say simply, to secure, because the demand has already been made—an appropriation from the public funds for the support of schools which are, in the supreme sense of the word, sectarian, and so to tax the whole public for the support of a religious body, which is confessedly a sect, comprising but a segment of the people, a sect that, even when every member that can possibly be brought into its numbers is counted, is relatively small as compared with the whole population of this country.

Mr. Chairman, all the representatives of all other religious denominations and the representatives of the various classes of society, regardless of their religious proclivities, are united in their judgment on this question; that it would be an assault upon the fundamental liberties of the people, that it would be a fundamental denial of the principles on which our whole civic structure is based, to allow such an appropriation of public funds to sectarian uses as amounts to a union of the church and the state. We come here to enter our plea for two things which are yet one. One is the constitutional preservation of our American common-school system inviolate from intrusion on the part of any religious sect whatever. The second is, a constitutional barrier against any possible concession that looks toward the perilous and disastrous union of ecclesiastical organization in any way with the organization of our Government, State or National.

Speaking, therefore, on behalf of the citizens of Boston, on behalf of the citizens of Massachusetts, and, we believe, on behalf of the vast majority of the citizens of this country, we press this petition, that there may be added to the Constitution an amendment that shall forever prohibit encroachment upon that institution which lies at the foundation of our civic and moral life as a people; that institution which is the support of our political integrity, the American common school; and an amendment that shall forever prevent the union of church and state in any one of those obscure and subtle ways in which this union is practicably accomplished to-day.

I could appeal to facts. I could bring before you facts from the municipal governments of Boston, New York, and other cities, where the hand of a religious sect has been thrust deep into the public treasury, and where not thousands but hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars of the taxes which the people have paid have been drawn forth

and appropriated exclusively to the furtherance of an ecclesiastical organization.

A single specimen of these facts I submit in the following statement:

SOME OF THE REAL ESTATE GIVEN BY THE CITY OF NEW YORK TO THE ROMISH CHURCH.

The cathedral block, and the block in the rear, which has a small brick chapel on it, were obtained from the city as follows: 1. The church got possession of a lease from the city at a nominal annual rent. 2. When forfeited for non-payment of this rent the city waived the forfeitures, and, on payment by the church of \$83.32, converted the lease into a fee. 3. This lot, 800 feet long, running from Fifth to Fourth avenues, had no frontage on Fiftieth street, but was cut off from that street by a strip 10 inches wide on Fifth avenue, and 5 feet 6 inches wide on Fourth avenue. The city made an even exchange with the church of this freehold strip for a much smaller leasehold strip on the block above. This gave the church the whole block—now, by the extension of Madison avenue through it, two blocks; and then the city paid the church \$24,000 for said extension of the avenue, and also gave it \$8,928.84 to pay an assessment, thus making substantially a donation of these two blocks—worth now, without buildings, at least \$1,500,000, and a gift in money of \$32,928.84.

The city also gave the church the block above this, from Fifth to Fourth avenues, now two blocks, by two leases for ninety-nine years, at \$1 a year rent. These two blocks, without buildings, are worth now at least another \$1,500,000.

The city, for \$1 a year, gave to the archbishop for the "Sisters of Mercy" half a block of land on Madison avenue, between Eighty-first and Eighty-second streets. This, without buildings, is worth now at least \$200,000.

The city, for \$1 a year, gave for the "Sisters of Charity" a whole block of land on Lexington avenue, between Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets. This, without buildings, is worth now at least \$300,000.

Total, five and a half blocks of land in the best part of the city, worth \$3,500,000.

MONEY DONATED FROM THE CITY OF NEW YORK TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1869 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

New York Catholic Protectory.....	\$3,491,582.57
Foundling Asylum of Sisters of Charity.....	2,872,474.69
Institution of the Sisters of Mercy, } Sisters of Mercy, } Institution of Mercy, }	846,230.95
St. Elizabeth Hospital Dispensary.....	5,836.00
Society St. Vincent de Paul of City of New York.....	80,530.50
St. Vincent Industrial Home for Girls.....	8,547.00
St. Vincent Home for Boys.....	5,975.00
St. Vincent de Paul Orphan Asylum.....	21,445.43
Free School of St. Vincent de Paul.....	7,642.00
St. Vincent's Hospital.....	60,692.00
St. Vincent's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum.....	15,000.00
Free School of St. Vincent.....	2,500.00
Home for Aged of Little Sisters of the Poor.....	39,600.00
St. Stephen's Home for Children.....	205,061.24
St. Stephen's Orphan House.....	17,244.43
St. Stephen's Home.....	2,150.00
St. Francis's Hospital.....	78,911.75
St. Francis's Male Parochial School.....	3,750.00
St. Francis's Female Parochial School.....	4,250.00
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum.....	306,504.80
Sisters of St. Dominic Asylum.....	265,916.17
Sisters of St. Dominic.....	25,722.20
House of the Good Shepherd.....	297,983.36
Miss. of Im. Virgin for Protec. H. and D. Children.....	308,532.15
Missionary Sisters of Order of St. Francis.....	161,023.06
Sisters of the Holy Cross.....	750.00
Home of Our Lady of the Rosary.....	6,125.25
Asylum of Dominican Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary.....	65,698.63
St. Joseph's Home for the Aged.....	46,154.57
St. Joseph's Industrial Home for Destitute Children.....	173,638.97
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum.....	35,463.87
St. Joseph's Improv'd Institution for Deaf Mutes.....	151,792.69
St. Joseph's Hospital of the Poor of St. Francis.....	1,800.00

St. James's Home .....	\$49,457.38
St. Ann's Home .....	19,301.24
St. Agatha's Home .....	7,975.71
St. Michael's Home .....	2,504.15
Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls.....	57,352.43
Baby's Shelter and Day Nursery .....	1,310.00
Day Nursery and Lodging House for Respectable Women.....	266.00

## 1869 TO 1872, INCLUSIVE.

[In consequence of the exposures made there was a largo falling off after 1872.]

St. Joseph's Church .....	5,266.58
St. Joseph's Parish School, Manhattanville.....	12,954.00
St. Joseph's Parochial Male School .....	6,222.00
St. Joseph's Parochial Female School.....	6,852.00
Sisters of St. Joseph .....	10,000.00
St. Joseph's Industrial School.....	900.00
St. Joseph's German-American Industrial School .....	828.00
German Free Schools of St. Joseph's Church, One hundred and twenty- fifth street and Ninth avenue.....	420.00
St. Joseph's Home.....	12,000.00
Convent of the Sacred Heart .....	10,000.00
Charity Week-day School, Academy of the Sacred Heart.....	6,170.00
House of Mercy, Bloomingdale .....	12,500.00
Church of the Dominican Fathers.....	5,549.46
Dominican Church, Lexington avenue .....	7,000.00
School of St. Nicholas, Order St. Dominic .....	6,800.00
St. Nicholas School .....	16,700.00
St. Nicholas Church .....	364.60
St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum .....	8,153.44
St. Patrick's Cathedral .....	17,857.68
St. Patrick's Cathedral School .....	19,830.00
St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, Mott and Prince streets.....	15,000.00
St. Bridget's School .....	58,168.00
St. Bridget's Church .....	5,000.00
Sister Helena .....	4,317.85
St. Teresa's School .....	22,135.00
St. Teresa's Church .....	1,280.00
School of St. Teresa's Chapel .....	5,000.00
In aid of school attached to St. Teresa's Church.....	5,000.00
St. Ann's Parochial School .....	9,890.00
St. Ann's Church, Eighth street.....	2,173.33
St. Peter's Free School .....	17,015.00
German-American School, St. Peter's Church.....	1,500.00
German-American Free School .....	18,456.00
St. Paul's Church Parochial Schools.....	5,316.00
Free School of St. Mary's Assumption Church.....	840.00
St. Lawrence Church .....	1,500.00
St. Lawrence Parish School .....	15,118.00
St. Mary's School .....	55,122.00
St. Mary's Church, Grand street .....	400.00
School of the Most Holy Redeemer .....	38,688.00
St. Michael's Parochial School .....	10,462.00
In aid of school attached to St. Michael's Church.....	5,000.00
St. Michael's School .....	5,000.00
St. Gabriel's School .....	34,840.00
Church of Transfiguration .....	387.75
Transfiguration Free School .....	39,596.00
St. James's Parochial Male School .....	12,900.00
St. James's Parochial Female School.....	31,548.00
St. James's Church .....	800.00
School of Our Lady of Sorrow .....	22,400.00
St. Columba Charity and Week-day School .....	23,966.00
Church of the Holy Innocents.....	1,124.50
St. Andrew's Church .....	2,014.02
Church of the Immaculate Conception.....	5,182.43
School of the Immaculate Conception.....	38,878.00
Church of St. Paul the Apostle .....	10,004.64
German-American School, Nineteenth ward .....	5,850.00

Church of St. Boniface.....	\$965.70
St. John the Evangelist Free School for Girls .....	8,048.00
Parish School Church of the Nativity .....	639.60
Roman Catholic Church, Second avenue Second and Third streets.....	645.45
Church of the Holy Cross.....	8,565.35
Parochial School Church of the Holy Cross.....	1,272.00
Church of Holy Name, or St. Matthew .....	463.12
Church of the Assumption.....	918.26
Church of St. John the Baptist.....	1,035.31
Parochial School of St. John the Baptist .....	1,560.00
Free School of Sisters of Notre Dame.....	1,296.00
Free German School.....	13,080.00
German Mission Association.....	15,000.00
College of St. Francis Xavier.....	7,272.00
St. Peter's.....	1,042.90
St. Columba Church.....	1,987.28
Church of the Covenant.....	652.60
Church of the Nativity.....	645.45
Church of the Epiphany.....	765.71
School of Bethlehem .....	770.00
St. Boniface Church School.....	4,270.00
St. Patrick's Free School.....	7,384.00
St. Francis Xavier Male School .....	3,861.00
St. Francis Xavier Female School.....	21,370.00
Sacred Heart Female Academy .....	3,000.00
Church of the Annunciation.....	3,174.00
Church of the Annunciation School.....	7,372.00
St. Gabriel's Male School.....	7,449.00
St. Gabriel's Female School.....	27,591.00
St. Alphonsus's School.....	8,524.00
Church of the Holy Redeemer .....	1,000.00
School of St. Francis of Assisi.....	8,140.00
School of the Holy Cross.....	9,744.00
School of the Nativity .....	700.00
School of St. Chrysostom.....	2,165.00
Orphan Asylum, Prince and Mott streets.....	10,000.00
Sisters of St. Mary's.....	3,000.00
School of the Order of Sisters of St. Dominic.....	5,600.00
Other Roman Catholic Institutions, New York City .....	202,095.00

Some of the Protestant religious denominations receive a small donation from the public treasury in this city for their charities; but they are opposed to the whole business, as recognizing the principle of a union of church and state, and would be glad to have each tub stand on its own bottom—that is, each church support its charities with its own money, and not with the money of others; but the Roman Catholics oppose it.

This, sir, we believe to be a very grave menace to our liberties and a very grave violation of our principles. But when we understand, as we must, even if we take a superficial view of the case, that the end sought is sought at the cost of the destruction of so vital an institution as the American common school, we do not see how any American citizen, who is moved simply by the motives and impulses of common patriotism, can fail to rise in protest against this, and can fail to demand that a bulwark may be raised, an effectual and impassable bulwark, against encroachments of this sort, which already have become so numerous and ominous. We are here to represent the thoughts and feelings of those who are our constituents and the constituents of the gentlemen who here assist in making the laws of the country.

Statements supporting what I have said with reference to the position of the Roman Catholic Church to our public-school system will be presented by Dr. Gray. A résumé of the whole question, with a statement of facts concerning the struggle to preserve our public schools in Boston, will be made by Dr. Dunn.

I think I may close my remarks here.

Dr. Moxom submitted the following extracts from a pamphlet written

by him, published by the Committee of One Hundred, of Boston, entitled "American Common Schools vs. Sectarian Parochial Schools."

#### THE GROUND\* OF THE COMMON SCHOOL.

The common school is an expression of the idea that the state has the right to assume the functions of public education.

#### *Has the state a right to educate?*

This the advocates of the parochial schools emphatically deny, except under such limitations as practically reduce the function of the state to the task of providing the cost of education. Father Conaty, of Worcester, Mass., at the opening of a new parochial school in Jamaica Plain last July, said:

"The state as educator of its citizens is a relic of barbarism."

The Tablet, a Roman Catholic journal, declares:

"We hold education to be a function of the church, not of the state; and in our case we do not and will not accept the state as educator."

A Papal encyclical says:

"XLV. 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 the teachers for these schools."

"XLVII. 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."

Similarly The Catholic World says:

"The church asserts and defends these principles, and she flatly contradicts the assumption on the part of the state of the prerogative of education, and determinedly opposes the effort to bring up the youth of the country for purely secular and temporal purposes. \* \* \* While the state has rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority, and that authority can only be expressed through the church." (Vol. 2, p. 439.)

Many more quotations might be given as evidence of the Romanists' denial that the state has any right to educate, but these will suffice for the present.

The common school stands or falls with the right of the state to educate. Now, in a republic, at least, the state is not a thing apart from the people. Materially it is the commonwealth. Politically it is *the whole people exercising the functions of self-conservation and self-government*. The state is the organic people, and as such has not only rights, but also duties—for rights and duties are always correlatives. The ground of the common school is the right and duty of the state to educate the whole people to such extent as will secure the preservation of the state and the full development of its life. Popular intelligence and popular morality are vitally related to each other. They are practically inseparable. Both intelligence and morality are essential to the preservation of the state. No dangers to the integrity and development of the state that can possibly arise are equal in magnitude to the dangers that spring from these twin evils, ignorance and immorality. The right of the state to educate its citizens is the right of self-preservation. But mere self-preservation does not exhaust the right or duty of the state. The right to live carries with it the right to seek and to attain the ends of life through growth along the lines of true national development. This is but to say that the state, equally with the individual, is under obligation to live and to unfold its powers to the utmost for the good of the world. To the question, then, "Has the state a right to educate?" we may answer: Yes; the state not only has the right, but it also is under obligation, to educate its citizens in just so far as is necessary to secure the two great ends of self-conservation and self-development. Daniel Webster is credited with saying that—

"The power over education is one of the powers of public police belonging essentially to the Government. It is one of the powers the exercise of which is indispensable to the preservation of society with integrity and healthy action; it is the duty of self-protection."

To put the answer still more explicitly, we may say:

1. *The state must educate because political efficiency and strength are dependent upon general intelligence.* The conservative and guiding forces of a republic are not outside and above the people—they are *in* the people; in the minds and wills of the many who by their opinions and their votes determine what shall be the character and policy of the government. Wide-spread ignorance is a perpetual invitation to anarchy with its torch on the one hand and despotism with its sceptre on the other. In this country, it is the ignorance of many voters which makes opportunity for the demagogue and the political charlatan and corruptionist.

2. *The state must educate because commercial and industrial prosperity and material progress of every sort depend on general intelligence.* Education produces thrift, skill, and enterprise. The mastery of material resources is an intellectual triumph. An ignorant people is an unprogressive and impoverished people. The necessity of general education to economic prosperity appears most clearly when we examine the relation of intelligence to efficiency in labor and to general thrift. Walker, in his *Political Economy*, says:

"Intelligence is a most powerful factor in industrial efficiency. The intelligent is more useful than the unintelligent laborer: (a) Because he requires a far shorter apprenticeship. \* \* \* (b) Because he can do his work with little or no superintendence. \* \* \* (c) Because he is less wasteful of his materials. \* \* \* (d) Because he readily learns to use machinery, however delicate or intricate." (*Pol. Econ.*, pp. 52, 53.)

In 1870, the Commission of Education, at Washington, sent out a series of carefully drawn, comprehensive, and searching questions to the great centers of labor in all parts of the United States. These centers were so selected as to represent every kind of labor, from the rudest and simplest up to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of literate and illiterate labor. The answers brought to light the following facts:

(1) That an average free common-school education, such as is provided in all the States where the free common-school has become a permanent institution, adds 50 per cent. to the productive power of the laborer, considered as a mere productive machine.

(2) That the average academical education adds 100 per cent.

(3) That the average collegiate or university education adds from 200 to 300 per cent. to the worker's average annual productive capacity, to say nothing of the vast increase to his manliness.

With equal clearness and cogency statistics demonstrate that education is the surest preventive of pauperism, and that the expense of providing and applying in season this preventive would not be one-tenth of that now brought upon society by pauperism. A careful examination of the census of the British Isles indicates that, other things being equal, pauperism is in inverse ratio to the degree of education given to the mass of the people. That is, as education increases pauperism decreases, and as education decreases pauperism increases.

The board of charities for the State of New York, in the report for 1877, gives the following significant facts:

The total number of paupers examined over sixteen years of age, exclusive of unteachable idiots, was 9,855. Of these, 6,937, or more than 70 per cent., were substantially illiterate; and of this number 3,106 could neither read nor write, and 1,447 could read only.

In 1870 a special investigation was made in fifteen States, of 7,398 inmates of almshouses and infirmaries. Of these, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent., could not read and write; while in those fifteen States the average percentage of illiterates was only 6 per cent. of the whole population. From this 6 per cent. came that 59 per cent. of the paupers.

Similar results are obtainable from the census of almost every country in Europe or America. It seems to be well established that, even under our present industrial system, an illiterate person is from twenty to thirty times as liable to become a pauper and an expense to the community as one who has received a common-school education.

3. *The state must educate because the integrity and health of the nation depend on its morality,* and morality is vitally dependent on diffused intelligence. Occasionally a doubt is expressed as to the importance of education to the moral well-being of a people, but a careful study of facts destroys the doubt. Moreover, education is not simply an intellectual process; it is also a moral process. The very effort to acquire knowledge necessarily involves a degree of moral discipline. It is the rule that the moral life of individuals as well as of communities rises *pari passu* with a rise in intellectual life. But merely intellectual training is only a part of education, which, properly defined, and to some extent exemplified in our common-school system, is an unfolding of the whole nature.

Speaking of a very great, if not the greatest, problem of our times, President Woolsey has said:

"The laboring class [if uneducated] will have no mobility, will be in the power of the employer, will have no hope of bettering its condition, of life by change of place, [and] will be given to low pleasures. Crime and ignorance go together, and the prospect for the children of such a class is dark indeed. For the industry, morals, loyalty, and quiet of this class, for the safety of all classes, some kind of education is necessary." (*Pol. Sci.*, 1, 227.)

The abundant statistics on the relation of crime to illiteracy which already have been gathered teach an unmistakable lesson. Some of these statistics I give from the

accumulations made by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, to whom I am much indebted for the statistical material in this paper.

In the six New England States, in 1870, only 7 per cent. of the inhabitants above ten years of age were unable to read and write; yet this 7 per cent. produced 80 per cent. of the criminals. That is, the proportion of criminal illiterates to criminal literates was as 53 to 1. This fact sufficiently vindicates the moral effect of the New England system of public education against Cardinal Antonelli's implied charge.

Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York, has shown from the United States census of 1870 the comparative number of illiterates, paupers, and criminals to every 10,000 inhabitants, produced respectively by the Roman Catholic parochial school, the public schools in twenty-one States, and the public schools in Massachusetts. The following table is significant, to say the least:

To every 10,000 inhabitants there were produced—

By—	Illiterates.	Paupers.	Criminals.
Roman Catholic schools .....	1,400	410	160
Public schools of twenty-one States .....	350	170	75
Public schools of Massachusetts.....	71	49	11

In the State of New York, in 1870, the illiterates produced eight times their proportion of the criminals in that State. In the city of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates one crime was committed for every three persons; while among those who had received a common-school training, even as far as the elementary branches, there was only one crime to every twenty-seven persons. That is, the ignorant classes in that city produced nine times as many criminals as they would have produced if they had been educated in the common schools.

A careful examination of statistics gathered from twenty States, gives the following average results:

(1) One-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate.

(2) One-third of the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.

(3) The proportion of criminals among the illiterate is on the average ten times as great as it is among those who have received at least the elements of a common-school education.

4. *The state must educate because the distribution of wealth is as yet so unequal that a majority of the people want the means to provide adequate facilities for education.* The total wealth of the United States was estimated in 1880 to be a little more than \$43,600,000,000. If this were equally distributed among the people the amount per capita would be about \$750. As a matter of fact, the majority have much less than \$750 per capita, and multitudes have no wealth at all, save that which is represented by their power to do unskilled labor. Under any system of private schools, a large proportion of the people would be left without any education save that furnished by the home and the streets. Private benevolence, though it is more abundant in this country perhaps than in any other, can not meet the needs of the people. Nor would the moral effect of education provided solely by private benevolence be as good as is the moral effect of the common-school system, which is immediately created and supported by practically the whole people, and thus produces in the people at large the wholesome sense of self-help.

5. *The state must educate because many people want the motive to educate.* Appreciation of the necessity and value of education rises with the rise of individual intelligence. A problem with which the state must deal, is the intellectual and moral inertness of the ignorant and bestial and, in low forms, vicious class. In general this class lacks the internal motive to educate. In simple self-defense the state must apply to such the stimulus of an external motive. To prevent crime, which is as much its function as to suppress crime, it must prevent the needless production of criminals by forcibly dissipating that ignorance which is the largest source of criminal life. The equity of laws compelling the attendance of children at school during certain years of their life is based not only on the sovereign right of the state to protect itself, but also on the duty of the state to conserve the rights of its defenseless subjects and wards. The parental right of control over children is not absolute. It has certain clear moral limitations. The father who will not give his children at least an elementary education infringes upon fundamental rights of those children which the state is bound to guard.

6. *And finally, the state must educate because only under state control can there be an equal and equitable distribution of the means and instruments of education.* Private benevolence and individual enterprise inevitably favor certain sections. But the need

of educational opportunities and facilities is universal. The state knows no favoritism. The poorest wards in our cities are as well provided with buildings, instruments, and teachers as the richest wards. At least this is approximately true; and this principle of equable distribution belongs radically to the idea of the common school.

To sum up this part of my argument: The ground of the American common school is the right and the duty of the state to provide for and as far as possible to secure at least an elementary education of all the people, irrespective of locality, social standing, and economic condition.

The right and the duty of the state to educate are sufficiently demonstrated by the right and the duty of the state to protect and conserve and develop itself as a national body comprehending the whole people. Whoever questions this right questions the fundamental right of the people to self-government. The common school is a natural and significant expression of the genius of democracy. It is rooted in the necessities of that state in which love of liberty and reverence for law combine to form the organic and conservative principle of permanent democratic society.

\* \* \* \* \*

The parochial school is based on the assumptions that the Roman Catholic Church is the infallible representative of God on earth; that the end of education is to make obedient and capable servants of the church; and, therefore, that the church must have supreme control of the means and methods of education. The state, if it carries on popular education at all, must do it under the control and direction of the ordained representatives of the church. From this position the Roman Catholic hierarchy has never receded. In this position it stands to-day as uncompromisingly in the United States as in Spain. Whatever slight adaptations to their environment in this land the Roman clerics may have felt compelled to make, they certainly never have made any concession in their avowals of principle. American institutions have only superficially modified official Roman Catholicism. Its essential spirit is unchanged and unchanging.

That I may not be suspected of misrepresenting, something I do not fear from any intelligent and well-instructed Roman Catholic, I will quote from official authorities. In the ninth article of "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," may be found the following:

"45. By whom is the divine doctrine always preserved pure and uncorrupted in the Church?

"By the *Infallible Teaching Body* of the Church.

"46. Who compose this *Infallible Teaching Body*?

"The Pope and the Bishops united with him."

This alleged "*Infallible Teaching Body*" explicitly, constantly, and consistently affirms the principle that the Roman Catholic Church is the supreme authority in education.

The *Catholic Review* for April, 1871, said:

"We deny, of course, as Roman Catholics, the rights of the civil government to educate; for education is a function of the spiritual society as much as preaching."

A *Catholic Dictionary*, edited by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, a standard and conservative work, bearing the *nihil obstat* of Edward S. Keogh, censor, and the *imprimatur* of Henry E. Manning, cardinal archbishop of Westminster, declares that:

"The first and highest authority in all that regards education is the church. With her sanction it should be commenced, and under her superintendence it should be continued."

The article on "Education," from which I quote, recognizes three authorities in education, namely, the church, the state, and the parent; but it entirely subordinates the state and the parent to the church, so that really there is but one authority. "The claims of the state," says this article, "become unjust and oppressive when, ignoring the still more sacred right of the church to secure in education the attainment of man's highest end, it compels or tempts Catholics to place their children in schools which the ecclesiastical authority has not sanctioned. Catholic parents," it continues, "are bound to see that the teaching in the schools to which they send their children has ecclesiastical sanction, and to resist all attempts to make them patronize schools without that sanction."

The ends of education, the article thus defines:

"Education has three principal ends—the first religious, the second political, the third domestic; but among these the religious end takes the lead and dominates over the other two, on account of its intrinsically greater importance. And since, as explained above, we can not walk securely in religion one step except in unison with and obedience to the church, every well-instructed Catholic understands that the church must preside over the education of Catholics at every stage and in every branch, so far as to see that they are sufficiently instructed in their religion."

In the Roman Catholic idea of education, religion and God are identified with the Roman Catholic Church; reverence for the church, therefore, and unquestioning de-



votion to her interests, are the chief ends at which education aims. The purpose of the parochial schools is not to educate, in the broad and high sense in which the modern cultivated mind conceives that word, but to make firmly loyal and obediently docile Roman Catholics. Patriotism, knowledge of history and science, culture and skill are secondary to knowledge and service of the church. The one thing insisted on and emphasized above all others is the absolute, infallible authority of the church. The Roman Catholic idea of education determines, of course, the character of the text-books which are used in the parochial schools, and the character as well of the teachers in those schools. The whole system of parochial education is organized about religion, not as a spiritual and universal principle, but as defined by the doctrines and expressed in the organization and ritual of the Church of Rome. It remains for us to consider

#### SOME OF THE PRACTICAL RESULTS WHICH THE SPIRIT AND METHODS OF THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL MUST PRODUCE.

The regulative principle of parochial-school training being the infallible authority of the church, it must follow that this system—

1. *Destroys intellectual liberty.* The pursuit of knowledge and the search for truth can not be disinterested when the mind works under the rule of such a principle as that of papal infallibility. The facts of history can not be critically investigated and impartially weighed, for they can not be suffered to contradict this principle. The phenomena of nature, also, must be studied subject to interpretations of the world which are ecclesiastical and dogmatic. The mind is not toned up and stimulated to a full and systematic development; for it is compelled to fit a certain unyielding mold. The conception of the infallible authority of a human organization not only fetters the mind by setting limits to inquiry, but also prevents that unflinching sincerity in thinking without which intellectual liberty is both meaningless and impossible.

2. The principle of parochial-school training *promotes deficient and dishonest teaching.*

An examination of the text-books now in use in the parochial schools will abundantly substantiate this confessedly grave charge. The teaching in these books is *deficient*, because vital facts of history are either omitted or given in such disproportion that their meaning is obscured. The teaching is *dishonest*, because these books are marked not only by suppressions of the truth, but also by misstatements by which sound knowledge is prevented and false ideas are inculcated in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church. I have examined "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," "Saddler's Excelsior Introduction to Geography," Gazeau's "Modern History," "The Young Catholic's Illustrated Fifth Reader," "The Third Reader" of the Catholic National Series, and Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History, all of which are widely used in the parochial schools of the United States and Canada. All of these books are thorough advocates of Roman Catholicism, so much so, indeed, as to deserve the name of apologetic works. In the preface to The Third Reader of the National Series the author naively says: "The Third Reader, in common with the other books of the Catholic National Series, has one chief characteristic, viz., a thoroughly Catholic tone, which will be found to pervade the whole book." Imagine a school-book commended to our approval, even by the statement that it has "a thoroughly Baptist," or "Methodist," or "Episcopalian tone." The table of contents prefixed to "The Third Reader" contains, among others equally suggestive, the following titles: "Bessie's First Mass," "St. Germaine Cousin," "The Weight of a Prayer," "Pope Leo XIII, and the Brigands," "The Legend of the Infant Jesus Serving at Mass," "How to be a Nun," "St. Bridget," and "St. Francis of Assisi." "The Weight of a Prayer" relates that a poor woman went into a butcher-shop and asked for meat. When the butcher inquired what she had to give for it, she answered, "nothing but my prayers." The butcher says that prayers will not pay rent and buy cattle. But, inclined to joke, he says he will give her as much meat as her prayers will weigh. Thereupon he writes the poor woman's prayer on a slip of paper and puts it on one side of the scale and then puts a tiny bit of meat on the other side. To his astonishment, the paper does not rise. He puts on a larger piece. Still the paper remains down. Then in fright he puts on the scale a large round of beef, and turning to the woman acknowledges the evident hand of God, and in penitence promises her in the future all the meat she may want. In this book are several other instances of modern miracles similar in character.

Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History contains such extraordinary misrepresentations as the following:

"Not only the church [of Rome] has been no obstacle to progress, either in science or art, but to Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. Carefully examined, it will be seen that with the exception of the steam-engine and the railroad little that is really new has been discovered other than by Catholics." (p. 298.)

Again:

"In 1517 Pope Leo X published a Jubilee, and directed that the alms to be given should be sent to Rome to help complete the great Cathedral of St. Peter, then being built. Tetzel, superior of the Dominicans, was appointed to preach this Jubilee throughout Germany, which greatly displeased Luther, because of the slight, as he supposed, that had thus been thrown upon the Augustinians by not inviting them to preach the Jubilee." (p. 300.)

Still again:

"With the exception of 'The Bible Alone as the Rule of Faith,' Luther and Calvin but repeated the heresies of Huss and Wycliffe and the earlier heresiarchs. Calvin adopted the heresies of Pelagius on grace and original sin." (p. 301.)

This last statement will be interesting to theologians.

We are told:

"John Knox died in 1572, revered by the Scotch, but known in history as the 'Ruffian of the Reformation.'" (p. 302.)

Comparing Catholicism with Protestantism, the bishop says:

"To make converts, Catholicity has ever appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence. \* \* \* Protestantism began with 'an open Bible and Free Interpretation,' and has ended [*sic*] in division and disbelief. By the above principle everyone becomes judge of what he will or will not believe. Hence, amongst Protestants there are almost as many religions as there are individuals, the churches divided and torn into pieces, ending in infidelity and Mormonism. On the other hand, Catholicity remains ever the same, because Catholicity is truth, and truth changes not." (p. 304.)

From Gazeau's "Modern History" I quote but two or three selections. These will serve as samples of the whole. On the Inquisition, the author says:

"Ferdinand and Isabella, honored by the Holy See with the title of 'Catholic Sovereigns,' resolved to prove themselves worthy of it by maintaining among their subjects the faith in all its purity. To this end they had revived the ancient tribunal of the Inquisition. \* \* \* Its chief aim was to detect every crime and delinquency in religious matters, especially among the converted Jews and Moors, many of whom simply professed conversion, and were often secretly engaged in treasonable practices. If the accused was found guilty and manifested some repentance, he was sentenced to make a public reparation, or act of faith, *Auto-da-fe*, holding a lighted taper in his hand. If he persisted in his error he was handed over to the secular arm, and lay judges pronounced sentence and applied the laws of the state. The Spanish Inquisition, like all human institutions, was not always restricted within just limits, and the Head of the Church more than once interposed his authority; but if, later, other sovereigns made of this tribunal a political instrument, Ferdinand should not be censured for confiding to it the mission of prosecuting infidels who by their sacrilegious profanations were subjects of scandal to Catholics." (p. 42.)

Of Luther we are told:

"Wicked men are always disposed to rebel against authority. The sale of indulgences and the word 'reform' were simply made the pretext by the able but unprincipled Luther for the outburst of the storm that was to devastate Europe and break up the spiritual unity of Christendom." (pp. 62, 63.)

Concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, the author says:

"As to the solemn *Te Deum* sung at Rome by order of Pope Gregory XIII, it was done under the impression that the massacre was begun on the part of the Calvinists, that the King's party acted in self-defense, and that the affair grew out of an unsuccessful conspiracy against the French Government and the Catholic Church. This *Te Deum* belonged to the same category as the one sung shortly before for the victory gained at Lepanto over the Turks." (pp. 106, 107.)

Of Alva's mission to the Netherlands, the author says:

"The King of Spain resolved to wreak signal vengeance on the 'Beggars' [the Protestant confederates of Breda]. His most experienced general, Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty thousand men and pursued the rebels with extreme severity. It is asserted that out of hatred to the new governor nearly one hundred thousand of the inhabitants went voluntarily into exile." (p. 119.)

The dominant purpose of these text-books is to exalt and glorify the Roman Catholic Church, and to this end the truth of history and the moral lessons which history is meant to convey are shamelessly sacrificed. Nor is this the worst result of such dishonest teaching. Those who are taught are wronged in the deepest way, by having essential falsehood incorporated with all their thinking upon human experience and human destiny. At best, history is imperfect, but, as the record of human experience sincerely set forth, it is the wisest teacher of each generation as it comes on the stage of life and action. To make the record not only still more imperfect, but even dishonest and false, is a crime of the first magnitude.

3. A third result of parochial-school training is, naturally, *the development of an intense and bigoted sectarianism*. In the ninth article of "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion" may be found the following:

(64) If the Catholic Church is to lead all men to eternal salvation, and has, for that purpose, received from Christ her doctrine, her means of grace, and her powers, what, for his part, is every one obliged to do?

"Every one is obliged, under pain of eternal damnation, to become a member of the Catholic Church, to believe her doctrine, to use her means of grace, and to submit to her authority."

No real knowledge is given of any church other than the Roman. Protestants are condemned and villified. Religious liberty is represented as a deadly error, and the claims of the Roman church are set forth as absolutely supreme. The result of such teaching can be of but one sort. As there is no fairness in the instruction, there can be no fairness in the judgments of those who receive the instruction, and the worst form of caste, namely, the religious, is created and perpetuated. Social life is thus invaded and its benignity, freedom, and solidarity are destroyed.

4. Finally, the parochial system of education is a *perpetual menace to political integrity*, because it inculcates not so much a divided sovereignty as a temporal supremacy in the Roman church and its earthly head of which the authority of the state is scarcely in any sense a rival. Fortunately even Roman Catholics do not always carry out in action the logical results of their system. Many of them are larger than their creed and better than their system. But this can be true only in very small degree of those who receive their entire training in the parochial school. A government cannot be stable if a large number of its subjects conscientiously hold allegiance to a foreign potentate. The teaching of such a system as Romanism, by such methods as prevail in the parochial schools, is a continual threat against our political integrity and freedom. The tendency of the whole parochial system is to dwarf and misrepresent the significance of political institutions and political progress. That the system is inimical to the Constitution has been shown with clearness and cogency by Bishop Coxe. The Constitution, as he says, implies:

- (1) Liberty of the press.
- (2) Liberty of conscience and of worship.
- (3) Liberty of speech.
- (4) The power of the state to define the civil rights of ecclesiastics.
- (5) That the church may not employ force.
- (6) That the civil law must prevail over papal laws.
- (7) That the free exercise of religion ought to be allowed in all countries.
- (8) That civil marriages are valid.
- (9) That the domain of morals may be treated apart from the decrees of pontiffs.
- (10) That civil duty and allegiance may be taught and treated with similar freedom.

Yet, every one of those principles has been condemned by the "infallible" head of the Roman church, and all who hold these principles have been declared to hold them at the peril of their eternal salvation. He who accepts the creed of the Roman Catholic Church accepts the dicta of its head.

Are we to turn out the Constitution from the common schools as well as the Bible?

In conclusion, I urge no argument and present no inferences drawn from the contrast between these two systems—the common school system and the parochial school system. The contrast itself is argument invincible and overwhelming. The fortunes of the Republic are bound up with the maintenance and the continuous upward development of that broad, beneficent, and most precious institution, the American common school.

### ARGUMENT OF REV. DR. JAMES M. GRAY, OF BOSTON.

Rev. Dr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, in the remarks which I have to make I hope to confine myself simply to the establishment of one point, namely, that on the part of a certain politico-ecclesiastical establishment in our country, known as the Church of Rome, there is a purpose, clearly defined, determined, and energetic, to destroy our public school system. And in the establishment of that point, I wish to call your attention to what this institution has said officially, and to what it is doing from time to time in different parts of our country in the execution of that purpose.

You may already have had your attention called to a book, the general title of which is "The Judges of Faith: Christian *vs.* Godless

Schools." This document is prepared by the Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins, a Roman Catholic Priest, and it is "Addressed to Catholic Parents." It contains "papal, pastoral, and conciliar rulings the world over, especially of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, with retrospective essays on the struggle for Christian education.

It is an important book for any one to read and analyze who is interested in this subject, because it is an authoritative publication. It bears on its opening pages the recommendations and indorsements of such dignitaries as Cardinal Newman, whose autograph letter appears, Cardinal Gibbons, and various archbishops, bishops, and vicar-generals of that church.

In the prefatory notes it is stated that the book contains—

The conciliar or single rulings of no less than three hundred and eighty (380) of the high and highest church dignitaries. There are brought forward twenty-one plenary and provincial councils; six or seven diocesan synods; two Roman pontiffs; two sacred congregations of some twenty cardinals and pontifical officials; seven single cardinals, who, with thirty-three archbishops, make forty primates and metropolitans; finally nearly eighty single bishops and archbishops deceased or living in the United States.

All documents and rulings are from the past half-century. The entirely new matter from the volume of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore rounds off the treatment of our dual subject.

The purpose of the book is thus stated :

We bring home to the consciences of Catholics that it is their duty to continue deserting all mere secular schools, and building schools of their own, until public opinion itself undermine what contains the source of its own downfall, and we be relieved of unjust taxes.

On page 9 it continues in this strain, with the remark that—

Catholics will continue building schools on their own grounds; until, like the many deserted sectarian temples which are legally acquired by inpouring children of the church, the future State school buildings, left empty by Catholics deserting them, \* \* \* shall also be lawfully acquired and occupied by denominational schools.

The author then proceeds to remark that—

With the light poured upon this question by these declarations of Roman congregations, approved and confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff, we may not unreasonably presume to answer the question proposed as the subject of discussion.

He then answers it in this way :

Save in special cases, determined by bishops and confessors, Catholics *can not* in conscience allow minors under their charge to be educated in secular public schools, especially where competent Catholic schools are or can be established.

In the Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church, held in the city of Baltimore, in the year 1884-'85, a statement on this matter was promulgated, in the course of which this paragraph occurs (Judges of Faith, p. 37) :

Therefore, we not only exhort Catholic parents with paternal affection, but we *command* them with all the authority in our power, to procure a truly Christian education for their dear offspring, \* \* \* and further, to defend and secure all of them from the dangers of secular education during the whole term of their infancy and childhood; and, finally, to send them to Catholic and especially parochial schools, unless, indeed, the bishop of the diocese judge that in a particular case other provision may be permitted.

In connection with this I desire to call your attention to this statement from the Sovereign Pontiff, extracted from two allocutions, severally of 1850 and 1851, and given as the forty-fifth of the condemned propositions of the famous "Syllabus."

The exclusive control of public schools, in which the youth of any Christian state are educated \* \* \* *may not and must not appertain to the civil power; nor belong to*

*it to such a degree that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the conferring of degrees, and in the choice or approbation of the teachers.*

As carrying out these views, let me give you an illustration in the case of Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, who says:

On the school question there can be, and must be, no division. Either we are Catholics or we are not. If we are Catholics, we must leave after us a Catholic youth. And experience has clearly proved that this can not be done unless the children are early taught that they are Catholics. *We must not sleep while our enemies are working.* Nor must we forget that the public schools are organized and managed for, and in the interests of, Protestantism.

Our author then goes on to tell us (p. 113):

That it is not very wonderful to hear that in the late case of Rev. Father Scully, at Cambridgeport, Mass., who dared follow the teaching of the church, *and refuse absolution to parents* rebelling against their pastor, in the matter of sending children to certain public schools, that upon a committee's report who waited on Most Rev. Archbishop Williams, the pastor was simply sustained in his action, and the rebels were led to understand that *their bishop considered himself insulted by the bare suspicion that they would find any support from him as favorable to public schools.*

I will close my reference to this Roman Catholic authority by calling your attention to the following decrees, which were set forth by this third plenary council of Baltimore, held in the year 1884-'85, wherein this school question was the chief topic of discussion:

We determine and decree:

I. That hard by every church, where it does not already exist, a parochial school is to be erected within two years from the promulgation of this council, and to be kept up in the future, unless the bishop see fit to grant a further delay on account of more than ordinarily grave difficulties to be overcome in its establishment.

II. That a priest who, within the aforesaid time, hinders by serious negligence the building and maintenance of a school, or does not regard the repeated admonitions of the bishop, deserves removal from that church.

III. That the mission (*missionem*) or parish neglecting to aid the priest in the erection and support of a school, so that on account of this supine negligence the same can not exist, is to be reprimanded by the bishop, and by every prudent and efficient means urged to supply the necessary help.

IV. That all Catholic parents are bound to send their children to parochial schools, unless they provide sufficiently for their Christian education at home or at other Catholic schools. They may, however, be permitted, for a good reason, approved by the bishop, and using meanwhile the necessary precautions and remedies, to send them to other schools. But it is left to the judgment of the ordinary to decide what is a Catholic school.

I have read these quotations, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, simply to show that the official utterances of the leading authorities of this institution are very plainly intended to undermine and destroy our public-school system. I am perfectly willing to admit that these persons are conscientious in what they say, from their point of view. I am perfectly willing to admit that they believe they are doing God's service in the matter. I am perfectly willing to admit that they may even conceive themselves to be advancing the interests of our country. But it is because I do not believe this, and because the constituency I represent does not believe it, that I am here.

And now let me call your attention to what this same hierarchy is doing against our school system. We have seen what it is saying. The following will go to prove that it practices what it preaches:

In the first place, it is interfering in the management of our schools.

In the second place, it is seeking to Romanize our text-books.

In the third place, it is endeavoring to establish a counter system of education.

I could give you illustrations, if I had time, and if you thought it necessary, to prove this interference in the management of our schools.

The CHAIRMAN. If you think you are short of time, you may furnish to the reporter those additional matters and they can be annexed to your statement. Those matters of fact are the sources of evidence, and are the essential things. Give us your summing up, which will be very valuable; and then submit to the committee what facts you can.

Rev. Dr. GRAY. I can also give you some facts to illustrate the attempts to Romanize our text-books.

The CHAIRMAN. You will please consider yourself at liberty to lay before the committee, within a week or two, all the facts which you consider pertinent.

Rev. Dr. GRAY. One more word and I have done. The question may come up, Why not allow this institution to have its own schools, provided we prevent the appropriation of any public funds to their support? It seems to me, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that even under those circumstances it were unwise to permit the growth of parochial schools in our country unless those who are in authority over them shall permit such State inspection thereof as will satisfy the public that the instruction there obtained is not only fully equal to the instruction in our common schools, but that the truth of history is taught, and, moreover, that the pupils are not misled into the belief that their first and primary allegiance is due to a foreign potentate rather than to the Government of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refer to civil allegiance?

Rev. Dr. GRAY. I refer to civil allegiance.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean by that to say that such highest civil allegiance you understand to be a part of the teachings of some or all the parochial schools of the country?

Rev. Dr. GRAY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you state that as a matter of inference from other authorities, or from personal knowledge? Will you state the grounds for that assertion?

Rev. Dr. GRAY. I think that can be proven from the utterances of the authorities of that institution.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have such citations, we would like you to submit them. The committee would be glad to see them.

Rev. Dr. GRAY. It is possible, and I will be glad to do so.

Rev. J. O. CORLISS. Will it be permissible for me to ask the doctor a question, so that he will not be misunderstood?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. You will remember that the chairman asked you if you thought such principles were taught in all parochial schools. Is the idea to be conveyed that all parochial schools, besides Catholic schools, have so taught, or do you simply refer to Catholic schools?

The CHAIRMAN. As I put the question as to all or part of the parochial schools, I understood him to make the reply in reference to Catholic parochial schools generally.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I simply wished the doctor to be understood.

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF REV. JAMES M. GRAY.

Rev. Mr. Gray subsequently submitted to the committee the following additional remarks:

I. In substantiating the statement that the Roman Catholic hierarchy is officiously interfering in the management of our public schools, I may remark that in the town of Barton, Wis., Roman Catholics have rallied

in force at the annual meetings for two or three years past and voted that no public school should be maintained, and none has been maintained. At Melrose, Minn., Roman Catholic priests have engineered a movement to shorten the school year of the public schools in order to create an opportunity for the children of Roman Catholic parents to attend parochial schools. Throughout Stearns County, Minn., the Roman Catholic catechism is said to be taught openly in the public schools, and either the opening or the closing hours of the session are devoted to religious instruction imparted by the priests. This plan has practically been in operation in Corning, Elmira, Lima, Poughkeepsie, and Albion, in New York State. At Pittsburgh, Pa., a school board composed entirely of Roman Catholics leased a public-school building for a parochial school, in violation of the constitution of that State, and the same thing, practically, has been done in the towns of Waltham and Malden, Mass.

II. In substantiating the statement that the Roman Catholic hierarchy is endeavoring to Romanize our text-books, I might go on to say that the recent withdrawal of Swinton's text-book of history from our Boston schools and the substitution of an "expurgated" Anderson in its place, so fully referred to in the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Dunn, is only one of several instances of that kind which are being brought to light. The Boston Evening Transcript is authority for the declaration that for some years past the text-books in use in the public schools of Boston have been submitted to an expurgating committee of priests, whose approval or non-approval of their contents has decided whether they should be used or not. This has been the case with Dickens's *Child's History of England*, Miss Thompson's *History of England*, and other books of this class. Indeed, the war over Swinton's *History* has now been transferred from Massachusetts to Minnesota, and a few weeks ago the *Northwestern Chronicle*, of Saint Paul, Archbishop Ireland's personal organ, took up the matter, and said that inasmuch as the same books were used in Saint Paul as in Boston, the fact imposed upon the Catholics of this city a duty which they ought not to hesitate a moment to perform. They must take immediate steps to secure its (Swinton's) withdrawal from schools to which many of their children were sent and for the maintenance of which they were obliged to pay. Nor is this "expurgation" of text-books in the interest of the Church of Rome any new invention on its part, since as long ago as 1854 committees were appointed in the city of New York to eliminate from the public-school books all facts of history which were inimical to the papal system, and such books, so mutilated and defaced with black marks, might have been seen on exhibition in the Bible House, New York, not many years ago, nor am I at all certain that they are not to be found there now.

III. In substantiating the remark that the Roman Catholic hierarchy is seeking to establish a counter-system of education to that of our public schools, it might be sufficient to refer merely to what has already been quoted from the Roman Catholic authority previously alluded to. And yet it is well to reflect that it has so far carried out its determination therein expressed that a low estimate places the number of Roman Catholic children in parochial schools in the United States at 500,000. A Roman Catholic authority (Sadlier's Directory) for 1887 said that there were 26,627 children in such schools in Massachusetts alone. In such cities as Manchester, N. H., and Lewiston, Me., the pupils in parochial schools are said to outnumber those in the public schools. Romish priests in obedience to the dictates of those in authority over

them are threatening the heads of families in their flocks with the pains of eternal damnation if they allow their children to go to the common schools. This has been done loudly and offensively in Cambridgeport, Hyde Park, Roxbury, and other places in Massachusetts, and has become so burdensome, indeed, that a bill is now pending before the legislature of the Commonwealth, one provision of which makes it a penal offense for such intimidation to be resorted to by a priest.

IV. In elaborating my objections to the parochial school system I desire to emphasize the following:

(1) The Roman Catholic Church is not friendly to the free education of the masses; witness the history of Spain, Italy, Austria, South America, Mexico, and other parts of the world where she has held sway. If she seems desirous to give her children an education in this country it is only because the spirit of our institutions demands it. On this point we have a recent and very competent witness in the Rev. Edward McGlynn, of New York City, who, in a recent article in the *North American Review*, maintained that it was not risking much to say that if there were no public schools there would be few parochial schools, and that the Catholic children, for all the churchmen would do for them, would grow up in brutish ignorance of letters. The future of our Republic can not afford that any considerable proportion of its youth should grow up under influences thus inimical at heart to a free education.

(2) The instruction given in parochial schools is not only sectarian, but frequently untruthful. As says the Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D., of Boston, in his scholarly pamphlet entitled "*American Common Schools vs. Sectarian Parochial Schools*":

I have examined "A full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," "Sadlier's Excellent Introduction to Geography," Gazeau's "Modern History," "The Young Catholic's Illustrated Fifth Reader," "The Third Reader" of the Catholic national series, and Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History, all of which are widely used in the parochial schools of the United States and Canada. All of these books are thorough advocates of Roman Catholicism, so much so, indeed, as to deserve the name of apologetic works. In the preface to the Third Reader of the national series, the author naively says: "The Third Reader, in common with the other books of the Catholic national series, has one chief characteristic, viz, a thoroughly Catholic tone, which will be found to pervade the whole book." Imagine a school-book commended to our approval, even by the statement that it has "a thoroughly Baptist," or "Methodist," or "Episcopalian tone."

Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History contains such extraordinary misrepresentations as the following:

"Not only the church [of Rome] has been no obstacle to progress, either in science or art, but to Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. Carefully examined it will be seen that with the exception of the steam-engine and the railroad, little that is really new has been discovered other than by Catholics." (p. 298.)

The same authority informs us, on page 304, that "to make converts, Catholicity has ever appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence." Another Roman Catholic text-book on history (Professor Treday) teaches that "the Roman Catholic Church had nothing to do with the death of those who perished in the Inquisition." Sadlier's "Introduction to Geography," page 28, teaches that the first settlement in the New England States was "a Jesuit mission on Mount Desert Island in 1622." The same publication affords the information that the Catholic pilgrims of Maryland were the founders of religious liberty in the New World (p. 29). Sadlier's history teaches that "the Independence of the United States was, in a great degree, secured by Catholic blood, talent, and treasures." In the "Biographical Sketches" of that book thirty lines are bestowed on Abraham Lincoln,



and between forty and fifty on Archbishop Hughes. George Washington, the father of his country, receives twenty-eight lines, while Peter De Smet, a Roman Catholic missionary, is honored with thirty seven lines. A book entitled "Plain Talk About the Protestantism of To-day," which is placed in the hands of young Catholics, speaks of the subjects of Fox's "Book of Martyrs" as "a set of deluded, rebellions, impious, and blasphemous wretches." These illustrations of sectarianism and untruthfulness might be greatly multiplied.

(3) This leads me to the consideration of a third objection to the parochial schools, which involves an answer to the inquiry of the chairman as to whether I meant that the pupils in such schools were taught to yield first and primary allegiance to the Pope of Rome rather than to the Government of the United States, in a *civil* sense. As to this it may be sufficient to refer to the papal syllabus of errors issued by Pope Pius IX, December 8, 1864, especially the twenty-fourth and forty-second articles thereof, which condemn the propositions that the church has not the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power, and that in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers the civil law ought to prevail. In other words, according to this supreme authority, the church has the power of availing herself of force, and in a conflict between her laws and those of any civil power her laws must be first respected. To any one who possesses the slightest familiarity with the subject there can be no question as to the teaching of this tenet to Roman Catholic youth whenever the opportunity presents itself, especially when even the Roman Catholic press of this country does not hesitate to say that "while the State has rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority and that authority can only be expressed through the church." (Catholic World, July, 1870.) For illustrations of direct interference on the part of Rome with civil authority even within the past twenty or thirty years, one has only to consult Mr. Gladstone's "Vaticanism," published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1875. Nor is it necessary to do more at the present time than to lift one's eyes to the Dominion of Canada, where, in the matter of the Jesuits' estates act, it is boldly assumed on the part of the hierarchy, and even incorporated into the conditions of the act itself, that the agreement with the Government is to be "*binding only in so far as it shall be ratified by the Pope*," and that "the amount of the compensation fixed (\$400,000) shall remain in the hands of the Government of the province as a special deposit, *until the Pope has ratified the said settlement and made known his wishes respecting the distribution of such amount in this country*." "These extracts," says the Canada Law Journal, "clearly show an intent to confer upon the Pope—a foreign potentate—a jurisdiction and authority to determine how the Crown's grant of money is to be distributed in Canada." How long will it be ere, under the parochial school system, a like usurpation will be permitted in the case of the Government of the United States? Indeed has it not already occurred to some extent? Witness the following:

When a few years ago Roman Catholic children were withdrawn from the public schools in Cincinnati, the school board appointed a committee to confer with the Roman Catholic archbishop to bring about some union. The archbishop replied "that during the sitting of the Ecumenical council at Rome, he would ask the opinion of Pope Pius IX on the subject, and then communicate to the school board. (See "An Open Letter from the Committee of One Hundred," p. 9.)

Without pursuing the argument any further I will close here with a quotation from the pen of Mr. Gladstone, who concludes his valuable

brochure on "Vaticanism" with the following statement of his motive (p. 84):

My object has been to produce, if possible, a temper of greater watchfulness; to promote the early and provident fear which, says Mr. Burke, is the mother of necessity; to distrust that lazy way of thought which acknowledges no danger until it thunders at the doors, to warn my countrymen against the velvet paw and smooth and soft exterior of a system which is dangerous to the foundations of civil order, and which any one of us may at any time encounter in his daily path. If I am challenged, I must not refuse to say it is not less dangerous in its ultimate operation on the human mind to the foundations of that Christian belief, which it loads with false excrescences, and strains even to bursting.

### ARGUMENT OF REV. DR. JAMES B. DUNN.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to state at the outset two points which I desire to have kept clearly in view.

The first is that the movement we represent is not a partisan movement. The second is a definition of our purpose, which is to secure a constitutional amendment which will prevent any sectarian interference with our public schools and forever prohibit the granting of money from the public treasury, national, State, or municipal, for the support of any sectarian school or institution whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that you gentlemen here form a delegation. Is that correct?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir; we are a delegation from the Boston Committee of One Hundred. Perhaps this committee of the Senate will permit me to state in brief the circumstances which created the Committee of One Hundred, and wrought at the municipal election in Boston December 11, 1888, such a political revolution as excited the wonder and called forth the admiration of the friends of liberty in this and other lands. That movement has been described by its enemies as a religious crusade against a particular sect, begun and carried on by Protestant bigots. The very reverse was the case; that instead of being fired with religious bigotry and race prejudice, the leaders and supporters of the movement were really seeking to preserve to Roman Catholics the civil, educational, and religious liberties guaranteed by the State and nation, and instead of bigoted clergymen inaugurating the movement Roman Catholics began the conflict. They sought to take the control of the public schools out of the hands of those who would conduct them in accordance with American ideas and on a non-sectarian basis, that they might conduct them thereafter in the interests of the Church of Rome; and in this attempt the Romanists were seconded by all the members of the Boston school board, excepting Mrs. Fifield and Miss Dr. Hastings, the only two women on the board. What are the facts?

On the 8th of May, 1888, the Rev. Theodore Metcalf, a Roman Catholic priest, complained in a letter to the school board, which was immediately published in the papers, that Mr. Charles B. Travis, of the English high school, had "trespassed on the forbidden ground of religion and made statements which were an outrage to Catholics. In his endeavor to explain the Catholic doctrine of indulgences." This communication was referred to the committee on high schools, and notwithstanding Mr. Travis, in a letter to the chairman of the committee, most emphatically denied that the statements made to elucidate the passage on indulgences were ever "put in such a way as to throw ridicule or contempt upon anybody or upon any religion," that committee,

in a report signed by J. D. Blake, William C. Williamson, Joseph D. Fallon, Thomas O'Grady (all Catholics save Williamson), sustained the charge, and recommended that Mr. Travis be transferred to some other department, and the text-book, which they held misled the teacher, be removed. The report was accepted, and Swinton's *Outlines of the World's History*, which had been in use in the schools for ten years was taken out, and Mr. Travis, who had been a teacher for some twenty years, was transferred from mediæval to ancient history. The ground taken by the priest was that Swinton's *History* is a sectarian book—but this is not so. Like other impartial histories, Swinton simply records an unpleasant fact in the history of the Romish Church concerning the sale of indulgences which happened a few hundred years ago. The school committee removed the book because, they said, "its teaching is not correct; it conveys the impression that an indulgence is a permission to commit sin." Swinton's *History* teaches nothing of the kind. The language alluded to is as follows:

These indulgences were, in the early ages of the church, remissions of the penances imposed upon persons whose sins had brought scandal upon the community. But in process of time they were represented as actual pardons of guilt, and the purchaser of indulgence was said to be delivered from all his sins.

This intermeddling by a Romish priest with the public schools the citizens of Boston felt they must rebuke, and through the press and in public meetings they freely expressed their indignation. The most memorable meetings were those held on the evening of July 11 in Faneuil Hall and Tremont Temple. Never did Boston witness such a spectacle as the grand old Cradle of Liberty presented on that night. The historic structure was packed to its utmost capacity, and a finer audience or a more patriotic and enthusiastic one never gathered beneath a roof, and as the speakers one after the other avowed the determination of the people to defend at all hazards the public schools against Jesuitical intrigue, the famous old building fairly rocked with successive tempests of applause.

On this night, at Faneuil Hall and Tremont Temple, the initiative steps were taken towards forming the Committee of One Hundred. On entering upon its work, the Committee, composed of leading citizens of Boston, clergymen and laymen, made some important discoveries and soon realized the magnitude as well as importance of the work they had undertaken. They found, for instance, the municipal government in the control of Roman Catholics; from the mayor down, the hand of the priest was seen and his influence felt. The city's charitable institutions, under a board of directors, were being rapidly Romanized. In one, the Marcella Street Home, the sacred desk was displaced by the confessional box, and the Bible removed to make way for an image of the Virgin. The school committee of twenty-four members, having in charge all the educational interests of the city, the primary, and the grammar, the high, Latin, and normal schools, and composed of twelve Catholics, eleven Protestants, and one Jew, was practically run in the interest of Romanism. For years the text-books had been submitted to the examination of Jesuit priests, and until they were mutilated to suit these gentlemen they could not be used; while other books, as for instance Dickens's *Child's History of England* and Miss Thompson's *History of England*, were from time to time quietly removed from the schools because they contained things displeasing to those Romish inquisitors. Steadily and persistently competent and experienced Protestant teachers were dismissed and their places filled by incompetent Roman Catholic teachers. This was easily done, as the standing com-

mittee of the school board on nominations was composed of four Roman Catholics and one Protestant, and when nominations were made to the board all the Roman Catholic members were on hand to vote approval, while several of the Protestant members were invariably absent; and the masters to whose schools the incompetents were appointed were given to understand that if they cared aught for their places and their salaries they had better keep still and say nothing.

In some instances priests would warn teachers not to mark Roman Catholic children late or absent who were off attending mass, otherwise they would pay for it; while in others a priest would go to a school during school hours and have leave given him to take out Roman Catholic scholars that they might attend some mission service in a Catholic Church. Almost all the division committees having in charge the public schools had on them Catholic majorities, while the other standing committees were largely formed in the same interest; on some of the most important committees all the members were Catholics.

Committee on annual report, three members, all Catholics.

Committee on manual training school, three members, all Catholics.

Committee on nominations, four Catholics and one Protestant.

Committee on Horace Mann school, majority Catholics.

Committee on hygiene, majority Catholics.

Committee on music, majority Catholics.

Committee on rules and regulations, majority Catholics.

Committee on salaries, majority Catholics.

Committee on text-books, majority Catholics.

Committee on high schools, majority Catholics.

First division of schools, majority Catholics.

Second division of schools, majority Catholics.

Third division of schools, majority Catholics.

Fifth division of schools, majority Catholics.

Sixth division of schools, majority Catholics.

Seventh division of schools, majority Catholics.

Ninth division of schools, majority Catholics.

We found, furthermore, that in the growth of the city, other departments had been cared for to the neglect of the children. As a consequence of this neglect, hundreds of children were idling in the streets, because the school accommodations were insufficient, and in some instances the children who were in the school were there at the peril of health and life. We give below some figures to confirm this statement. The increase in expenditure, as compared with ten years previous, was, in the police department, 44 per cent.; fire department, 45 per cent., and in schools, less than 10 per cent. But the ways in which the schools had suffered in the past is still more apparent if we make a comparison with the paving and sewer departments, and the amount spent for new school-houses:

	1878-'79.		1887-'88.		Per cent.
	Number.	Amount expended.	Number.	Amount expended.	
Miles of streets .....	346		407. 61		*18
Paving .....		\$694, 937		\$1, 040, 931	*50
Sewers .....		140, 137		359, 429	*150
Scholars in schools .....	53, 262		62, 226. 00		*174
New school-houses .....		240, 223		127, 875	†47

\*Increase.

†Decrease.

In other words, while the percentage of increase of miles of streets and the number of scholars is about the same as it was nine years ago, yet the expenses of the paving department have increased 50 per cent., and of sewers 150 per cent., and the amount spent for school-houses has decreased 47 per cent.

In view of such figures the committee felt it was high time to insist that a child was worth more than a paving-stone. The evident plan of those at the City Hall, then under Roman Catholic control, was to deteriorate the schools, so as to lead the people of Boston to become indifferent to them, and in that way to lay a foundation for the Roman Catholics to establish parochial schools.

Such in brief was the situation of things when the Committee of One Hundred was created. After the school board had removed Swinton's History and transferred Mr. Travis, the Committee of One Hundred, as well as the Evangelical Alliance of Boston, sent committees to the high school and text-book committees to protest against such changes, but their protests were disregarded. The school board refused to reconsider their action, and substituted, for Swinton's History, Anderson's New General History, thus proving beyond all question that the members were managing the schools according to the dictates of the Vatican, as Anderson's History had been Romanized and prepared in the interest of Rome, as we will show in a little while.

Meanwhile, the Committee of One Hundred, by means of the pulpit the platform and the circulation of literature, was bringing to light the deep-laid plans and Jesuitical intrigues of the Romish hierarchy concerning the public schools, and preparing the people to elect in December new members of such a character as would secure a reconstruction of the school board, and free it from mischievous Jesuitical control. In this work the committee were wonderfully aided by some loyal and patriotic organizations of women, such as the Loyal Women of American Liberty, Independent Women Voters of Boston, Bunker Hill Educational and Suffrage Association, and the W. C. T. U. The first-named organization especially did a grand work in promoting the assessment and registration of women to vote for school committee.

While this was going on, Boston was stirred from center to circumference. For a while it looked like a spirited trial of strength between Protestants and Catholics. At times the latter were massed in certain sections and brought up to the assessors' office in crowds, among whom were very many who could neither read nor write, and were therefore disqualified from voting; and this their leaders knew, but it was done to create a scare among the friends of the public schools and induce them to retire from the contest on the ground that the Roman Catholic women voters would greatly outnumber them; meetings were held nightly in the basements of some Catholic churches, and in halls where Catholic women were initiated into the mysteries of writing their own names and learning to read from a card some lines of the Constitution, copies of said card being hung up in some ward rooms over the registrar's desk. Secret circulars were sent by the Catholic leaders among the women of Roman Catholic parishes, in which the party of the other side were stigmatized as bigots who were attacking the Catholic church and the Irish race; and Catholics were urgently called upon to register and vote to rebuke the bigots. But in this they did not succeed; the American women who had rallied to the defense of the schools were not to be thus frightened. The scene at the City Hall during the weeks given to the assessment of women who proposed to vote was unique and unparalleled. Committees of Catholic and non-Catholic women attended

through all the sessions of the assessors, to assist women desiring to be assessed, and many an office holder at the city hall helped on the work of Catholic assessment, and at the close it was found that 25,000 women were assessed; of that number only 21,000 afterwards registered and thus qualified themselves to vote.

Next followed the selection of candidates for school committee, after months of careful examination and pains-taking scrutiny, in conference with committees of the several organizations of women. The Committee of One Hundred selected the names of nine men and two women, none of whom were Catholics (as eight of the old board holding over were of that faith) but all of whom were eminent citizens, well known to possess unusual qualifications for serving on the school committee, and of pronounced patriotic and non-sectarian sentiments. With this ticket the Committee of One Hundred went into the field, and entered upon a vigorous campaign; and notwithstanding there were other tickets, each containing the names of several Catholics, and at the eleventh hour some female suffragists (notwithstanding the women voters in convention assembled had voted *not* to issue an independent ticket) printed what they called the woman's ballot for school committee and sent it by mail to the thousands of registered women voters in Boston. and though the tendency of this ticket was to deceive the women who had rallied to defend the schools, as it contained some of the names on the ticket of the Committee of One Hundred, with several Catholics also—the committee, however, were able in time through the press and by energetic action to sound the alarm, so that the committee's ticket, with that issued by the Republicans for mayor and school committee, came out victorious. This victory was all the more marked as a heavy penetrating rain prevailed all day. But the disagreeable weather and the peculiar circumstances, so new and trying, did not in the least daunt the women of Boston. Zealously and effectively hundreds of them labored from the opening to the closing of the polls on that ever to be remembered 11th day of December, 1888, when the heaviest vote by many thousands ever known in the city was polled. It was a signal victory. It was a double and a treble victory; a victory over Jesuitical intrigue, over the elements, and over the basest kind of misrepresentations and forgeries—a victory that thrilled the whole country and gave new life and inspiration to those who in every State had been struggling to defend the public schools against the encroachments of Romanism. From every State and Territory in the Union, from islands of the Pacific, and from beyond the seas, the Committee of One Hundred have received congratulatory letters, and inquiries as to "how it was done?"

The committee was not started as a partisan movement; it was composed of members of all political parties, it was not a sectarian movement either. It has not been from its incipency a religious crusade. It is not in any sense whatever an attack upon the Roman Catholic Church as a church. The committee simply stands on the defensive, to protect our American schools and our institutions from any sectarian encroachments whatsoever.

In doing our work, we are not only defending our institutions, but protecting the rights of the Roman Catholic laity, so that a Roman Catholic parent may be able without fear or favor to send his child to a public school as well as a Protestant parent.

I repeat that it is not a partisan movement in which we are engaged. It is simply in a line with the sentiments expressed by the leading patriots and statesmen of the past few years, beginning, if you please, with General Grant.

## THE POSITION OF GENERAL GRANT.

General Grant's impressive words on the subject, to the Army of the Tennessee, will never be forgotten by his countrymen or by the world. His clear, calm, cool common sense gives them a weight akin to that of the farewell address of Washington, and they follow the same line of thought that marked the Father of his Country when he tenderly warned the American people against the dangers of foreign influence.

General Grant said :

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 one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. \* \* \* Let us all labor for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press and pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. 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 can get a common school education, unmixed with atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teachings. \* \* \* Keep the church and the state forever separate.

President Grant brought the subject before Congress in his message of December 7, 1875, and earnestly recommended that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the States for ratification—

Making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children, in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion ; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or any other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid or for the benefit of any other subject, of any nature or kind whatsoever.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT OF MR. BLAINE.

On the 14th of December, 1875, the Hon. James G. Blaine introduced into the House his constitutional amendment, a fitting move, as Grant had intimated, for the centennial year, which provided that—

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; and no money raised by school taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public land devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations.

That amendment passed the House on August 4, 1876, by the almost unanimous vote of 180 to 7.

In the Senate it was amended and defeated by a vote of 28 to 16, a vote largely in its favor, but less than the two-thirds vote required.

## THE POSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican convention of the State of New York, at Saratoga, September 8, 1875 :

*Resolved*, The free public schools is the bulwark of the American Republic. We therefore demand the unqualified maintenance of the public-school system, and its support by equal taxation. We are opposed to all sectarian appropriations, and we denounce, as a crime against liberty and republican institutions, any project for a sectarian division or perversion of the school fund of the State.

The Republican national convention, at Cincinnati, June 15, 1876, declared :

The public-school system of the several 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.

President Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, said of that resolution :

The resolution with respect to the public-school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended until, by constitutional amendment, the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment.

President Garfield, in his letter of acceptance July 12, 1880, said :

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. \* \* \* It would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenue of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the church and the state in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

#### THE POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic national platform, adopted at St. Louis, June 28, 1876, declared: "We do hereby reaffirm our faith in the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom."

And it spoke at the same time of "the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain, without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any."

From these quotations it will be seen that the amendment for which we petition is in no sense partisan, but simply in line with the American idea of protecting the American public-school system inviolate.

There has been brought before us to-day the authoritative declarations of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the subject of public schools. We need go no farther back than the letter sent by Pope Leo XIII, which was read in all the Catholic churches last Sunday in the city of New York. That of course is the highest authority in the Catholic Church, and in that letter the Pope places himself most emphatically in most direct opposition to the public schools of the United States, because there is no ecclesiastical authority exercised in them. Of course it is for that very reason that we want to retain them as an American institution.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the letter here?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. I have the entire text of the letter and will hand it to the reporter.

The CHAIRMAN. If the letter is not very long it had better be inserted in the record.

The letter as clipped from a newspaper is as follows :

#### A LETTER FROM POPE LEO XIII.

The last service in connection with the jubilee of Pope Leo XIII was the reading in most of the churches of this diocese yesterday of a letter in which the Pope expresses his appreciation of the homage shown to him the world over. An introductory letter from the archbishop of New York was also read, in which the archbishop says:

"I trust the faithful in this diocese will reflect seriously on the many important lessons contained in the holy father's letter. Acting on his advice, let us study the life of our Divine Redeemer, that we may walk more closely in his footsteps."

The letter from the Pope is addressed "to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops,



and bishops, and to all the faithful in grace and communion with the apostolic see." After reference to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood and to the gratifying manifestations of joy and good-will and reverence, the letter continues:

"In the exercise of our high apostolic office, bestowed upon us by the goodness of God, we have many times, as in duty bound, undertaken the defense of truth, and have striven to expound particularly those doctrines which seemed to be most useful to all, so that, knowing the truth, every one by watchfulness and attention might avoid the pestilential breath of error. But now we wish to address all Christians, as a most loving father to his children, and in familiar discourse to exhort all to lead a holy life.

"Now, if an inquiry be instituted as to the kind of life men commonly lead, it is readily seen that public and private morals differ much from the precepts of the Gospel. Too sadly, alas! do the words of the Apostle St. John apply to our age: 'All that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life.' For in truth most men, with little care whence they come or whither they are tending, place all their thoughts and care upon the weak and fleeting goods of this life; contrary to nature and good order, their will becomes the slave of those things of which their reason tells them they should be the masters. It is a shortstep from the desire of luxury to the striving after the means to obtain it. Hence arises an unbridled greed for money, which blinds those whom it has led captive, and in the fulfillment of its passion hurries them madly along, often without regard for justice or injustice, and not seldom accompanied by a disgraceful contempt for the poverty of their neighbor.

"They call self-love liberty, and think themselves 'born free like a wild ass's colt.' • Snares and temptation to sin abound; we know that impious or immoral dramas are exhibited on the stage; that books and journals are written to jeer at virtue and enoble crime; that the very arts, which were intended to give pleasure and proper recreation, have been made to minister to impurity. *Nor can we look to the future without fear, for new seeds of evil are sown, and as it were poured into the heart of the rising generation. As for the public schools there is no ecclesiastical authority left in them, and in the years when it is most fitting for tender minds to be trained carefully in Christian virtue, the precepts of religion are for the most part unheard.* Men more advanced in age encounter a yet graver peril from evil teaching, which is of such a kind as to blind the young by misleading words, instead of filling them with the knowledge of the truth. Many nowadays seek to learn by the aid of reason alone, laying divine faith entirely aside; and, through the removal of its bright light, they stumble and fail to discern the truth, teaching, for instance, that matter alone exists in the world; that men and beasts have the same origin and a like nature; there are some, indeed, who go so far as to doubt the existence of God, the ruler and maker of the world, or who err most grievously, like the heathens, as to the nature of God. Hence the very nature and form of virtue, justice, and duty are of necessity altered. Thus it is that, while they hold up to admiration the supremacy of reason, and unduly elevate the penetration of the human intellect, they fall into the just punishment of pride through ignorance of what is of more importance.

"It is not our purpose here to consider how far evil deeds may prosper nor whether empires, when flourishing and managing matters to their own liking, do nevertheless carry about with them, as it were shut up in their bowels, the seed of ruin and wretchedness. We wish this one thing to be understood, of which history has innumerable examples, that injustice is always punished, and with greater severity the longer it is continued. We are greatly consoled by the words of the Apostle Paul, 'For all things are yours; and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' By the hidden dispensation of Divine Providence the course of earthly things is so guided that all things that happen to man turn out to the glory of God and for the salvation of those who are true disciples of Jesus Christ. Of these the mother and guide, the leader and guardian is the church, which, being united to Christ, her spouse, in intimate and unchangeable charity, is also joined to Him by a common cause of battle and of victory.

"Hence we are not and can not be anxious on account of the church, but we greatly fear for the salvation of very many who proudly despise the church, and by many kinds of error rush to ruin. We are concerned for those states which we can not but see are turned from God and sleeping in the midst of danger in dull security and insensibility. 'Nothing is equal to the church,' says St. John Chrysostom. 'How many have opposed the church and have themselves perished? The church reaches to the heavens, such is the church's greatness. She conquers when attacked; when beset by snares she triumphs; she struggles and is not overthrown; she fights and is not conquered.' Not only is she not conquered, but she preserves that corrective power over nature and that effective strength of life that springs from God himself, and is unchanged by time. And, if by this divine power she has freed the world, grown old in vice and lost in superstition, why should she not again recover it when

gone astray? Let strife and suspicion at length cease, let all obstacles be removed, give the possession of all her rights to the church, whose duty it is to guard and spread abroad the benefits gained by Jesus Christ; then we shall know by experience where the light of the Gospel is, and what the power of Christ the Redeemer can accomplish."

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Reference has been made to the persistent system of Romanizing school text-books. I hold in my hand an account of the manner in which the removal of Mr. Swinton's text-book was accomplished. The book that was substituted for it was Anderson's New General History:

"Swinton's History," the Boston school committee said, "was removed in the interest of truth and fairness," its "teaching," they said, "is not correct; it conveys the impression that an indulgence is a permission to commit sin." Swinton's History teaches nothing of the kind. The foot-note on page 320 says: "These indulgencies were, in the early ages of the church, remissions of the penances imposed upon persons whose sins had brought scandal upon the community. But in process of time they were represented as actual pardons of guilt, and the purchaser of indulgence was said to be delivered from all his sins."

On this misrepresentation Swinton was removed and Anderson's New General History was substituted, because, as one member of the school committee said, "*It gives a fair account of indulgencies.*" But when he made this statement he said what was not true. We appeal to the book. Anderson's History does not contain a word about indulgencies. What, then, are we to understand? That the committee had not examined the book and had been imposed upon, or, having examined it, they would impose upon the public? It was further said in the committee: "If facts are to be given in a history they must be given as they are, and not distorted." Very true, and that is just what Swinton does. But how about the history that does not give the facts?

On page 598 of Anderson's New General History, we read that in the reign of Maximilian I, "Martin Luther published his famous ninety-five theses against the doctrines of the Catholic Church." Is this what the members of the Boston school committee call "truthful history?" Do they not know that Martin Luther's theses were against the abuses of indulgencies? Again, on page 599, we read that "from the spread of Luther's tenets grew what is called the Reformation." And this is all that the school committee of Boston would teach the youth of America concerning one of the greatest and grandest events of modern history. Cardinal John Newman, a very high authority of the Roman Catholic Church, says in his pamphlet in reply to Mr. W. E. Gladstone's "Vatican Decrees," that "while Protestants speak of the *blessed* Reformation, Catholics, when they describe it, speak of it as the *so-called* Reformation." Singular agreement between Anderson, the author, and Newman, the cardinal.

Why is it that Anderson's General History, so highly commended by the school committee of Boston, speaks thus slightly of such a great event and otherwise falsifies and distorts history? Why? "Anderson's" History has been Romanized.

In a Roman Catholic work, Judges of the Faith, published at Baltimore, and bearing the recommendation and indorsements of two cardinals and several bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, thus giving it high authority, we find, on pages 23, 24, 25, eight school books strongly condemned, some of which, the author says, were "put on the Index of Prohibited Books." Of the eight he condemns, Swinton's and Anderson's Histories were the first named. Now, how does it happen that one book thus condemned is substituted by the agents of the Romish Church for another condemned book which they had succeeded in removing from the public schools? The natural inference is, the book has been Romanized and doctored to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

As illustrations of the difference between the two editions take the following:

#### THE OLD ANDERSON PROHIBITED.

On page 163: In speaking of King Henry II of England in the middle ages, it says, "His next object was to reform the abuses and correct the vices of the clergy, who, being by the institutions of William the Conqueror, amenable only to ecclesiastical authority, set the common laws of the realm at defiance."

#### THE NEW ANDERSON ROMANIZED.

On page 350 it says of King Henry II of England: "His next object was to diminish the powers and privileges of the clergy, who were, by the institutions of William the Conqueror, amenable only to the ecclesiastical courts, by which, if found guilty, they were delivered up to the secular power for punishment."

On page 179: In speaking of Henry IV, after describing the part the king and his son took in the battle near Shrewsbury (1403), when they "signalized themselves by their feats of strength and daring," it says, "Henry, in order to gain the favor of the Church, caused severe laws to be passed against the Lollards (the followers of Wickliffe), and one of them was condemned and burnt at the stake (1401). This was the first English subject that was put to death on account of his religious opinions."

On page 191 it says: "The reign of Philip II (of France) is also noted for the PERSECUTION of the Albigenses."

On page 192: Under the reign of Louis IX of France it says, "*The Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and all who refused to conform to the tenets of the Church of Rome were mercilessly punished.*"

On page 194 we are told that the reign of Philip IV of France "*is particularly noted* for the contest which arose between the King and the Pope (Boniface VIII) on account of the attempt of the latter to prevent the taxation of the clergy. Boniface in vain issued bull after bull, all of which were treated with contempt and defiance by Philip, who, after the death of Boniface, succeeded in placing the Archbishop of Bordeaux, under the title of Clement V, on the papal throne, and transferred the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, where it remained for about 70 years."

On page 293, under the reign of Charles IX, we read "that the Queen Mother entered into a conspiracy to remove him (Admiral Coligny) by assassination, and thus arouse the vengeance of the Huguenots, so that a pretext might be found for their destruction."

On page 293: In speaking of the St. Bartholomew Massacre, it says, "The number of those that fell in Paris is estimated at 10,000; the whole number slaughtered in different parts of the kingdom amounting to 30,000."

The author of this book gave as an explanation for leaving out of the new edition much that was printed in the old that "the New General History is not so full of matter as the General History, and this has been brought about by the desire of the teachers to have more maps, more charts, and more pictures," a very remarkable reason for suppressing important truths of history. But on examining the two histories we find that the new volume has, in addition to maps, charts, and pictures, some two hundred and twenty-five more pages of solid reading matter than the old history. And what is very remarkable in the inversion of new pictures, while there is ample room for the picture of Charles V, the would-be destroyer of Protestantism, and for the pictures of kings and popes, hermits, knights, crusaders, musketeers, pikemen, poets, and novelists, that there should have been found in the new Anderson no room for the picture of Martin Luther, the founder of Protestantism, or for the picture of John Wyckliffe or of John Huss.

The CHAIRMAN. The substitution of one book for the other was made by the same committee that removed Mr. Travis?

On page 367, after describing in the same language the part the king and his son took in this battle, ALL after the word "daring" is omitted.

On page 383 it says: "This reign is memorable for the rise of the Albigenses."

On page 384 *this entire passage is omitted.*

In the new book all of this is omitted.

On page 549 the words in *italics* are omitted.

On page 549 it says: "The number of those who fell in Paris alone has been estimated at 10,000; *but it is impossible to ascertain the number of victims with accuracy.*"

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Anderson's New General History was substituted for Swinton's?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Swinton's book was removed on account of some alleged error touching the doctrine of indulgences, was it not?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does Anderson's New General History say on that subject, if anything?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. From the account I have just read you will observe the word indulgence is not even mentioned in Anderson's New General History.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Anderson's New General History a history of the world, or is it a history of any particular period?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. It is an outline of general history.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a work is it?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. It was originally a work of about four hundred and nineteen pages. It is now a book of about six hundred and eighty-five pages.

With regard to the question of the demand for school funds by the Roman Catholics for their parochial schools, we hear it frequently stated that it is time enough to talk on that subject when the Catholics ask for a division of the school fund.

In reply to that, I would say that Bishop McQuaid, at the meeting of the Third Plenary Council at Baltimore, said, "This demand for state aid for our parochial schools must go on until the demand is granted."

I have here an editorial from the Boston Traveller relating to this subject, which I will ask to have inserted in my remarks.

The article is as follows:

#### THE SCHOOL, PUBLIC OR PAROCHIAL.

At the celebration in honor of De LaSalle in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, last week, Bishop Chatard, of Indiana, in his sermon made a bold and positive demand for public funds to be used for the support of Roman Catholic parochial schools. He complained that the education furnished by the public schools, while excellent so far as it went, was yet deficient in that it was entirely secular. He estimated that the cost of parochial schools to the church in this country is about \$9,000,000, and this he affirmed ought to come from the state to the church. "We have a right to that money from the state," he asserted; "it is ours, and we should have it." He denounced "the injustice the state is doing us in leaving us without any help from the funds which belong to us, because we will not accept the system which excludes religion from the schools." These utterances of Bishop Chatard are interesting as revealing the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in this country and the purpose which is cherished by its ecclesiastics. There may be a hesitation in some quarters about openly proclaiming this purpose, but the evidence is constantly multiplying that it is patiently and persistently cherished. The Roman Catholic Church has established its schools, and now it will at every opportunity press its claim for their support at the general expense of the public. Because of this purpose the parochial school is a standing menace to our public school system. It is all the more dangerous as a menace because of its character. It is a dangerous institution not merely because it is strictly sectarian, but because it is un-American in tone. Its teachers are for the most part importations from foreign ecclesiastical establishments, who have little or no knowledge of American institutions, and no sympathy with them. Its text-books pervert history, and its aim is to make loyal sons and daughters of the church at the expense of good citizenship. When such schools are relied upon as educators of future citizens, they are not only negatively bad, but are positively dangerous. Two objects are certainly before the Romish ecclesiastics—one to obtain the support of these parochial schools at the public expense, and the other, a means to the attainment of this end, the breaking down of the public school. Roman Catholics do not want religious training in the public school, for they admit the soundness of no religious training but their own, and object to the slightest departure from it in

any institution in which their children are placed. What they do want is to establish schools of their own, conduct them in their own way, and for children of their faith only, making religious teaching in the tenets of their church the leading purpose, and have the expenses paid from the public treasury. It is a bold and impudent claim to which no thorough believer in American institutions can ever give his assent. Its concession would be a use of public money, received from general taxation, for the propagation of the Catholic faith in this country, and an admission that Roman Catholics had the right to demand a share of the public funds for any of their purposes on the ground that they belonged to them. One step in the direction of making this claim good is the breaking down of the public school by securing a sectarian domination of it. This is one of the issues that the citizens of Boston are called upon to meet just now. Will they stand by the public school, its integrity, and its freedom from ecclesiastical influence?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. With regard to the second point or feature that I wish to speak of as bearing on this amendment, namely, that we desire to forever prohibit the granting of money to any sectarian institution from the public treasury, I hold in my hand a copy of a bill introduced into the legislature of the State of New York within the last three days, which I should like to have inserted in my remarks. I call the particular attention of the committee to the clause toward the end of the bill, which says that the institutions named in the bill shall be entitled to participate in the apportionment of the school money as provided for in this chapter, but that they shall be under the immediate direction of the respective trustees, managers, and directors, as herein provided.

The following is a copy of the bill:

AN ACT to amend chapter 410 of the laws of 1882, entitled "An act to consolidate into one act and declare the special and local laws affecting public interests in the city of New York."

*The people of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. Section 1066 of said act is amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 1066. The New York Orphans' Asylum School, the Roman Catholic Orphans' School, the schools of the two 'half orphan' asylums, the schools of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in the city of New York, the school for the Leake and Watts Orphans' Houses, the school connected with the almshouse of the said city, the school of the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans, the school of the American Female Guardian Society, the schools established and maintained by the New York Juvenile Asylum, by the New York Infant Asylum, by the Nursery and Child's Hospital, including the county branch thereof, the schools of the Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church, including the county branch thereof, the schools maintained by the New York Catholic Protectory, including its schools in Westchester County, in proportion to the number of children from the city of New York received therein, the schools organized under the act entitled 'An act to extend to the city and county of New York the provisions of the general act in relation to common schools, passed April 11, 1842, and an act to amend the same, passed April, 1843, or an act more effectually to provide for common school education in the city of New York, passed May 17, 1844, or any of the acts amending the same, and including such normal schools for the education of teachers as the board of education may organize, and such schools as may be organized under the provision of this chapter, shall be subject to the general supervision of the board of education and shall be entitled to participate in the apportionment of the school moneys as provided for in this chapter, but they shall be under the immediate direction of the respective trustees, managers, and directors, as herein provided."

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. From what source do you understand that bill to come?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. From a Roman Catholic source. The Roman Catholic Church received from the city of New York donations amounting to \$3,500,000 in eleven years, and from the public treasury \$6,043,626.45. In seventeen years it received from the city \$10,915,371.81.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean? Does it mean \$3,000,000 from the public treasury of the city?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And what else?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. The three million was in land.

The CHAIRMAN. And the six million was in funds?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. The six million was in funds from the city of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. From year to year?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. That covers the entire ten years.

The CHAIRMAN. And these appropriations in money were made from year to year for the support of the institutions?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

For the year 1889 it appears that the taxes to be levied in the city of New York amount to the enormous sum of \$33,800,000. Of this, \$13,000,000 go for State purposes, and the remainder, \$20,000,000, will be devoted to defraying municipal expenses, including the interest on the vast debt incurred under the Roman Catholic administration of the devout and historic William Tweed. Out of the sum for municipal purposes, \$1,142,232 is appropriated to the charitable and benevolent institutions of the city, which are classified as public, private, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish. In order to show exactly how this great fund is distributed where it does most good to the foreign institution which dominates the political life of the metropolis, the impartial estimates are given as presented by the Independent, as follows:

#### NON-SECTARIAN, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

New York Asylum for Idiots.....	\$972. 00
Hudson River State Hospital.....	7, 957. 20
New York Institution for the Blind.....	8, 750. 00
New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb .....	15, 750. 00
New York Juvenile Asylum.....	112, 500. 00
New York State Lunatic Asylum .....	1, 200. 00
State Asylum for Insane Criminals, Auburn .....	5, 895. 68
Total .....	153, 124. 88

#### NON-SECTARIAN, PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

American Female Guardian Society.....	25, 000. 00
Children's Aid Society .....	70, 000. 00
Institution for Improved Instruction of Deaf Mutes .....	17, 080. 00
New York Infant Asylum.....	90, 297. 50
New York Infirmary for Women and Children.....	4, 500. 00
New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled.....	26, 250. 00
Nursery and Child's Hospital.....	110, 000. 00
State Homeopathic Asylum for the Insane .....	3, 000. 00
Five Points House of Industry.....	10, 400. 00
New York Magdalen Benevolent Asylum and Home for Fallen Women.....	440. 00
Total.....	356, 967. 50

#### SECTARIAN, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.

The Children's Fold of the City of New York .....	17, 680. 00
Protestant Episcopal House of Mercy .....	9, 134. 63
The Shepherd's Fold of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New York.....	5, 000. 00
Total.....	31, 814. 63

#### SECTARIAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls.....	7, 280. 00
St. Joseph's Institution for the Improved Instruction of Deaf Mutes...	20, 700. 00
Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity .....	252, 345. 60
New York Catholic Protectory .....	254, 000. 00
Roman Catholic House of the Good Shepherd .....	6, 000. 00
Total.....	540, 325. 60

## SECTARIAN, JEWISH.

Hebrew Benevole Society of the City of New York.....	\$60, 000. 00
Grand total.....	1, 142, 232. 61
Non-sectarian.....	510, 092. 38
Sectarian.....	632, 130. 23

The CHAIRMAN. Your attack is upon sectarian appropriations?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes. We want to keep the church and the state entirely separate. I may state here that while we represent especially the Boston committee, or perhaps the State of Massachusetts, yet we really represent in this matter the opinion of the entire country.

Since the 11th day of December, 1888, when at the municipal election in Boston a great victory was won in the interests of the public-school system, the committee has received congratulatory letters from other States, I may say from every State and Territory in the Union, and letters also asking how the victory had been won and what plans were being taken to awaken the country as to the dangers menacing the common schools and American liberties. Not only have we letters from every State and Territory in the Union, but we have letters from across the ocean. We have them from Berlin and from Milan and from Paris, France, as well as from Australia and the Sandwich Islands. This shows that the subject is exciting a great deal of public attention, not alone in this country, but all over the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you, in the course of a few weeks, submit to the committee extracts from those letters—I mean something which will give the essence of many of the letters, showing from where they come, and if you choose, giving the names of the correspondents; at all events, giving the character of the correspondents and the localities from which they come?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Yes, sir; I shall be very glad to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can do that so as to bring it within the compass of 10 or 15 pages of printed matter, and so assorted as to give the pith and force of the correspondence, and to show the extent of the movement, we would be glad to have it.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. I will take great pleasure in doing so.

The following are extracts taken from some of the letters received by the Committee of One Hundred:

These letters are written by representatives of all classes and conditions of men; by professors of colleges and college students; by the presidents and clerks of school boards in towns and cities; by capitalists and the representatives of labor. Not a few of the letters are from adherents of the Romish Church, who, while clinging to their old faith, are decidedly opposed to any intermeddling ecclesiastics with our public schools and the inalienable rights of American citizens. From the letters received two things are manifest:

First. That there is a steady advance all along the line of the Romish hierarchy to destroy the chief bulwark of the Republic, the common-school system, and ultimately to dominate over the liberties of the nation. The war is waged in some places openly, in others secretly; sometimes in school committees, and sometimes in halls of legislation; sometimes to introduce sectarian teachers and sectarian text-books into our common schools, and sometimes to pervert the school fund to sectarian purposes.

Second. These letters show that the country is aroused; that the people all over this broad land are beginning to realize, as never before,

how great and imminent the perils are that threaten all our free institutions. In nearly every city, town, and hamlet this is the absorbing topic, and the avowed determination is freely expressed to defend the public schools against Jesuitical intrigue at all hazards.

From the western part of Massachusetts a gentleman writes:

Our institutions are sacred and they must be maintained at all hazards.

Another from the same section, a farmer, says:

We are determined to guard our rights; these we will not surrender.

From New York a converted Romanist and an Irishman writes:

No politics from Rome; home rule for America.

Another letter from New York signed "Mechanic" says:

We will not suffer any foreign power or any alien organization of any kind to dictate or control Americans or American affairs.

A prominent Episcopalian divine of New York writes to the Committee of One Hundred:

Gentlemen, in defending our public schools and republican institutions you are doing a grand work. With Catholicism as a religion we have no quarrel, but with the temporal pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church in America we have a quarrel, and her worldly aggressiveness we resist, and will resist, to the end.

A workman in a large foundry in Pennsylvania writes:

I represent the laboring class of society, and can say we as a class are in full accord with your movement;

and he adds:

I am surprised that the leading men of the country who love our institutions have not made a movement in this direction long since.

A voice from London, England, says of the Boston municipal election:

A glorious victory! The Lord reigns! Let the earth rejoice!

From San Francisco a Bostonian writes:

Now I can say I am a citizen of no mean city.

From Idaho comes the exultant commendation:

Well done, old Boston. Culture and beans can do it every time.

A Philadelphian says:

To redeem a city like Boston from the worst kind of slavery is something indeed to be grateful for. Let there be a committee of one hundred in every great city in the land, and the nation will soon be redeemed and become indeed the land of the "free and the brave."

LOUISVILLE, KY., November 16, 1888.

I have noticed with great pleasure in the New York Observer of 8th instant an announcement of the work you have undertaken and your determination that the Pope's bull shall not break up our public schools nor trample down our American liberties.

Such is the lethargy and ignorance and indifference of the Protestant people throughout our land, anent our liberty, I hail with gratitude and delight an effort to arouse the people upon this subject. General Lafayette's warning to our people, "If ever the American Republic is destroyed it will be through the influence of Popish priests," seems to have been forgotten, albeit multitudes of the present and rising generations may never have heard of it.

Fifty years ago, when I was a resident of Boston, no one would have dreamed that such a city would be governed and controlled by Roman Catholic power. It was expected of Baltimore, but not of Boston.

From a prominent pastor in Worcester, Mass.:

JANUARY 16, 1889.

The splendid work of your Committee of One Hundred rallies and inspires the forces of truth and liberty in Massachusetts, and, I trust, in America. There should be such a committee here as yours; I want such an one formed, and I will do all I can.



From a physician in Lindsey, Ohio:

DECEMBER 11, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: With love and the deepest affection that can make an impression upon a heart I read an announcement in the Cleveland Leader that you take a firm stand against Romanism as the avowed destroyer of American liberties and our common-school system, and by the help of God whoever shall in the least pretend or manage to destroy any or any part of those institutions are in my estimation the vilest of all the vile people in the world.

Resolutions adopted by the Grand Orange Lodge of Massachusetts, in session December 4, 1888:

Whereas the public-school system of our land is being endangered and our most cherished institutions are being undermined by the encroachments of Romanism; and

Whereas prompt and energetic action is needed to stem the tide which if allowed to pursue its course would blacken the history of our country: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we pledge our earnest and hearty support in the defense of free speech, a free press, free schools, the Protestant religion, and the liberties of America.

*Resolved*, That we do heartily indorse the noble efforts of the Boston Committee of One Hundred in combating Jesuitical intrigue and the un-American policy of the Church of Rome in the establishment of parochial schools.

From a lawyer in Toledo, Ohio:

DECEMBER 19, 1888.

I hope you will continue the agitation in Boston. The silence of the people is the Romanists' advantage. Keep the people thinking. I have watched your battle through the Boston Herald and Free Press.

From a clergyman in Nashville, Tenn.:

DECEMBER 6, 1888.

Please send me that "Open Letter" and two copies each of all your other literature. I want one for myself and one for one of our prominent city editors. The whole country is watching the new movement with the intensest interest.

Letter from Washington:

FEBRUARY 1, 1889.

GENTLEMEN, COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED: I have been trying to find time to write you, but have not succeeded until to-day. We have watched the Boston fight from the beginning, and when the day of election came and its glorious results were telegraphed over the country none rejoiced more than we at these headquarters. I characterized it at the time, and do now, as "the greatest victory since Yorktown." The victories of the late war were victories in one sense over ourselves. Yours was the first decisive victory over the infamous intrigues of a foreign foe, more to be dreaded by the friends of republicanism in America than any foe on earth. Rome is dangerous, because she carries out her fiendish plots secretly, slowly, but surely, and never bravely meeting her opponents on a "fair field" and open warfare. She never permits her left hand to know what her right hand is doing.

Possessing the local political control of all the important northern cities (Boston now excepted) and absolutely dictating their policy while still numerically in the minority, the Pope's American ally (Cardinal Gibbons) has initiated a gigantic scheme to Catholicize the South, whites and negroes, first by instituting a plot by which the foreign (Catholic) tide of immigration is to be turned Southward and by noify of action, as in the North, control politics and official patronage at the ballot-box. He personally inaugurated this scheme last summer, put it in motion (and the guileless Southerners are absolutely now pushing it along), appointed Catholic agents at Castle Garden and other ports to face immigrants Southward, then retired to his American vatican at Baltimore to chuckle over his success and the way he had succeeded in hoodwinking the people South.

His next point is to Catholicize the colored voter. This once done, he can control their vote better than the Republican party can ever hope to do. Only the other week a colored Catholic convention was held in this city at which he was the chief god (small g), and it was a pitiable sight to see the poor duped negroes falling upon their knees before him and kissing his jeweled hand, while a colored priest (the first in the land) harangued his colored brethren upon the beatific loveliness of the only true faith; how it was through the influence of Rome that they received their freedom, and other like lies, and through the show and tinsel and all the fascinating ceremonies of that idolatrous system of superstition, enticed hundreds to unite themselves with Romanism, and now that the initiative is taken, the negro will rush to Rome madly, wildly, and another deeply laid and secretly concocted Popish scheme will triumph! Great heaven, when will the eyes of Americans be opened?

From a citizen of Evanston, Ill :

NOVEMBER 6, 1888.

As an American citizen I am intensely interested in the effort of Boston's liberty-loving citizens to keep their public schools free from sectarian interference.

From Burlington, Iowa :

AUGUST 6, 1888.

I am writing hastily, as I ought not to do on so grave a subject. I said that the schools were on the point of being delivered. I should have said (as in your case) they *have been delivered*, and the Jesuits are on the point of taking complete possession. I have never been anything but an American. I have in all these years identified myself with no party, but voting for true American principles and men when I could find them to vote for. I hail the re-awakening that says to Rome: "Thou shalt go no further."

From Dallas, Tex., a letter comes asking for information as to "how it was done?" and accompanying an order for documents come these words: "I am thoroughly in sympathy with your aims, as I understand them, to save our free public schools from all sectarian influences whatever, Papal or Protestant."

A well-known clergyman of New York City, writing the day after the election in December, says:

NEW YORK, *December 12, 1888.*

DEAR DR. DUNN: I congratulate you most heartily on the result of the election. It illustrates once again the historic truth that whenever and wherever Rome has been aggressively opposed she has retired discomfited. I hope your Committee of One Hundred will not disband, and that you will come to New York for a time to organize a committee of one hundred also. One is needed in every large city in the country. You have done a great work; one that will be historic.

Very truly yours,

A long letter written by the chairman of a school board in one of the towns of Ohio, contains the following paragraph :

The Catholic priest in this place made a great effort to get the board of education to take charge of their school, but still retain the privilege of going in at the close of the ordinary school and detain the pupils and teach them their church doctrines, etc., but he did not accomplish his object. We expect, however, that he will make that matter an issue in the coming spring election when there will be two members of the board to be elected, and as the Catholics hold the balance of power here it stands us in hand to get the proper information before the people in some way. We have seventeen schools under one superintendent, and all are in a flourishing condition.

One of the most distinguished statesmen of this Republic, a gentleman who has honored the nation as its representative in a foreign court, in a letter from him dated New York, January 14, 1889, says, among other things:

The work you have accomplished in Boston is an immense one, and commands my warmest respect and admiration. But there is one rule in diplomacy which is always applicable in a fight against the Jesuits, and that is, that the moment when your victory seems most secure is the moment of the greatest danger, when vigilance and preparation are the most essential. Not until you have passed the laws deemed necessary and secured the desirable amendments to the constitution, can a feeling of security safely be indulged, and indeed, in a contest with the Jesuits bent upon the conquest of our Republic with its wealth and power, to restore to them the mastery of the world, no rest can be reasonably looked for by this generation or possibly by the next. Our folly in the past has given them a control in our cities and our politics, and especially our press, which places us at a great disadvantage.

The great thing now is to drag them into the light and put an end to their secrecy and intrigues. \* \* \*

Our chief difficulty has been the want of an independent journal. The Jesuits are said to boast that they have an agent in every considerable newspaper establishment in the country.

A prominent business man writing from Chicago, Ill., to us after our Boston victory, says:

How stupid and inert our people are! The politicians selling us to Rome; the press shackled; a petty minority of Papists dictating to both parties and turning the scale in favor of the highest bidder for the Pope's patronage! May Heaven help your Boston committee of one hundred to continue its work and organize the nation in defense of the nation's life.

A letter from Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, of date December 14, 1888, to the committee with the request for literature, says:

The question of a division of the public money to be given to the Catholic schools has been broached by the Catholic bishop here, as will be seen by articles in the papers sent you by this mail. \* \* \* The bishop states the Catholic position very clearly.

One of the most prominent superintendents of public schools in the country closes a letter to the secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, thus:

And here's a God-speed, and a God-help, and a God-bless the noble work of the Committee of One Hundred in their efforts against the political energies of Rome.

A Roman Catholic, whose name is given to a letter, says with reference to the priests establishing parochial schools:

W'd yees have all the Irish priests, as is Father McGlynn, under the ban of Rome? Stop and think. Irishmon have been booted about by the Pope's bull, and John Bull, Holy Mother of God knows how long. I tell yees, that Bishop \* \* \* is a great mon, and learned; but is afraid he will lose his cardinal's crown \* \* \* if he does not oppose the Yankee school. Now, whin such great fellers are afraid, what can yees expect of the small-fry like the likes of us poor Paddies that works in the strates wid a pick and shovel? \* \* \* Why don't yees pray for me? I am in great trouble, be-jobs—about me ould womat, because the priest comed in, and he said to her that she would wake up in hell ere the New Year if we did not send R. and me other gal to the Catholic school. \* \* \* I hate to give up the public schools, but what can I do?

Numerous letters have been received from Roman Catholics, asking the committee to continue this agitation, so that they may not be compelled to take their children out of the public schools.

A well-known business gentleman of New York in a letter to the secretary of March 7, says:

I am heart sick at the condition of things, and thoroughly sympathize with the Boston movement. Your triumph is only temporary—it should be made permanent. I can conceive of but one way to do this: Place our free-school system under control of the Federal Government, and have an educational qualification for every voter. Never mind the howl for State's rights—it is a nation's wrongs that should be considered, and a people's rights that are at stake. I am in favor of organizing clubs everywhere to work with either of the parties if we can get justice there; and if not, then to go it alone. The masses are with us, but they are without leaders, and have no definite purpose. \* \* \* Our powers should be concentrated, and our efforts united. To-day we have the power; ten years hence we may be powerless. Therefore, it is wise to act at once. I believe with a union of our scattered forces we can defeat the enemy.

Organize clubs, gather statistics, educate the people, demand justice from our legislators, and give battle to the enemy. \* \* \* In your city a splendid opportunity presents itself. Your people are aroused—they have met the enemy and defeated them. Elsewhere and everywhere there is a strong sentiment in support of your action, which can be organized with but little effort.

One of the most eminent of America's statesmen, whose name has more than once been favorably spoken of in connection with the Presidency, and whose presence in the White House would reflect honor upon the nation, in a letter to the secretary of the committee, from Washington, on this subject says:

The almost absolute and disgraceful subservency of the press is one of the most astounding by the accomplished facts which demonstrate the great advance already made by the influences you are combating. Your committee must not forget that you

have slight opportunity in New England to understand the iron-clad monster of a situation which you are attacking. It is either a flat and ruinous and disgraceful failure, or it is a struggle of years. I hope that you will set about it with a comprehension of the leading fact that no agitation is of the slightest importance but national agitation, and that what you have done in Boston and elsewhere is only of permanent use as it is the local spot where the fire is kindled. THE WHOLE NATIONAL DOMAIN MUST BE BURNED OVER. Nothing but national forces can avail in the end.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the attack on the public schools is not simply an attack upon the public schools themselves. The attack is broader than it seems at first glance; it is deeper than Massachusetts or than any other State. It is as deep as the foundations of our Union and as broad as the Republic. It is an attack upon our American republicanism. I have the proofs here. They are attempting to take this country in the name of the Roman Catholic Church. Here are some quotations from their own authorities on this point:

We charge the Papal hierarchy with plotting to overthrow our civil institutions, founded upon the will of the people, and to reconstruct and found them upon the will of the Pope. It would undermine the foundation of a government that gives it shelter and protection. It does not conceal its purpose to take possession of this Government and administer its affairs according to the dictum of the Pope.

The Roman Catholic—

says Father Hecker, in the Catholic World of July, 1870—

is to wield his vote for the purpose of securing Catholic ascendancy in this country. Undoubtedly—

says Dr. Brownson in his Review of July, 1864—

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.

And Dr. Brownson said that "every article relating to the church he submitted to the Bishop for his inspection, approval, and indorsement." Again, in his Essays, at pages 380-383, Dr. Brownson says—

The people need governing, and must be governed. They must have a master and this master is the Pope of Rome, whom the Almighty God has placed us under to obey.

And the Catholic World for September, 1871, says of the Government, if interpreted by the Protestant or non-Catholic principle:

We do not accept it, or hold it to be any government at all, or as capable of performing any of the proper functions of government. If the American Government is to be sustained and preserved at all, it must be by the rejection of the principle of the Reformation (that is, the government of the people) and the acceptance of the Catholic principle, *i. e.*, the government of the Pope.

Indeed, the dogma of infallibility is a declaration of perpetual war with whatever constitutes the glory of our modern civilization. The Syllabus of Pope Pius IX is aimed as an exterminating blow at the Government of the United States. It arraigns, tries, and pronounces judgment upon our institutions, and commands all Romanists everywhere to unite in executing that judgment. It is an insolent attempt of a foreign despot to excite among the adherents of Popery, sedition against the Government, assuring them that heaven only can be reached by untiring activity in the work of destruction. This same position is taken by the present Pope in his Encyclical just published. In this he denounces a government by the people and for the people as the degradation of liberty and the downright path to tyranny, and declares it ought to give way to a government by the church (*i. e.*, by the Pope).

The Catholic World, July, 1870, said:

In performing our duties as citizens, electors, and public officers, we should always, and under all circumstances, act simply as Catholics. \* \* \* A land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, is spread out before them (the Roman Catholics) and offered for their acceptance. (Who has made the offer is a question which the American people are about to ask.) The means placed at their disposal for securing this rich possession are not the sword or wars of extermination waged against the enemies of their religion, but instead the mild and peaceful influence of the ballot, directed by instructed Catholic conscience and enlightened Catholic intelligence.

Monsignor Preston, vicar-general of New York, in a sermon preached in that city on the 1st of January, 1888, said:

Leo XIII, like Pius IX, is held a prisoner by the hostile bayonets of his ungrateful children, but he is stronger and more powerful to-day than ever before. The infallibility of the Pope is unquestioned. He can not teach false doctrine. He cannot err. Every word Leo speaks from his high chair is the voice of the Holy Ghost, and must be obeyed. To every Catholic heart comes no thought but obedience.

It is said that politics is not within the province of the church, and that the church has only jurisdiction in matters of faith. You say, "I will receive my faith from the Pontiff, but I will not receive my politics from him." This assertion is disloyal and untruthful.

Again he says:

You must not think as you choose; you must think as Catholics. The man who says, "I will take my faith from Peter, but I will not take my politics from Peter," is not a true Catholic. The church teaches that the Supreme Pontiff must be obeyed, because he is the vicar of the Lord. Christ speaks through him.

In a trial held last November in one of the courts of New York City, while on the witness stand, this same Vicar-General Preston when asked if Roman Catholics must obey their bishops, whether right or wrong, replied, "Yes!" This excited amazement in the court, and the question was repeated, and again Monsignor Preston answered, "They must obey, right or wrong."

It is this claim of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to absolute obedience on the part of Roman Catholics in all things that is the peril of American institutions and the American Republic.

In an article in Donahoe's Magazine for September, 1888, by a Roman Catholic priest, on "Church and State," it is boldly proclaimed as a doctrine of the church that the state is bound to—

protect the church by taking care that she shall have full liberty of carrying on [her work] and by removing any obstacles that may be thrown in her way, so far as they can be removed, or so far as it is expedient to remove them.

Again, the Papal hierarchy claims to have supreme jurisdiction over this country, and holds—

the state to be only an inferior court, receiving its authority from the church, and liable to have its decrees reversed on appeal" (Browson's Essays, p. 282), and that—

in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the laws of the church must prevail over the state.

This is the doctrine taught in the Pope's Syllabus of 1864; and in the pastoral letter issued by the second national council of the Roman Catholic Church, held at Baltimore in 1866, we are told that—

in prescribing anything contrary to the divine law [as interpreted by the Pope] the civil power transcends its authority, and has no claim on the obedience of the citizen, as the civil power is never absolute or independent, but subject to the church. And Cardinal Manning, speaking in the name of the Pope, says (in Sermons on Religious Subjects, 1873):

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

all men ; I am sole, last, supreme judge of what is right and wrong. Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation to every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.

And on page 278 of a book prepared for the use of the Roman Catholic colleges and schools by the Rev. F. X. Schouppe, of the Society of Jesuits, and bearing the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning, we are told that—

the civil laws are binding on the conscience only so long as they are conformable to the rights of the Catholic Church,

and page 279 that—

human laws are susceptible of dispensation. The power to dispense belongs to the sovereign Pontiff.

This is plain language. It can not be misunderstood. Civil laws are not binding when they conflict with the decrees of the Pope. Thus the Catholic World of August, 1868, says that the Pope,

as the head and mouth-piece of the Catholic Church, administers its discipline and issues orders to which every Catholic under pain of sin must yield obedience.

Now for the practice. When the Roman Catholics in Great Britain sought legislation granting them political privileges, the "Vicars Apostolic" who governed the Roman Catholics of that country, confirmed in their collective "Declaration" made in 1826 the solemn declaration made to the British Parliament—

that neither the Pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church has *any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the civil government*, nor to oppose in any manner the performances of the civil duties which are due to that government. That the allegiance they owed was sovereign, complete, perfect, and undivided. (See testimony of Bishop Doyle and others before a committee of the House of Lords in 1825-'26.)

On the strength of this most explicit avowal the British Parliament in 1829 granted the legislation sought. But notice that the Pope subsequently in encyclicals and letters, and finally in the Syllabus of 1864, most emphatically asserted his *right to interfere in civil matters*, and to define the limits of civil obedience, and when Roman Catholic prelates were asked to reconcile these statements, the Rev. Dr. John H. Newman, afterwards Cardinal Newman, replied—

that the British ministers *ought to have applied to Rome to learn the civil duties of British subjects, and that no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party.* (See Dr. John H. Newman's pamphlet, Reply to Mr. W. E. Gladstone, 1875, p. 14.)

Has the Papal hierarchy changed since then ? When a few years ago Roman Catholic children were withdrawn from the public schools in Cincinnati, the school board appointed a committee to confer with the Roman Catholic Archbishop to bring about some union. The Archbishop replied—

that during the sitting of the Ecumenical council at Rome he would ask the opinion of Pope Pius IX on the subject, and then communicate to the school board.

That is it, *America must send to Rome to learn from an Italian priest what are the duties of American citizens, and "no pledge from Catholics is of any value to which Rome is not a party."*

In November, 1885, the Pope issued an encyclical letter, which was read in the churches of the city of New York and elsewhere, in which he enjoined every Roman Catholic to use his influence to mingle in the politics of the city and State, and to use his vote to make the legislators conform to the principles and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you furnish us with the language used ?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Here it is :

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.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. In addition to that we have, of course, all heard of instances in which elections have been affected by the question of religion. The results of elections have sometimes been rejected because it was known that that influence had been brought to bear upon voters.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have those facts, if you have them.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. I have got them and will furnish them.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not expect that you will furnish them here and now; but in furnishing such other information as you wish, in order to complete the statement which you now make in outline, I should like to have the statement of facts which illustrates your propositions as you go along.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Very well, sir; I will furnish them.

The following instances are in point :

Archbishop Lynch, of the Roman Diocese of Toronto, in a letter to Lord Randolph Churchill, quoted in the *New York Churchman* of April 2, 1887, declared—

That "the Irish vote is a great factor in America;" that "the power of their organizations is increasing every day;" that "*they hold already the balance of power in the Presidential and other elections.*"

A further remark of the archbishop is of national and almost world-wide interest in view of the Irish question, and of the part which our Republic and our Irish fellow-citizens are expected to play, in accomplishing the foreign policy of the Vatican. His grace said :

Should a misunderstanding happen between England and the United States, Canada would in a few days be overrun by American troops. It would cost that Republic very little, as Irish-American military organizations would supply very largely both men and money.

In Canada this extraordinary idea of the Pope directing the policy and action of the legislature has been reduced to practice; and in the Charlevoix election case, in 1876, Mr. Langevin, a member of the Canadian legislature, appealed to Rome to know whether he was permitted to exercise his legislative duties in dealing with the pending bill, and was informed that "as a Catholic he was not at liberty to vote for the bill."

The testimony in the Charlevoix election case forcibly illustrated also the intermeddling with elections enjoined by the united Roman Catholic Episcopate of Quebec, in a joint pastoral dated September 22, 1875. That pastoral instructed the priests in certain cases of which they were necessarily to be the judges—

to direct the electors how to vote under pain of spiritual censures.

And it added—

they may and ought to speak not only to the electors and candidates, but even to the constituted authorities. (*Lindsey's Rome in Canada*, pp. 252-254.)

This led to a further infringement of religious and civil liberty and the rights of family, in a resort to the terrors of the confessional with wives and mothers.

The Ultramontaine journals of Quebec [said Lindsey] defend the use of the confessional as a means of extracting from unwilling breasts secrets which the ballot-box was adopted as a means of guarding. They argue that the priest, having directed the electors how to vote, has a right to use the confessional to find out whether he has been obedient and acted according to instructions. (Rome in Canada, pp. 116, 117.)

This bold ecclesiastical domination at our own doors and in this part of the nineteenth century, assuming to control the suffrage, destroying the independence of Roman Catholic laymen as citizens, treating them as tools for Jesuit manipulation, and turning the right of voting ordained for the protection of the liberties of the State into a machine for using the votes of citizens under priestly control to undermine the Government, has compelled the courts of Canada to interfere, and to pronounce void elections carried by such means, and it helps to explain the remark of Lord Dufferin when he deplored "the unaccountable recrudescence of religious animosities."

A similarly dictatorial tone is of late constantly heard at home. The announcement of Mr. Chamberlain's appointment as fishery commissioner was promptly followed by a reminder that he was not a *persona grata* to the Irish nation, and that no treaty he might make would stand a chance of ratification. The suggestion that Mr. Phelps, minister to England, might be nominated as Chief-Justice, brought a quick announcement that the nomination would be defeated; and when the so-called "Freedom of worship" bill for classifying children in religious classes and subjecting them to Jesuit discipline was pending in the New York legislature, the Catholic Union, with a Jesuit as an adviser, reproduced in a tract intended for the legislature of the State a threat from the Catholic Review against all who should oppose the bill of "political damnation;" accompanied with the boast—

We have already marred the political future of more than one political bigot, and we advise all others to note the fact.

The disposition to boast of their achievements in controlling at will our legislative bodies is not confined to the State legislature.

It was recently stated in the United States Senate (February 16, 1888) in a debate on the bill for "national aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools"—the bill so honorably sustained by Mr. Blair against obstacles that might have dismayed a less resolute legislator, the bill which originated with Chief-Justice Waite, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Evarts, Dr. Curry, and other trustees of the Peabody fund, as essential to arrest illiteracy at the South and fit the freedmen for their duties as citizens—that a Senator had showed to the speaker, who had read it with his own eyes, the original letter of a Jesuit priest. In this letter he begged a member of Congress to oppose the bill and kill it, saying that they had organized all over the country for its destruction; that they had succeeded in the committee of the House, and that they would destroy the bill inevitably; and it is a fact that the bill, having three times passed the Senate in three different Congresses, each time with a larger vote in its favor, has been repeatedly smothered in the committee of the House by those who knew that there was a majority in the House in favor of the bill; and for six years the legislation of Congress has been arrested. The illiteracy which the bill would have corrected is increasing, the Bible is made a sealed book, and



the race emancipated by Lincoln is remitted, as far as the opponents of our public schools can accomplish it, to the slavery of ignorance.

#### THE PLAIN WARNINGS OF THE NEW YORK HERALD.

The New York Herald, edited by a gentleman of the Roman Catholic faith, whose generosity to the Irish people has entitled him to their eternal gratitude, and to whom the Roman Catholic missions in America are largely indebted, has resisted the attempt to overthrow our common schools, and has given to the ultramontanes of New York attempting to meddle with our politics the frankest warning. It said, October 14, 1880:

The people have an opportunity to see just what sort of an institution the Roman 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 religions to which they object, and will not permit; and the vice of the (Roman) Catholic Church, by which it has rotted out the political institutions of all countries where it exists, which have 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 (October 30, 1880) the editor, recurring to this subject, wrote:

In all it thou said, the Herald has the sympathy of many loyal and devoted (Roman) Catholics.

The great question of the hour is "Who owns the child?" By whom shall the future citizens of the country be educated for citizenship?

The recent plenary council of Baltimore declare the church and the world "to be locked in an awful and hotly-contested combat for the education of youth." And Dr. Brownson says:

The attention of the Catholic world has been directed to this subject by those whom God hath sent to rule over us, and a struggle which will end the victory for the church has begun between Catholicity and the state to see who shall have the child.

This contest General Grant foresaw when he uttered his memorable warning in his presidential message of 1875, which we have already quoted from Dr. Gray. You have heard the oft-asserted claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, from the Pope down to the humblest priest, to control the education of the child, that church alone having the right to appoint and dismiss the teachers without appeal to any other authority, etc.

What is the character of those who claim this right? The Roman Catholic Church is but one of many sects in this country, yet it claims the right over all other sects, over the government of the state, to control education.

This sect differs in many respects from all other sects; it is a political as well as a religious organization. Its head is not in America, but in Rome. No one of the other sects owns any head out of this country, or is governed in any of its concerns by any men or set of men in a foreign land. All ecclesiastical officers are nominated and chosen or removed by the people of the United States. No foreign body has any such union with any sect of Protestants in the United States, as even to advise, much less to control, any of its measures. The Episcopalians appoint their own bishops, without consulting the Church of England. The Presbyterians are entirely independent of the Church of Scotland.

The Methodists have no ecclesiastical connections with the disciples of Wesley in the Old World, and so on with all others. But how is it in these respects with the Catholics?

The right of appointing to all ecclesiastical offices in this country, as everywhere else, is in the Pope. All the bishops and all the ecclesiastics, down to the most insignificant affair in the church, are from the genius of the system entirely under his control. And who are his agents? They are for the most part Jesuits, an ecclesiastical order, proverbial through the world for cunning, duplicity, and total lack of moral principle; an order so skilled in all the arts of deception that even in Catholic countries it became intolerable, and it had to be suppressed. And to whom do these Jesuit agents claim the right to educate an American youth belongs? Is it to a citizen or body of citizens belonging to this country? Is it to a body of men kept in check by the ever-jealous eyes of other bodies around them, and by the immediate publicity which must be given to all their doings? No; they are men whose primary allegiance is to a man in Rome, a prisoner, living in his \$60,000,000 palaces. And to this man these agents have sworn implicit, unquestioning obedience; obedience, on their own testimony, to his commands, whether these commands be right or wrong.

The importance of the question, "to whom does the child belong?" may be seen when it is remembered that there are in the United States 320,000 school-teachers, with a school property valued at \$254,000,000, and an annual expenditure of \$110,385,000, and 11,170,000 pupils.

In the forty-fifth proposition of the syllabus issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864, he declares

that the Romish Church has a right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools.

And in proposition 47, that

public schools open to all children for the education of the young should be under the control of the Romish Church, should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age.

While in proposition 48 he says:

Catholics can not approve of a system of educating youth which is unconnected with the Catholic faith and power of the church.

In a paper in the (Roman) Catholic World, for September, 1875, on "The rights of the (Roman) Church over education," the third proposition says:

The superintendence and direction of the public schools, as well as those wherein the mass of the people are instructed in the rudiments of human knowledge, as those wherein secondary and higher instruction are given, belong of right to the (Roman) Catholic Church. She alone has the right of watching over the moral character of those schools; of approving the master who instructs the youth therein; of controlling their teaching, and dismissing, without appeal to any other authority, those whose doctrines or manners should be contrary to the purity of the Christian doctrine.

The Catholic Review, which usually speaks by authority, has recently said:

There is no longer a school question for Catholics. It is closed. The door of discussion, which was slightly ajar prior to 1884, was closed, locked, bolted, and barred by the plenary council held in that year, which directed that Christian schools should be maintained by all the parishes in the United States not prevented by extreme poverty from carrying them on. That decree is law for priests and people.

The papal hierarchy claims the exclusive right to educate the child, for, said Bishop McQuaid, in a lecture at Horticultural Hall, Boston, February 13, 1876,

the state has no right to educate, and when the state undertakes the work of education it is usurping the powers of the church.

Bishop McQuaid demands "the non-interference of the state in church or school." We reply, "Non-interference of the church in state or school."

The claim of the church is based on the ground, says Bishop McQuaid, in his lecture at Horticultural Hall,

that the parental responsibility for the child's salvation limits his public education by the state to what the father chooses he shall learn.

This "parental prerogative" doctrine places the entire education of the child in the hands of the priesthood. Both the parent and the child belong to the Pope. What does Rome care for the parent's conscience? Where is the conscience of the individual Romanist? In the keeping of the Pope. It is not the parent that raises objection to the public school. It is not the parent that demands the surrender of the school to the church. It is the priest, who is not a parent!

After Bishop McQuaid had made his eloquent appeal on sabbath afternoon at Horticultural Hall, in behalf of the parental conscience, in the evening he preached at Cambridgeport, and there showed the extent of the "parental prerogative." After reading from the syllabus condemning all Catholics who approved of any education apart from the faith and power of the church, he said, with a lowering of the voice, and an intensity of manner and tone which well conveyed the verbally suppressed menace,

Whosoever does not believe in the syllabus as the infallible truth of God ceases to be a Catholic; he may perhaps attend mass, and go to confession; but—

and he spoke with an emphasis sure not to be misunderstood—

I would not like to have the absolving of him.

(See lecture by F. Abbott on the Sabbath following, at Horticultural Hall.)

But while we admit that the father, in his sphere, is responsible that the child should be a wise son, the state is as responsible in its sphere that he should become a good citizen. What is the state? A branch or servant of the church? No. It is a living organism, independent and complete in itself, with a God-given life as much so as is the church or the individual. And it is the right and duty of the state to see that all proper means are taken to preserve and perpetuate its life, as much as it is the right and duty of the individual thus to preserve his life. If the state neglects to do this, it fails to fulfill its mission and the divine purpose concerning it, and deserves to die. It becomes, therefore, the solemn and imperative duty of the state to see that every child within its bounds receives an education that will fit it to become a useful member of society and a healthy member of the state life.

Now, what claims has the papal hierarchy to have such training of future citizens in its hands? What is there in its past history to give us confidence? Is there anything in its precepts, principles, and practice which is a pledge that it will not abuse the trust? Is the state prepared to abdicate its functions in the matter of educating her future citizens, and intrust the training of her youth to those whom Napoleon banished from all the schools of France because he found that nothing was taught there except the creed and the elements of the papal faith; to those whom Bismarck banished from the schools of Germany; to those who have been removed from all the educational institutions of Italy? If the state is not prepared to intrust her youth to the training of the Jesuits, then let the people arise and say so in the pulpit, on the platform, through the press, and at the ballot-box, in tones so loud and clear that their echoes shall reverberate within the walls of the Vatican.

If America is to be perpetuated as a nation of free men and free institutions, then she must herself see that an education fitting for good citizenship is given to the youth in her own schools, free from all sectarian interference and control, or in schools subject to state inspection and supervision.

Senator PAYNE. As I have not been in very long I should like to know from the chairman what it is that is proposed here.

The CHAIRMAN. These gentlemen form a subcommittee of the Committee of One Hundred that was appointed some months since in Boston, growing out of the alleged efforts of sectarian influence to eliminate from the common schools a history which was supposed to have taught the truth, but which some people said was false. That is to say, the Roman Catholics eliminated from the list of school-books a book entitled Swinton's History, on account of some statements it made upon the doctrine of indulgences which the Catholics complained of.

There has been great agitation there, growing out of that matter, and it is alleged that there is a great effort being made by the Catholic Church as a political party—not as a religion, but as a political party—to subvert the common schools as an institution throughout this country. These gentlemen and those who act with them are petitioning Congress for the enactment of a constitutional amendment which shall prohibit anything of that kind being done. They wish to prevent the possibility of any sectarian influence being exercised upon the common-school system.

Senator PAYNE. Is there a formal proposition before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. We have an amendment pending.

Senator PAYNE. There is nothing of any practical importance that can result from it, because we have no time now to consider anything of that kind before the close of the session of Congress. It seems to me that it is simply idling time and throwing it away, but I do not raise any objection to it on that score.

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF REV. DR. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to say for the benefit of Senator Payne that this is not a matter of theory or speculation, but a very practical fact and a very immense fact. Not merely as to the system of text-books, but as to the matter of systematic deprivation of our schools and a prostitution of school machinery and methods to sectarian and sectional ends—so widespread and so clear that it is altogether beyond any question of special text-books or of States. We represent here an expression of sentiment that is universal. Communications have come to us from every city and State and Territory of the Union, showing a unanimity of sentiment on this question and in one direction. I wish to say just a word further.

The amendment which is sought to be enacted here is to cover two points: first, to prevent any sort of ecclesiastical encroachment upon our common-school system, no matter from what sect. The second point is to prevent any sort of appropriation of the public funds to sectarian purposes.

The measure sought is purely restrictive and defensive. It invades no man's rights. In this respect it should commend itself to every man. It does not encroach upon the rights of any religious sect carrying on religious teaching in its own way. It puts no bond on anybody. It simply raises, in the first place, a bulwark before an institu-

tion that is vital to the well-being of our Republic, and in the second place it raises a bulwark against a union which history has always shown to be a malign one—a union of an ecclesiastical organization with the political system of the country.

### ARGUMENT OF REV. J. O. CORLISS.

The CHAIRMAN. Please state in what capacity and for what purpose you appear before the committee.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I appear before the committee, sir, to offer objections to the proposed amendment now pending before the Senate, and I represent nearly every State and Territory of the Union. Yesterday there were 230,000 names presented before the Senate in opposition to the same amendment.

Granting, sir, that there are some menaces to the present school system of the United States, as has been detailed this morning, and as was detailed by the delegation who appeared here a week ago, the simple question resolves itself into this:

Will the proposed amendment to the Constitution avert the impending calamities that seem to overhang the common schools of this country?

If it were an amendment looking to the establishment of schools throughout the United States to teach simply the common branches of education, there could be no one who has any knowledge of the advantages to be gained from such education who would oppose it for one moment. But it is the religious phase of the amendment that, in the minds of many good citizens of the United States, will deepen the difficulty that now faces the country.

The clause of the proposed amendment to which I refer is that on the second page in the sixteenth and seventeenth lines. In order to make it intelligible and connected, I will commence reading at the beginning of section 2, which says:

Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion.

It is the religious phase of this amendment to which I object, in the name of the people whom I represent.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read the section in connection with the remainder, or what follows the part that you have read.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Very well. I will continue the reading:

But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal corporation, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school institutions, corporations, or persons, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society being, or claiming to be, religions in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrine, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

Senator PAYNE. You speak of the persons whom you represent. Are they known as the Seventh-Day Adventists? Is that the class of people that you particularly represent?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Not particularly. I do represent them, but I represent also a large class of American citizens. I speak not from the stand-point of any one sect.

Senator PAYNE. I merely asked for information.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I speak from the stand-point of an American citizen and simply that.

We heard last week, and also heard to day, of the encroachment of the Papal power upon the public-school system; and we have had brought before us facts maintaining that the numbers and influence of these people have become so great that they now claim a portion of the public money; that their influence is so great in New York that they even influence the legislature in their behalf; that in Boston their influence is so great that they control legislation in the city council. If this all be true, then it is easy to see that the religious phase of this amendment will only deepen the difficulties into which the nation already finds itself. Because if the principles of the Christian religion are taught in the public schools, irrespective of denomination or sect, then the question arises, how will it be known what are the principles of the Christian religion? and who will determine what those principles are that should be taught in the public schools? There would certainly be but one way to learn what those principles are, and that would be by having a national council, perhaps appointed by the Congress of the United States, to convene and settle the question as to what are the principles of the Christian religion. This could not be confined to any one sect alone, but must of necessity include every sect. At least, it should include every sect that is of any importance in the land.

Now, taking for granted that the statements made before the committee are as represented, and that the Catholics are acquiring very important influence in the country, then should such a council meet, the Catholic influence would be just as great, in proportion, in such a council, as it is in the several parts of the country at the present time, where Catholics abound; it must of necessity be so. And if the Catholics shall have a voice in the decision of the question as to what are the principles of the Christian religion to be taught in the public schools, then their influence would largely mold that decision, and instead of having the principles of that sect taught merely in parochial schools, they would be incorporated into the public school curriculum and taught in every public school in the United States. That must of necessity be so. Because if the Catholics should be excluded, were such a council to meet, the seven millions or more of them in the country would not tamely submit to being ignored in the consideration and decision of the question.

Should any religious persuasion, having so numerous a following and so much influence in this country as have the Catholics, be left out from any such council, I would not say that anarchy would ensue, but we know from the events of past history that there must of necessity be a religious war, which would scatter desolation throughout our land. We know that religious strife is the most terrible influence that could operate upon the people of a country. It is much worse than civil war could possibly be.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you to be apprehensive that under that amendment it might come to pass that the peculiar doctrines, the sectarian doctrines, of the Catholic Church could be taught in the public schools. Is that your fear?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. To a large extent; to the same extent that Catholics have a voice in the establishment of the "principles of the Christian religion."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you think that there is anything in the principles of the Catholic Church, so far as they are principles of the Christian religion, which, if dangerous at all, are not dangerous because they are sectarian?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. They are dangerous in so far as they are directed by the Pope of Rome. We have heard this morning that no doctrine of that church is established without some edict from headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there has been a general misapprehension in the country about the amendment from not reading the clause as a whole, treating it as they do as confined to the phrase, "the principles of the Christian religion." The amendment is framed on the theory that moral or religious instruction is essential to the character of a good citizen of the State; that a very large number of the children of the State fail utterly to receive any instruction of that kind at home or in the churches. We know, practically, that a very large number of children get no education of either a scholastic or spiritual kind, save what they get outside of the family or outside of any church; that it must necessarily, therefore, be given to them in the common schools or they will go without it, for there is no other institution which the State has which will furnish it.

Now, under that amendment only those principles of the Christian religion can be taught which are not sectarian, because no sect can undertake to enforce or inculcate in the schools those doctrines peculiar to itself which must (and which alone, it seems to me, can) be assumed to be dangerous at all, because all the general principles of the Christian religion which all sects and all good society approve can not be dangerous to any sect or to good society. So that I think if the amendment is all read together it can hardly be claimed that it has any clause calculated to establish the teaching of sectarianism, but rather to preclude and prohibit it. It is to that point that I wish to direct your attention now. I am simply stating the point as a whole, and I would be glad to hear you at any length on that part of it.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Would it be out of place for me to ask a question of the chairman at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Then, sir, permit me to ask you this: When the statement is made that the "principles of the Christian religion" should be taught, to what length shall we go in defining the principles of the Christian religion? In other words, what do they cover?

The CHAIRMAN. You will observe that the amendment uses the phrase "for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion."

It has been thought by those who support the amendment that it is important for a child, or for a citizen of the United States, to have knowledge of the principles of the Christian religion. Those are the principles which permeate our system of laws and all our habits and customs as a people. Even if a person did not believe in them, it might be essential that he should know what those principles are, and whether they are the principles that he should conform to, in order to keep out of jail under our system of laws. This may be true whether he be an infidel, a Jew, a Protestant, a Catholic, or what not, in order that he may navigate through the tortuous circles of society and of life. It is well that he should know what they are, as they are a part of his environment. They are a very important part of the environment of every man who lives in a country like this of ours.

When you come to the question whether doctrines taught in any specific school are principles of the Christian religion, if there should be a controversy on the subject, that would go through the courts of the

whole country, and they of course would decide the question. A second question would also arise, and that is, whether, being principles of the Christian religion, they could be called sectarian or peculiar tenets or doctrines of any particular sect or society. The courts would have to settle that question. It must necessarily go to some tribunal for decision, just as the question would have to go to some tribunal whether geography was being taught, or arithmetic, or any other common branch of knowledge. We go, of course, ultimately to the courts or some tribunal that the whole community has established, to settle such questions. And, getting there, it would be held, under this amendment, by the courts, that no principles of the Christian religion which were merely sectarian could be taught, and in fact it might probably be held that those cases which are peculiarly sectarian are not "principles"—that is, not fundamental, general principles—of the Christian religion. I would not suppose that it would be held that any special regulation or ceremonial or tenet of any church was a principle of the Christian religion if it was a regulation, ceremonial, or tenet peculiar to that sect, but the "principles of the Christian religion" must appertain to all churches whatever, so far as they are not sectarian.

Senator PAYNE. Let me make one suggestion. I would like to get an illustration on this point that you have now been discussing. This question is brought here, I understand, from Massachusetts. Let me inquire whether Unitarianism is within the principles of the Christian religion?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I am not here, as I understand it, to define or speak in favor of any church or any sect. I would not want to commit myself on that point.

Senator PAYNE. The amendment states that instruction is to be given in "the principles of the Christian religion." Is not Unitarianism a direct denial of the divinity of Christ and the Christian church, and is that to be prohibited or is it to be allowed? I merely suggest the point now, so that you may be heard upon it if you desire to be.

The CHAIRMAN. The court would have to settle that, wherever the question was raised. The probability is there would be no peculiar doctrine of the Unitarian Church taught.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. That is the point I suggested. The courts would be called on to settle that question. Then the question arises, on what basis would they settle it? The statute-books of the country do not define what are the principles of the Christian religion. The Bible only does that. Then, if a judge on the bench decides such a question, would he not of necessity decide it in accordance with his peculiar views of the Bible? Or perhaps he would do as did one judge in this District some years ago when a religious question came up in his court for adjudication. The point was as to whether a man had violated the Sabbath by working on Sunday. The judge said that as the theologians had decided Sunday to be the Sabbath, he should act upon their knowledge of the matter and pronounce the man guilty. Religion is a matter of conscience, with which the courts have nothing to do. Their jurisdiction extends only to things civil. Just as soon as the courts are called on to decide as to what constitute the principles of the Christian religion, then the Bible will be dragged into the courts to become a bone of contention. If we say that the courts shall decide that the Bible must decide what are the principles of the Christian religion, their interference is not needed at all, for that is just what is being now done.

The CHAIRMAN. But nothing that is sectarian, whether from the Bible or otherwise, can be taught in the schools under the provisions of this



amendment. If I read a text of Scripture from the Bible, without any comments on it, would that be sectarian ?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. No ; it would not be sectarian, because it is the Bible, which is the gift of God to all men. The principles of the Christian religion are not taught anywhere else primarily but in the Bible. That is the primary source of the Christian religion, and if we establish the principles of the Christian religion we must go to the Bible to find them. But to enforce the Bible upon any one by legislation would be mixing the Bible and politics. We would have the Bible in legislation and the Bible in the courts, and that would be objectionable.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider the use of the Bible in schools as the union of church and state ?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I consider that religion that is upheld by the legislation of the state is a union of church and state. Religion should be purely for the people in their individual capacities and not a matter of state legislation. As was said by General Grant in the memorable document that was referred to this morning, I believe that religion should be a matter for the family altar and the church and the private school which is supported entirely by private parties, but that the state and church should be kept entirely apart.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object, from your standpoint, to the use of the Bible in the schools simply as a reading-book ?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Personally I have no objection to it whatever as a reading-book, or even as a book of religious doctrines, because I am a believer in the Bible ; but I can not see how I or any one else would be justified in trying to oblige others to use it in the same way ; and for this reason, I should rather my children would read the authorized version of the Bible rather than the Douay version, because there are some very objectionable texts in the latter. For instance, in Hebrews, xi, 21, that version says that—

Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph and *worshipped the top of his staff.*

Then, again, in Genesis, iii, 15, the Catholic Bible says :

I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; *she* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *her* heel.

But the Catholic has just as good right to object to his children reading the Protestant Bible. Would it be right to tax the Catholic to educate his children in a book that he does not believe in ? Certainly not. Neither would it be justice to the Jews of the country to oblige them to assist in the maintenance of public schools at which their children must be taught principles which they do not believe and could not be hired to have taught to their children.

I am well persuaded that He whom the New Testament exalts as the Son of God deserves the exaltation he receives therein. But for all that, I do not believe it would be right to compel the children of Jewish parents to read the New Testament in school against the wishes of those parents, for that would be against the principles taught in the Bible itself. That says :

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.

But there is another class of citizens whose rights and convictions are just as sacred as those of any other class—I mean those who do not indorse any version of the Bible. These are taxed equally with all others in support of the public schools. These should not be compelled, any more than others, to be taught that which they have no faith in. What-

ever class is involved, the statement of the general assembly of Virginia in 1785 is still true, that "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical." The decision also of the supreme court of Ohio on this matter is equally to the point, that "to tax a man to put down his own religion is the very essence of tyranny." And that is just what the state does when it taxes men to pay for forcing upon their children religious ideas which the parents themselves do not believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object to the teaching of virtue and morality which are embraced in "the principles of the Christian religion?"

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Morality is something very desirable, but I do not consider it indispensable to especially teach the Bible in the schools in order to inculcate the principles of social morality. The family and the church are the places where religion should be taught. If the church has lost its power to do its legitimate work, let it get more of the evangelistic fire, so that it will not need the secular power to accomplish that which by its clamor for legislation confesses it is not able to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you object to a phrase like this: "Instruction shall be given in the common branches of knowledge, Christian virtue, and morality?"

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I object to the term "Christian" in connection with legislation in behalf of the public schools, because that in the estimation of many good citizens is an obnoxious discrimination in favor of one party and against another.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to be understood that you think there is, outside of the Christian religion, a virtue or morality which is sufficient to be taught to the American child in order that he may become what he should become as an American citizen?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I will give you as an example, sir, the Jewish community of this country, which is 600,000 strong. They have not any faith whatever in Christianity. They ignore Christ entirely, and they also ignore entirely the New Testament. Yet we seldom find a Jew brought up before the court for any immorality. The Jews are a virtuous people as a class, although having a *penchant* for money. It will be found that as soon as we try to enforce upon Jewish children in the public schools anything in the way of Christian tendencies, it will cause great friction with that class of the community.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the practical results, so far as citizenship is concerned, of any other religion than the Christian religion are just as good as the practical results of the Christian religion?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I would not want to commit myself on such a question as that without some explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your answer accompanied by any explanation you desire.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I am a full and firm believer in the Christian religion, and I accept Christ as the only Saviour of mankind, but I seriously object to the mixing of religion and politics.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider common school instruction to be political instruction?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I will read from sections 3 and 4 of the proposed amendment by way of answer to your question:

SEC. 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SEC. 4. That Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

Thus we find that the religion that is to be taught in the public schools is to be enforced by legislation of Congress when necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. But my question is whether the instruction in the common schools is considered by you to be of a political character; not whether political methods may be resorted to by our Government to enforce the existence of the institution known as the common school, but whether that which is taught in the instruction of the common school is political?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Not necessarily so; but if we, by politics, undertake to teach religion in the schools, that is mixing politics with religion. It is a virtual union of church and state.

I can see, as I have said, how this amendment, if it should become a law, would plunge the country into a much deeper gulf than it is in at the present time, because here are all the various followings that I have spoken of—a large number of people who are American citizens and have the rights of citizenship, but who are in a minority. Now, the simple fact that they are in a minority does not give the right to a majority to enact such legislation as would force the consciences of these men or attempt to do so. I should seriously object to any legislation that would bring persecution to those people for conscience' sake. The fact that a certain class of the people are a majority should not, as I think, warrant them in passing laws which would oppress the consciences of a minority, it matters not how humble a minority that may be; it matters not how humble a citizen may be, his rights of conscience are between himself and his God, and are private, so long as they do not interfere with the liberties of his neighbor. There is no legislation that should attempt to disturb or regulate the dealings of his mind or conscience in those matters. It would not be just to do such a thing as that. It would not be justice to the Jew; it would not be justice to the infidel; it would not be justice to the atheist, or to the spiritualist, or to the large number of other persons who differ from the majority in their religious feelings and thoughts. As General Washington said, "Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable to God alone for his faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience." If that principle, written by the father of his country, whose birthday we celebrate to-day, be the true principle, then I repeat that it would be injustice to those people, who are good citizens, to have their children instructed in religious articles and doctrines that they themselves have no faith in whatever. It would be a system of persecution, it would be like the edicts issued of old by the Roman emperors, which obliged people to receive their religious opinion from the emperor without question. There is no person in the world who has not some preference as to what religious training his children shall have. Just as soon as we overstep the bounds of what is purely secular, we step on the people's consciences. That is why I am opposed to anything of the kind. The people I represent are opposed to the resolution as it stands at present. If all the phrases referring to the teaching of the principles of the Christian religion were removed from the proposed amendment, there would not be a single voice raised in objection to it, because I believe that secular education in all the arts and sciences will fit men to become good citizens of the United States. It will bring children up in the proper direction.

The CHAIRMAN. If the clause reading "and the principles of the Christian religion" were stricken out, I understand that you, and the

people whom you represent, so far as you know, would favor the amendment?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Senator PAYNE. Why, is not that virtually established now? What occasion is there now for a constitutional amendment requiring the public schools to promote general intelligence and morality?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I do not see any occasion for it. I am perfectly in accord with the sentiments expressed by some very prominent men in our nation. Not long since the New York Independent, in view of the pending amendment, wrote to some of the most prominent men of the nation for their views upon the necessity of this amendment, as to whether the Constitution of the United States should be amended or changed in any way. In its issue of January 10, 1889, the Independent published replies from some of the most prominent gentlemen of the nation on that question, as follows:

Hon. George Bancroft said:

I have your letter asking what changes had better be made in the Constitution. I know of none; if any change is needed, it is in ourselves, that we may more and more respect that body of primal law.

Justice Gray, of the United States Supreme Court, said:

I am so old-fashioned as to think that the Constitution, administered according to its letter and spirit, is well enough as it is. And I am of the opinion of the late Governor Andrew, that it is not desirable to Mexicanize our Government by proposing constitutional amendments as often as there is supposed to be a disturbance in its practical working.

Justice Blatchford, United States Supreme Court, said:

I am satisfied with the Constitution as it is. It can not be bettered. Constitution tinkers are in a poor business. If there are ills, it is better to bear them than fly to others that we know not of.

Just as soon as religious legislation is entered into in any degree by this nation a precedent will have been established, and there is no knowing where it will end; and just as soon as the Government is committed to this sort of legislation then a religious complexion is given to the work of the Government, which will constantly call for new legislation, and it will be insisted on until there will be no end to it.

Senator PAYNE. You are now giving your own opinion.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Yes, sir; but such a result would be inevitable.

Senator PAYNE. Have any of the prominent men that you have spoken of advocated the proposed change in the Constitution?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. None.

A question quite similar to this was up before the United States Senate in 1829, when a committee of the Senate reported as follows:

It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our Government is a civil and not a religious institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely without molestation. The proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their civil as well as their religious rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy. What other nations call religious toleration we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights of which Government can not deprive any portion of citizens, however small. Despotism can not invade those rights, but justice still confirms them.

In order that it may be known what are the principles of the Christian religion, there would, as I have said, be a necessity for having a national council called [somewhere, say at Washington, from all the bodies of religious people in the United States; that is to say, from the bodies of any prominence.

The CHAIRMAN. Why should that be so? You have stated that point before, and I have seen it stated in the newspapers.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I think it must be so.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be an ecclesiastical council. Is not the judiciary of the country an organization created by the state for the precise purpose of adjudging and construing every such question as it might arise, and not the ecclesiastical bodies which, by their disagreements, constitute sects?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I will answer that question, sir, by reading a portion of a letter purporting to be written by yourself (Senator Blair) to the secretary of the National Reform Association, and published in the *Christian Statesman*. In that letter I find this sentence:

I believe that a text-book of instruction in the principles of virtue, morality, and of the Christian religion, can be prepared for use in the public schools by the joint effort of those who represent every branch of the Christian church, both Protestant and Catholic.

I have only based my opinion upon the avowed statement or judgment of one who stands as a legislator in our national Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. I will simply say that that is a genuine extract from a letter which I wrote. I should be glad to have the full letter. I do not know where the letter is, but if the reporter can find it I wish he may insert it in the record of this hearing.

The question I asked you was whether such an ecclesiastical convocation would be necessary in order to carry out this amendment, and whether the judiciary was not a body that would decide as to whether the amendment was being interfered with, or as to whether anything was being taught in the public schools that, if embodying the principles of the Christian religion, lapped over into sectarianism. As to the latter point, undoubtedly in the preparation of text-books religious men, although believing in the principles of the Christian religion in different sects, would confer, and it would not be permitted that either should incorporate into any book anything peculiar to his own sect, or if the book they agreed upon was objectionable it would be complained of, and the question would be carried to the courts, and the courts would decide, not any ecclesiastical body.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. What court would have the decision of such a question as that?

The CHAIRMAN. It would, first, no doubt be decided by the national body created for such a purpose, but would undoubtedly be finally carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Then, sir, as the judges on the bench have preferences for some special religious views, would not they be partial to the religious views which they themselves entertain, and would they not give their opinion with reference to what they themselves understand to be the teaching of the Bible, so that it would fall back after all upon sectarian teaching?

The CHAIRMAN. That is not necessary at all. Judges, to be sure, are human beings, and have undoubtedly their secret likings or convictions as to anything that comes before them; but there must be some tribunal that must decide, and they, in deciding what were the principles of the Christian religion without sectarianism would not be guided by their own sectarian views. They would decide as matter of fact as to the leading principles of the Christian religion which were not sectarian.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. How could they do so when the statutes of the country do not define what the Christian religion is?

Senator PAYNE. As the committee have but a few minutes more be-

fore the session of the Senate begins, I would suggest that the gentleman be permitted to give his views as expeditiously as possible.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. If my time is nearly up I will not attempt to say any more. I have some points which I wish to present and some facts, but in view of the possibility of legislation in the direction of religion, I may perhaps be permitted to give you the following from Alexander Pope :

Let not this weak unknowing hand,  
Presume Thy bolts to throw ;  
And deal damnation round the land,  
On each I judge thy foe.

No man has any right to deal out to another condemnation for any religious principles he may entertain so long as they are not subversive of civil liberty and the civil rights of others.

The CHAIRMAN. What you claim is the right to believe, but of course you admit that you must conform your conduct to that of the majority for the good of the state.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. In all civil matters I believe it is perfectly right to do so, but in questions of conscience you will find that intolerance, from the days of Christ down to this time, has been brought to bear against those who would carry out their convictions of right and wrong according to the dictates of their own conscience. That has been the record of history from the time of the apostles to the present day. All religious persecutions have started in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Still, in our country we give everybody the right to believe what he thinks best. Even the Mormon is not interfered with in his religious faith ; it is only where his conduct is incompatible with the good of the state that he is disturbed.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. It is not because of matters of conscience, but because of the practices of the Mormons that they are interfered with ; because their practices are subversive of civil liberty.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point to which I wish to call your attention ; that while the law protects a man in his belief, whatever that belief may be, yet in practice he must obey the law that is for the time being on the statute-books of the country.

Rev. M. CORLISS. Do you not think it would be a dangerous precedent to commence legislation upon matters that are purely religious, and would it not be subversive of religious liberty as held by the consciences of mankind ; would it not by and by draw them into the vortex that almost destroyed the Christian religion of the old countries, when they had the church and state united ? It seems to me that it would be surely fatal, and but a natural consequence of the introduction of religion into the public schools of this country.

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF REV. DR. MOXOM.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. I have only one word to add in the way of argument bearing on the amendment.

We respectfully insist that the very existence of the public school is threatened by sectarian influence. Upon this point copious facts will be submitted to the committee.

Senator PAYNE. I suppose you understand the relation of the various States to this question. What State has now given offense by appropriating public money to denominational uses ; in other words, where does the evil that is complained of exist ?

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. It exists very largely in New York.

Senator PAYNE. Some allusion was made by one of the gentlemen here this morning to Ohio. There is no complaint in Ohio as to the proper distribution of the common-school fund. The common-school fund of that State is very large. The Catholics in that State do not attend the public schools, but they are taxed like all other citizens of Ohio, for the support of the public schools, while their parochial schools are supported by contributions among themselves. In Ohio we have never heard of any complaint of encroachment by the Church of Rome.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. In New York, in ten years, over \$11,000,000—\$3,500,000 in land and about \$8,000,000 in cash—have been appropriated from the public treasury for the support of Roman Catholic institutions. In other cities private sectarian institutions, such as hospitals and asylums, have drawn money covertly or openly from the public treasury.

Senator PAYNE. Well, here in Washington the Government supports a great many Catholic benevolent institutions, but it does not interfere with the schools, as I understand.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. More than this, in the penal institutions of all grades, efforts have been made which, in many instances, have been successful, to supply them with Roman Catholic priests and nuns for religious instruction and service, to the exclusion of all other sects. The result is that some of those *public* institutions are subject to sectarian influence.

Senator PAYNE. This amendment does not provide against that. We are now speaking of public-school funds.

The CHAIRMAN. It reaches all institutions.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. Yes; it reaches all institutions. Then, to go a little farther, the explicit, avowed, and constant purpose of the Catholic authorities in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts—I speak of the States of which I know—every affirmation that they make to their people is to the effect that they have a right to the public funds for the support of their parochial schools and for the repayment of the money which they have invested in the parochial school buildings. They affirm that they have a right to it and that they must have it.

Senator PAYNE. Has that ever been conceded by legislation in New York or Massachusetts or anywhere else? I know it has been claimed by some, but has it ever been conceded?

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. In New York State, in Poughkeepsie, as I understand, the Roman Catholics did secure possession of public-school buildings. They did also for a time in Pittsburgh, Pa., and in several towns of Connecticut and Massachusetts. I think they were successful in Waltham.

Senator PAYNE. If they were powerful enough to overthrow the established policy of the country in Massachusetts and Connecticut I think they could do it anywhere.

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. That would scarcely be a good argument, would it, against our attempt to prevent their doing so? They have accomplished that because they are powerful, and because they are absolutely a unit under the lead of the priests, while the rest of the people are divided, and many of them are indifferent.

The necessity is upon us now, not only of awakening the people, but of educating them, and of securing ourselves before it is too late. Before the encroachment becomes too great, we wish to set up a barrier against it.

Senator PAYNE. If Massachusetts is in danger I hardly know how we are going to save the rest of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation do you think this amendment and the movement which you represent would have upon the conflict between the public schools and the parochial schools in the Southern States and in the Territories, where as yet no system of common schools has attained any great strength?

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. I think the effect of it would be to prevent the growth of a rival and hostile system. I think it would leave the ground clear for the rapid development of the free common school.

Senator PAYNE. The direction of religious development and growth in the South is towards Methodism and other evangelical sects, is it not?

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. That is probably so, but we are as stoutly opposed to appropriations from the public funds for sects to which we may ourselves individually belong as we are to appropriations from those funds for other sects.

I desire to say one word with reference to another part of the question. As to Massachusetts, perhaps Senator Payne is not aware of the fact that seventy out of every hundred people in Boston are either foreign born or are the children of foreign-born parents; and that Lowell and Lawrence and various other manufacturing cities have practically a majority of foreign-born people. So that the problem has become a pressing one by reason of the large foreign immigration into New England and the passing westward of the native New England people. We have a different population there from what we had thirty years ago.

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF REV. DR. JAMES B. DUNN.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. In Connecticut there are more towns than in Massachusetts where the Roman Catholics draw money from the public treasury for the support of their parochial schools, because they have the power.

The "Hamilton" School in the city of New Haven is a distinctively Catholic school, in which are five hundred children, taught by eleven Sisters of Mercy at a cost to the city of \$5,000, according to the report for the year ending September 1, 1870. The teachers, together with all the scholars, are under the spiritual direction and control of the Roman Catholic bishop acting through the pastor of St. Patrick's church; and under the head of "parochial schools," the Catholic directory year after year places "St. Patrick's, New Haven, under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy." In other words, this school is essentially a Roman Catholic parochial school, yet supported out of the public-school fund.

In New Britain, Conn., the Roman Catholic school was adopted by the town November 12, 1862, and has since been known as "the town school," and is supported by the town at a yearly expense of \$3,000. Its six female teachers are Roman Catholics, selected by the priest or other authority, and approved by the school visitors of the town.

In Waterbury, Conn., the parochial school, organized and controlled by the pastor of the church of the Immaculate Conception, was several years ago taken under the care of the board of education, with the understanding that it was to consist, as before, of Roman Catholic children and teachers, and the opening and closing exercises were to be distinctively Roman Catholic, as they had been. This school is supported out of the public-school fund, and is as fully a Roman Catholic school as ever.

In other States public money has been sought and obtained for parochial schools. At Loretto, Cambria County, Pa., in 1870, the Roman



Catholic catechism was regularly taught in the public school, and it was to all intents a Roman Catholic school supported out of the public funds. At East Saint Louis, Ill., the school board bought for \$9,000 an old Roman Catholic building, which, when new, cost about \$4,000; hired for \$1,200 a year the basement of the Roman Catholic church; established schools in each place, that in the basement of the church being taught by Roman Catholic teachers, led daily in procession to Roman Catholic worship, and supported out of the public funds. Bishop Persico, Roman Catholic bishop of Savannah, 1870-'72, obtained for Roman Catholic schools in that city a share of the public money from the board of education.

In the early part of 1875 the Roman Catholics in New York City, as they had done in previous years in Buffalo, N. Y., and in Jersey City, N. J., formally proposed to the public-school authorities that the latter should take under their charge the Roman Catholic parochial schools, appoint for them Roman Catholic teachers, etc. As early as 1873, Bishop Gilmour had done the same thing in Cleveland, Ohio.

Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, N. Y., tells how this is done :

We erect the buildings, provide the teachers, who shall, however, be subject to the examinations required by the State, and then, for a nominal rental, we allow the State full control of these schools during the ordinary school hours, in which time only secular instruction shall be given. Before and after such hours we propose to give the pupils such religious teaching as we deem essential in the education of youth. The plan is already in practical operation in Corning, Elmira, and Lima.

And he might have added Poughkeepsie. This is Bishop Gilmour's description of the plan. The following letter of Father McSweeney lets us into the secret of its success in so many places :

At the annual meeting of school district No. 6, in the city of Yonkers, N. Y., October 8, 1878, a proposition was submitted to rent the school-house of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, at a merely nominal annual rent of \$1. In recommending this proposition, it was distinctly stated "that if the arrangement is perfected, and the branch school is established, it will be under the exclusive management and control of this board of education during school hours, and under the superintendence of Mr. Moore (the principal).

Though the school trustees were not unanimous in making the recommendation, it would doubtless have been accepted, as the president of the board, Matthew H. Ellis, esq., strongly urged it, and narrated the satisfactory character of a visit he had recently made to the four schools in the city of Poughkeepsie, in which the plan had been first exemplified. But before the vote was taken, a gentleman present produced and read the following letter, which I give entire :

#### FATHER M'SWEENEY'S LETTER.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH,  
*Poughkeepsie, October, 1874.*

Rev. A. A. LINGS:

REV. DEAR SIR: I received your letter in regard to the schools a couple of days since. My schools are still under the board, and are getting on very well. I have made the arrangement for ten years, dating from September 1, 1873, with promise that if either party is dissatisfied they may retire at the end of any scholastic year, by giving thirty days' notice. I don't anticipate any trouble now, as everybody seems to be used to the thing. Of course it all depends upon the complexion of the board, and it is necessary to see that narrow-minded persons be not elected to it, as we have not, and could not have any legal right to the fulfillment of the terms of understanding. The only agreement which is legal is this: Most Rev. John McCloskey (afterward Cardinal McCloskey), through his attorney, Rev. P. F. McSweeney, agrees to lease the buildings and furniture for ten years to the board at \$1 per year rent.

In return for which the board agrees to open therein a public school, said school to be under their control the same as any other school. They, moreover, agree to keep the building and furniture in repair, to pay the teachers appointed by them, to defray heating expenses, etc.; said buildings to be entirely at the service of the Most Rev. John McCloskey at all other times than the school hours.

The conditions understood and privately agreed to are as follows: Concessions on the part of the board: The nominations of the teachers to be made by the pastor (priest) before their public appointment by the board. In other words, "we will not send any teacher to you without first being satisfied that you would want her." The result is that the board has publicly appointed twelve American citizens teachers, whom I find to be six of them Sisters and six others Catholic ladies. I give the Sisters a home, as usual, and I pay the others \$5 a month, each, for coming at 1 p. m., instead of 1.30, which is the legal school hour, and teaching catechism every day. The children are all there, and they learn more of it than ever before. The school hours are from 9 to 12, and from 1.30 to 4 p. m. The schools are *just as Catholic as ever*, and yet the board can inspect them at any time, and they will find nothing except what is lawful, and I have had even ministers come in and see them, and they all went away satisfied.

We had public examinations of the children by the Sisters and other teachers, and they went off very well.

Concessions by the pastor: The pastor agrees not to appoint the time of legal schools for catechism or prayers, but he may pray and teach whatever he likes at any other time. I find it works very well up to this. Hoping that you will succeed, I am, yours truly,

P. F. MCSWEENEY.

P. S.—It would be as well not to show this letter to your board, as they may not understand it. Tell them that we have no privilege here except what the other public schools have. The parents of the children who frequent them are worthy Protestants, and although, legally, the teachers are supposed to be of no particular faith, still actually they are all Protestants, without exception. Whether this happens by accident or design we can not dispute. All we want is that the same coincidence may happen, whether by accident or design we care not, in our schools, so that all teachers may be Catholic, since the parents are Catholics. The only way to bring about this happy "coincidence" is to consult the Catholic pastor, who is, legally, nothing but a private citizen, but, actually, the chosen representative of all his flock.

P. F. MCS.

Senator PAYNE. Go back for a moment to Connecticut; has not Connecticut power in itself to remedy any evil of that kind?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. No, sir; the Connecticut law regarding the public schools is not so strong as it is in Massachusetts.

Senator PAYNE. But can not Connecticut correct her own laws?

Rev. Dr. DUNN. She can, but at the same time there is this to be borne in mind, that politicians—I use the term advisedly—are largely looking for votes, and they do not care to put themselves on record in a movement that will at all affect the votes of certain classes. Such was the case in Connecticut when the House of Representatives of that State, on July 22, 1875, by a vote of 111 Democrats against 94 Republicans and 4 Democrats, secured the indefinite postponement of a proposed amendment to the Constitution prohibiting aid from the public funds to sectarian schools.

Senator PAYNE. If your intention is to reform and modernize the politician, I think you may as well give it up. I think that that is a pretty hard task, even in New England, where there is so much piety.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Our purpose is to awaken the entire American people to the fact that there is a great danger menacing the public schools, and in that way a danger menacing the American Republic. It is not only to arouse the politician, but the whole people.

We believe that there has been a feeling on the part of many of the American people that American institutions are so strong that there is no danger of their being destroyed. So it was in ancient days with Samson. Samson was a strong man, but while he was asleep somebody cut off his locks, and when he awoke he was as weak as any other man.

Senator PAYNE. It was a woman, I believe, who did that. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The women did not vote in those days. [Renewed laughter.]

Rev. Dr. DUNN. No, the women did not vote in those days, but the women of Boston by their votes have lately done a great work for the purification of politics in that city.

Senator PAYNE. I am not a Catholic, and I have no connection with Catholics; but when I was a boy, fifty or sixty years ago, I was frightened almost out of my senses all the time by hearing about that old lady of Babylon who was always raising the devil. She appeared to my mental vision in all her scarlet robes, and in the vivid imagination of my youth I was mortally afraid of her. I have grown older since then, and I must confess I do not see much in the argument, although the old lady is still around.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Our point does not relate to the old lady in the scarlet robes, but our point is that there is an organization directed and controlled by one man who is in Rome who controls the votes of a large portion of the American people. They will vote just as he directs.

Senator PAYNE. I do not agree with you at all in that statement, sir. I think you are entirely mistaken. There are a good many things in "Rome." Everything that is in the Catholic Church is not evil.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Not by any means. There is much evil out of it. But it is a fact that according to the Catholic Directory for 1888 there are in the United States 11 archbishops, 68 bishops, 7,596 priests, 1,974 ecclesiastical students, 6,829 churches, 3,057 chapels and stations, 29 theological seminaries, 91 colleges, 588 academies, 2,606 parochial schools, 511,063 pupils in the parochial schools, 472 charitable institutions, and about 8,000,000 Catholics, every one of whom the Pope of Rome, through his agents, directs and controls in spiritual and temporal affairs. Every bishop, priest, monk, and nun must work in unison and obey the Pope, or they will be "clubbed out" like Father McGlynn. These millions are not free like other citizens in this country.

"Right or wrong, they must obey," are the words of Vicar-General Preston, of New York. On this point we have already adduced abundant evidence.

Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, in his Lenten pastoral of 1873, instructed his flock that no candidates for office should receive their votes without first pledging himself to support the division of the school funds. It is notorious that Roman Catholic bishops and priests have often instructed their flocks how to vote at elections, favored or opposed men and measures in view of the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in the case. Thus it was currently reported that Roman Catholic influences defeated the proposed constitution of Ohio in August, 1874, on account of its provisions for public schools; dictated the "Geghan law" of that State in 1875.

The late Archbishop Hughes, in October, 1841, publicly approved and advocated a political ticket for senators and assemblymen from New York City, and required from his immense audience a pledge of adherence to his nomination, which was given at once and most enthusiastically. In July, 1856, Bishop Charbonnel, of Toronto, excommunicated four members of the Canadian Government for not voting in the provincial parliament according to his requirement in respect to education and legacies to priests. The bishops of the Roman Catholic Church are under oath to obey and enforce all the mandates of the Pope.

Senator PAYNE. There is no class of people in the country, from my

personal observation and knowledge, so pure in their lives and character as the Roman Catholic portion of our population. If every other sect would make as good a showing they would be doing well.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, I think Dr. Moxom has dwelt at length on this subject and we ought to be relieved of any such construction as is indicated in the remarks of Senator Payne. We are not here to say anything about the Roman Catholic religion.

Senator PAYNE. I understand that.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. But there are certain facts that affect our school system, and it is these facts that we came here to present. Whatever may be said of the religion of the Roman Catholics, it has its grip on the throats of our cities. Men in New York who have lived there all their lives, like the Hon. John Jay and others, said to me last night, "We are bound hand and foot by this political force—by the dictation of the priests and the Pope."

Senator PAYNE. You do not mean to say that the Roman Catholic vote is all on one side in politics? A very large portion of that vote went this last year for the Republican ticket.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. We have nothing to do with their voting the Republican or the Democratic ticket. Sometimes it is on one side and sometimes on another. But the point is, that it is always along a certain line—whether Democratic or Republican.

Mrs. CHARLOTTE SMITH. If I may be allowed, I desire to make one remark. I wish to say that I was the first woman to send women to the polls in Boston a year ago last election day, to distribute ballots and to oppose the then mayor of Boston, who was Hugh O'Brien. I am a Roman Catholic too. I sent women to the polls and paid their entire expenses. I did that as president of the Woman's National Industrial League. Again last year I agitated for women to go to the polls. I paid women \$1.50 a piece to stand at the polls for some hours on election day.

Senator PAYNE. You got them pretty cheap.

Mrs. SMITH. I paid them that amount to do their duty, just as men are paid to do their duty. The men sold out for \$5 a day, but the women stood their ground and worked for what they believed was right, and not one of them sold out.

Senator PAYNE. Are you in favor of the amendment which we are discussing here?

Mrs. SMITH. I wish merely to impress upon the committee the fact that a woman, and a Roman Catholic, too, had something to do with the election in Boston. I am a Democrat, and yet I was opposed to a Democratic mayor in Boston because the whisky ring and the gambling ring and the lowest elements, the rings in Boston kept Hugh O'Brien in office. What we look at is the moral records of men and not their religion.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. The lady is perfectly right. I wish the committee to bear in mind one thing. The majority of the voters of Boston are Democrats, and we could never have carried the last election if we had not received from the Democratic party a considerable number of votes. Undoubtedly it was a great moral question that agitated the community.

As the question of woman's voting has been brought up, I desire to say that it is a very remarkable fact that there were registered in Boston 20,252 women, and that of that number some 19,490 voted. Such a record has never been known as that 97 per cent. of the registered voters should vote. In the same city of Boston there were some 73,000 men

registered, and of those only 63,000 voted. The women did their work grandly and nobly.

Senator PAYNE. If you will take my advice you will suggest to the Republican party of Boston to dissolve and to enlist under the banner of the Democratic party. I do not charge anything for that advice. Of course you understand I am a Democrat.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. I have hundreds of letters from Roman Catholics saying that they are in sympathy with us in our movement to protect the public schools. It was no party line that was drawn in that election. Neither was it a sectarian line.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say at this point that those who know anything of Mrs. Smith's work in Boston know that she broke the ice and led to one of the chief reforms in legislation there some two years ago, if I recollect aright.

Senator PAYNE. I believe that for two or three years she has been acting under the advice of our most excellent and benevolent and intelligent chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I have been acting under her advice. [Laughter.]

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF REV. J. O. CORLISS.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I simply wish to ask a question of this delegation, and that is, whether they do not really think an amendment enforcing simple secular education would have the result to obviate the difficulties that they say now menace the public school system of to-day; and I ask further how the teaching of the Christian religion in the public schools can possibly remedy the difficulty? I believe that if we could have simple secular education taught—it would obviate all the difficulties that are now menacing the country with regard to the public schools. Roman Catholics have just as good a right to their opinion as Baptists or Methodists have. I do not see why there should be any legislation directed against the faith of Catholics any more than of anybody else. Legislation of that character would be subversive of the religious liberty of all people except those most directly benefited thereby. A Jew has just as good a right to his religion as I have to mine. Any man has just as good a right to be of no religion as I have to have a religion, if he pleases to have none. There should be no coercion about religion. Why is it necessary to have these regulations with regard to religion?

Rev. Dr. MOXOM. I will answer the gentleman's question. This delegation is not here to oppose any religious feeling or belief in this country. We are not here to oppose specifically Roman Catholics. We are here to oppose the organization and the purposes of the hierarchy and the organization known as the Roman Catholic priesthood against our common schools; and in that respect we are here to conserve the rights of Roman Catholics as well as of Protestants, and the rights of all men regardless of sectarian division. We are here to emphasize those parts of this measure which have this conservative effect. As individual members we have our opinion with reference to the religious clause of this proposed amendment; and for myself I am free to say I see not the slightest objection to it, or anything in it to which the Roman Catholics who are intelligent enough to read it could object. I see that the amendment purposely guards against the abuse of the public school funds; but the principle is that our public school system shall be opened to everybody and free from denominational bias.

The CHAIRMAN. It is due to this committee to say that they are in no wise responsible for the phraseology of this proposed amendment. There has been a very diverse sentiment in regard to the proposed amendment. This hearing, however, is on the general subject of the alleged encroachment by a political power upon the common school system of the country.

Sénator PAYNE. It is proper to say that there has been no conference of the committee on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been no conference of the committee. It is simply a hearing.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I hold in my hand a Senate bill appropriating \$77,000,000 of the public money to aid in the establishment of public schools in the South and throughout the country. Now suppose this bill becomes a law and the money is appropriated. Then suppose that this amendment shall be carried by the ratification of the States. Then shall we not have \$77,000,000 of the public money appropriated to teaching the Christian religion? Will we not be doing the very same thing that we are complaining of in New York and other places—appropriating public money for teaching a religious faith? It seems to me as though, taking the bills together, one following the other, this amendment here should be purely secular, in order to correspond with the bill appropriating this money to the public school system.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, as you put that in the form of a question, that I ought to say that you are entirely mistaken with reference to the effect of the amendment. Certainly nobody would favor the amendment—at least I should not—if it were to result in the teaching of anything whatever sectarian in the public schools, or if it were any infringement in the remotest degree upon civil or religious liberty. That amendment is designed to prevent, if possible, exactly what you are apprehensive of; and if it should be construed or be operative in the way you apprehend, it would defeat its own real purpose most emphatically. You must bear in mind this, that this is all preliminary. There are those who think that something should be done to save the common school system, the cradle of our institutions, as many believe, and as you, I think, believe.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You can be assured that there is nobody concerned in this matter that wants to produce results such as you depict or such as you fear.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. All that we care for is to have this point brought fully before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The petition to which you have referred, containing 250,000 names, as I understand, presented to the Senate, was presented with special reference to the Sunday rest bill.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. It embodies both.

Rev. Dr. DUNN. I have in my hand several publications of the Boston committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Please select such of them as you wish the reporter to place in the record. Have you [addressing Rev. Mr. Corliss] any data that you wish to present to the committee?

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Nothing at present, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to all you gentlemen that we will be glad to get any facts at any time, or any written communication containing facts, which will be of value in this connection, and they will be placed on the files of the committee.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. How long a time may we have for filing those facts?

The CHAIRMAN. If you have matters of fact which you would like to submit, it would, I suppose, be well for you to have them ready within a week or ten days.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. Then a week or ten days will not be too long a time to furnish the matter?

The CHAIRMAN. No; but we have to get these matters printed at the public expense, and the committee is criticised if it is not done with reasonable promptness, and if it is not condensed in good form. We want you, however, to get your views thoroughly before the committee.

Rev. Mr. CORLISS. I desire to express my thanks to the committee for their patient and attentive hearing.

### ARGUMENT OF PROF. ALONZO T. JONES, OF BATTLE CREEK, MICH

Mr. Chairman, there is a point or two not yet touched upon which I wish to notice in the little time that I shall have. I gather from the letter from the author of this resolution to the secretary of the National Reform Association that the intention of this proposed amendment is primarily for the benefit of the state; that the object of the teaching of religion in the public schools is not to be given with the view of fitting the children for Heaven, nor of making them Christians; but that it is rather and more particularly to fit them for this world and to make them good citizens; that it is not religion which needs the support of the state so much as it is the state which needs the support of religion. This is the view held, I know, by some of the principal members of the National Reform Association, as, for instance, President Julius H. Seelye and Judge M. B. Heagans. These have expressed it that it is only as a political factor, and its worth only according to its "political value," that the state proposes to secure and enforce the teaching of religion in the public schools; that the object of the instruction is not "the spiritual welfare of the children," but "for the benefit of the state."

This argument appears very plausible, but it is utterly fallacious. The supreme difficulty with such a view is that it wholly robs religion of its divine sanctions and replaces them only with civil sanctions. It robs religion of its eternal purpose and makes it only a temporal expedient. From being a plan devised by divine wisdom to secure the eternal salvation of the soul, Christianity is, by this scheme, made a mere human device to effect a political purpose. And for the state to give legal and enforced sanction to the idea that the Christian religion and the belief and practice of its principles are only for temporal advantage is for the state to put an immense premium upon hypocrisy. But there is entirely too much of this already. There is already entirely too much of the profession of religion for only what can be gained in this world by it politically, financially, and socially. Done voluntarily, as it now is, there is vastly too much of it; but for the state to sanction the evil principle, and promote the practice by adopting it as a system and inculcating it upon the minds of the very children as they grow up, would bring upon the country such a flood of corruption as it would be impossible for civil society to bear.

Let me not be misunderstood here. I do not mean to deny for an instant, but rather to assert forever, that the principles of the Christian religion received into the heart and carried out in the life will make good citizens always. But it is only because it derives its sanction from the divine source—because it is rooted in the very soul and

nourished by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. This, however, the state of itself never can secure. This at once carries us into the realm of conscience, upon the plane of the spiritual, and it can be secured only by spiritual forces, none of which have ever been committed to the state but *to the church only*.

But right here there comes in an argument presented to me by a United States Senator in this Capital, one who is in favor of this proposed amendment too. He was speaking in favor of the amendment. I had said that religious instruction belongs wholly to the parents and to the church—that the state can not give it because it has not the credentials for it. He replied in these words:

But when the family fails and the church fails, the state *has* to do something.

The answer to this is easy:

(1) To the family and the church, and to these alone, the Author of the Christian religion has committed the work of teaching that religion, and if these fail, the failure is complete.

(2) The statement of the Senator implies that the state is some sort of an entity so entirely distinct from the people who compose it that the state can do for the people what the people can not do for themselves. But the state is made up only of the families who compose the state. The church likewise is made up of such of these as voluntarily choose to enter her fold. To the church is committed the Spirit of God and the ministrations of the word of God, by which only the inculcation of the Christian religion can be secured. The family then composing the state, and the propagation of religion and the credentials for it being committed only to the family and the church, by this it is again demonstrated that when the family and the church fail to teach the Christian religion the failure is complete.

The only thing that the state can do under such circumstances is by an exertion of power, the only means at its command, to check the tide of evil for a time, but it is only checked. It is like trying to dam up any other torrent—it may be checked for a moment, only to break its bounds and become more destructive than before. The only real remedy is to begin at the fountain and purify the heart, which can be done only by the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, for it is only faith in Him that can purify the heart and cause the fountain to send forth the sweet waters of everlasting righteousness instead of the bitter stream of evil. This work, however, is committed to the church and not to the state; to the church is given the credentials and the power for its accomplishment.

But the complaint which comes from the gentleman referred to, and which seems to be embodied in this proposed amendment, is that the church has failed to do the work which belongs only to her to do. No more stinging rebuke could be given to the professed church of Jesus Christ in the United States than is given in this despairing plea of statesmen, and no more humiliating confession ever could be made by the church than is unintentionally made by these clerical gentlemen from Boston and other places in their mission to this capital to-day to ask the state to undertake the task of teaching religion. Their mission here to-day, sir, is a confession that the professed church of Christ has failed to do that which God has appointed the church to do. It is a confession that the professed church has lost the power of God, the power of the Holy Ghost. It is a confession that she has proved unfaithful to her trust, and that now she wants to ease herself of the responsibility and pass it over to the state. But when they shall have



gotten the state to take upon itself the work of the church, what then do they intend that the church shall do? That is the next question that arises; it is an important one, too, for the state to consider, but it is easily answered. When they once get the state to carry on and support the work of the church, the next step will be to get the state to support the church, and that in idleness as every state has ever had to do, and will ever have to do, which takes upon itself the task of teaching religion. And this is precisely the thing that the National Reform Association, whose chief secretary stands the second time to-day in this room to plead for the adoption of this resolution, proposes that the state shall do. Rev. J. M. Foster, who has been for years a "district secretary" in active service in the work of that association, declares that among the duties which the reigning Mediator requires of nations, there is this:

"An acknowledgment and performance of the nation's duty to guard and protect the church—by suppressing all public violations of the moral law; by maintaining a system of public schools, indoctrinating their youth in morality and virtue; by exempting church property from taxation;" and "by providing her funds out of the public treasury for carrying on her aggressive work at home and in the foreign field." (Christian Statesman, February 21, 1884.)

That is the very point to which the state will be brought as surely as it ever takes it upon itself to teach religion. Therefore, if the Government of the United States wants to keep forever clear of the galling burden of a lazy good-for-nothing church, let it keep forever clear of any attempt to teach religion.

But the statement upon which I am arguing was to the effect that if the church fails and the family fails something must be done. Yes it is true, something must be done; but it must be done by the church and not by the state. The church must return to her Lord. She must be endowed afresh with power from on high. Then she can take up with vigor and with prospect of assured success her long-neglected work. Let the preachers come down from their ten-thousand-dollar pulpits, lay aside their gold rings, and preach the gospel of Jesus Christ in the spirit and love of the Divine Master. Let them go to the common people, to the poor, to the outcast, the neglected, and the forsaken. If to these they go in the spirit and with the mission of the Saviour, they will be heard gladly as was He. There is no need to complain of the wickedness of the people. This nation is not as wicked yet as was the Roman world in the day when Christ sent forth his little band of disciples. Yet as wicked as the world then was, these few men went forth armed only with the word of God and the power of his holy spirit, to contend against all the wickedness of the wide world; and by their abiding faith, their unabating earnestness, and their deathless zeal, they spread abroad the honors of that name to the remotest bounds of the then known world, and brought to the knowledge of the salvation of Christ multitudes of perishing men. If that little company then could do so much and so well for the then known world, what could not this great host now do for the United States if they would but work in the same way and by the same means. Yes, gentlemen, something must be done; but it must be done by the church, for it never can be done by the state.

Gentlemen, it is perfectly safe to say that no more important question has ever come before your committee than is this one which is before you to-day. It is a question which is approaching a crisis in more than one of the States; and it is exceedingly important that the National Constitution and laws and Government be kept on the side of

right, and that the constitutions, laws, and governments of the States shall be lifted to the level of the National. Because of its great importance both as a State and National question, I beg permission of the committee to be allowed to present as a part of my argument a portion of the argument of the Hon. Stanley Matthews, now associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, upon this very question, in the case of *Minor et al. vs. Cincinnati School Board et al.* I ask further to present this because it would be impossible for me to make an argument as good, and I seriously doubt whether anybody can ever make a better. After referring to the resolution of the Cincinnati School Board which forbade the reading of the Bible at the opening exercises of the city schools, Mr. Matthews said :

I do say that the reading of the Holy Bible in the manner repealed by this resolution is the teaching of a dogma in religion, held by only a portion of the religious community, objected to by a large part of the others, and that it is in a just, true, and sober sense, as to all who either reject it, in whole or in part, as divinely inspired and infallible book ; and as to all others, who admitting that to be its character, nevertheless deny that it can properly be understood without the interpreting aid of external authority, as to unbelievers, Jews, and Roman Catholics, a merely sectarian book. Now, if your honors please, the community is divided, you may say, in a general way, as a matter of fact, of which your honors can take judicial notice, and to which your honors' notice is addressed specially by the answer in this case, into at least three main divisions of religious belief, throwing out of view all those who have merely a negative position, sometimes called nullifidians—believers in nothing, if you choose, except what they see, and hear, and feel. But I propose to confine myself now only to that division of the community as to their positive religious belief ; and I will include under one name all protestant Christians, including every variety of faith, every sect and denomination from those who take a merely humanitarian view of the person and work of our divine Saviour up to those who believe that he was the incarnate God, and embracing every possible shade and variation of religious belief.

Here are all these varieties of belief. The gentlemen say, What is conscience ? It may be a small matter in their estimation, applied to other people a very small matter not to be taken notice of ; and one gentleman quotes the legal maxim, "*De minimis non curat lex*," in reference to the supposed conscience of an infidel.

But this will not do. We may call the eccentricities of conscience vagaries, if we please ; but in matters of religious concern we have no right to disregard or despise them, no matter how trivial and absurd we may conceive them to be. In the days of the early Christian martyrs, the Roman lictors and soldiers despised and ridiculed the fanaticism that refused the trifling conformity of a pinch of incense upon the altar erected to the Cæsar that arrogated to himself the title and honor of "Divine," or of a heathen statue. History is filled with the record of bloody sacrifices which holy men who feared God rather than men have not withheld, on account of what seemed to cruel persecutors but trifling observances and concessions.

Conscience, if your honors please, is a tender thing, and tenderly to be regarded ; and in the same proportion in which a man treasures his own moral integrity, sets up the light of conscience within him as the glory of God shining in him to discover to him the truth, so ought he to regard the conscience of every other man, and apply the cardinal maxim of Christian life and practice, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Now, here is the Christian community. There are a large number of the citizens of this community who are not Christians at all, yet are devout religionists. They are descendants of the men who crucified Christ ; and yet, as old Sir Thomas Browne says, we ought not to bear malice against them for that, for how often since have we, who profess His name, crucified Him, too !

Quousque patiere, bone Jesu !

Judæi te semel, ego scepius crucifixi ;

Illi in Asia, ego in Britannica,

Gallia, Germania ; Bone Jesu, Miserere Mei, et Judæorum.

But there are in this community devout worshipers of the only living and true God, according to their conscientious convictions, and I will say, if your honors please, in all respects capable of performing every duty of the civil state, and equally entitled to, not to toleration—I hate that word, there is no such thing known in this country as toleration—but civil and religious equality, equality because it is right, and a right. Then there is another sect of religionists. They are the Roman Cath-

olics. I know the Protestant prejudices against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Roman Catholic system of faith, and the Roman Catholic Church. I know, too, from a reading of that history, a part of which has been reproduced in argument upon this occasion, that the Roman Catholic Church has too well deserved that bitter memory at the hands of those whom it persecuted. But it is not to be denied that the victims of persecution, with singular inconsistency, have not always omitted the opportunity, when power was in their hands, to inflict upon their oppressors the same measure of persecution, as if the wrong consisted not in the principle, but in the person.

Now, if your honors please, I try to stand impartial and neutral in this argument between these three sets of men. I am bound to look upon them all as citizens, all as entitled to every right, to every privilege that I claim for myself, and, further, if your honors please, I do in my heart entertain the charity of believing that they are just as honest and just as sincere in their religious convictions as I am. I will say further, that from the study I have made, as time and opportunity have been given me, of the doctrinal basis of the Roman Catholic faith, I am bound to say that it is not an ignorant superstition, but a scheme of well-constructed logic, which he is a bold man who says he can easily answer. Give them one proposition, concede to them one single premise, and the whole of their faith follows most legitimately and logically, and that is the fundamental doctrine of what the church is, what it was intended to be, by whom it was founded, by whom it has been perpetuated, being the casket which contains to-day, shining as brightly as before the ages, the ever-living, actually present body of God, teaching and training men for life here and life hereafter.

Now, if your honors please, that is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church; that is the doctrine that is believed in by the Roman Catholic people; believed in sincerely, conscientiously, under their responsibilities, as they understand them, to answer at the bar of Almighty God, in the day of judgment, according to the light which they have received, in their own reason and their own conscience; for you must bear in mind that the process by which a Roman Catholic attains his faith is the same by which your honors do. We seem to make a difference, in that respect, as if the Roman Catholic believed in his church in some other way, by some other organs than those which a Protestant uses when he comes to his convictions. Why, if your honors please, there is no compulsion about it; it is a voluntary matter; they believe or not, as they choose; there is no external power which forces them to believe. They believe because they are taught; they believe because they are so educated; they believe because they have been trained up to it; just as we believe in the Protestant form of religion, because our fathers and our grandfathers and our grandfather's fathers were Protestants. They think they have sufficient reason for their belief; it may be an insufficient reason, but that don't make any difference to you and me; it is their reason, and that is enough. Now, they have—at any rate so far as the impersonal spirit of jurisprudence is concerned, so far as the presiding genius of the civil law is affected with jurisdiction; so far as, your honors, the embodiment of that artificial reason which consists in the collective wisdom of the state can take any notice—civil rights and religious rights, equal to yours and mine. Here are these three great divisions of men and of opinions and of religious faith and worship, all standing before you to-day upon a platform of absolute and perfect equality.

The record of this divine life and death and resurrection is something more to the Jew than an ordinary history; it is a blasphemy, sacrilege. And yet your honor would, by law, compel the reading of that book, of that record of the sayings and doings of that life, of the manner of that death, of that resurrection, to the children of Jewish parents, or else forbid them to come into the common schools that belong to them as they do to your honor, and to us all equally, or at least tax them equally for the support of schools in which, by law, their religion and the religion of their fathers is taught to be false and that they themselves are unbelievers and rejecters of God.

But it is asked by some, who by asking it betray their want of comprehension of the real question: Have Protestants no rights? Can not the majority of the community insist upon their consciences? Must the rights of minorities alone be consulted? Are we to be ruled by Catholics, or Jews, or infidels?

The answer is obvious and easy. Protestants have no rights, as such, which do not at the same time and to the same extent belong to Catholics, as such, to Jews and infidels too. Protestants have a civil right to enjoy their own belief, to worship in their own way, to read the Bible and to teach it as a part of their religion, but they have no right in this respect to any preference from the State, or any of its institutions. They have no right to insist upon Protestant practices at the public expense, or in public buildings, or to turn public schools into seminaries for the dissemination of Protestant ideas. They can claim nothing on the score of conscience which they can not concede equally to all others. It is not a question of majorities against mi-

norities, for if the conscience of the majority is to be the standard, then there is no such thing as right of conscience at all. It is against the predominance and power of majorities that the rights of conscience are protected, and have need to be.

If it be said that the Protestant conscience requires that the Bible be read by and to Protestant children, and it is a denial of a right of conscience to forbid it, waiving at the present time the obvious and conclusive answer that no such right of conscience can require that the State shall provide out of the common taxes for its gratification, it is enough to say that Catholics then, too, have the same right to have their children taught religion according to their views, not out of the Donay Bible if they do not consider that sufficient, but by catechism and in the celebration of the mass, if they choose to insist; that Jews have the same right to have their religious taught in the common schools, not from the English version of the Old Testament, but according to the practice of their synagogues, and infidels have the same right to have their children taught deism, or pantheism, or positivism.

But, if your honors please, let me say, for I conceive it to be a privilege to say it, that I believe that this book which I hold in my hands is a sacred book in the highest sense of the term. I believe it is the word of the living God, as essential to our spiritual nourishment and life as the bread that we eat and the water that we drink to quench our thirst is for our bodies. It records the history of the most marvelous appearance that ever occurred in human history—the advent in Judea of the man Christ Jesus, the promised Messiah of old whom Moses wrote about, and of whom Moses was a feeble type; whom Joshua predicted when he led the hosts to take possession of the happy land and prefigured; whom all the prophets foretold and the Psalmist sung and the people sighed for throughout all the weary ages of their captivity and bondage; who appeared in the light and brightness of the heathen civilization of the Augustan age; who spake as never man spake; who healed the diseases of the people; who opened their eyes; who caused the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, and preached the gospel to the poor; who was persecuted because He was the living representative of divine and absolute truth, and who was lifted up upon the cross charged with blasphemy untruly, but slain upon the baser charge of treason to the Roman Cæsar while in the very act of declaring that His “kingdom was not of this world;” lifted up, to be sure, by the hands of men, but in pursuance of a covenant that He had made in eternity with His Father that it should come thus to pass, because without the shedding of blood there was no remission of sin; lifted up in order that He might draw all men unto Himself, that whosoever looked upon Him might be healed of the poison of original sin and live. “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world!” That, if your honor, please, is my *credo*. If I am asked how I prove it, I enter into no disputation or doubtful argument. I simply say that His divinity shone into my heart and proved itself by its self-evidence. I would not give up, I would not abate a jot or tittle of my belief in that Book and in the God that it reveals and the salvation that it offers for all that this world can give. And yet, if your honors please, in the spirit of my Divine Master, I do not want to compel any man. If he can not believe—oh, it is his misfortune, not less than his fault, and not to be visited upon him as a penalty by any human judgment. It is not to be the ground of exclusion from civil rights; it is not to bar him from any privilege. It is even, if your honors please, to protect him from the finger of scorn being pointed and slowly moved at him as if he were out of the pales of divine charity. Oh, no; it was to the lost that the Saviour came, to seek them as well as to save them, and I know no other way, I know no better way, to recommend the truth of that Book to those who can not receive it but to live like Him whose teaching is to be just, to be good, to be kind, to be charitable, to receive them all into the arms of human sympathy, and to say to them, “Sacred as I believe that truth to be, just so sacred is your right to judge it.”

Now, what can the law do—the civil law—in the presence of eternity and of these eternal truths, and of these distinctions and differences and human weaknesses and disabilities? Can the law rudely step in and say, because a majority of people profess faith in that, that therefore you shall be daily confronted with what you do not and can not receive? For—and that is the gist of the thing—the reading of the Holy Scriptures as the appropriate commencement of the morning daily exercise of the public school is the teaching of a religious dogma that they are the inspired word of God, and if it was not so held by the Protestant members of the community there would be no such law suit here to-day as there is. If it were the writings of Epicætetus, or Seneca, or of Pliny, or moral philosophy, or anything of human composition and origin only, that taught the purest and the highest morality, nobody would be found to pay the expense of filing this bill to compel its daily reading. It is because that exercise is intended, and valued only as it is intended, to teach Christian doctrine as to the scheme of salvation offered by Christ, and the Protestant doctrine that the book without note or comment is the infallible rule of faith and practice.

And, if your honors please, whatever does belong to a man, that he has by virtue of being a man in society and not under government, he had it before government was. It was his. That is the meaning of it. He does not hold it by any subinfeudation. He holds it by direct homage and allegiance to the owner and the Lord of all. Moreover, whatever was his, just that same belonged to everybody else. On the same natural plane, at least, God has not any favorites. Whatever in point of right He gave to you He gave to me, and inasmuch as you and I might dispute, we agreed upon a common arbiter, and that is government that settles the boundary between your right and mine. It makes no difference how small a right it is. If it is only a little piece of a right our law says an action for damages shall lie for its breach, because the law presumes damage from the denial even of that right. If it is only so small a matter as the conscience of a Jew or an infidel, it is his and can not be taken away.

My friends on the other side said they were asking light on this question, as to what and how absolute and universal are the rights of conscience. I hold in my hand a book written by Isaac Taylor, one of the most thorough masters of English style.

He says:

"The rights of man, as man, must be understood in a sense that can admit of no single exception; for to allege an exception is the same thing as to deny the principle. We reject, therefore, with scorn any profession of respect to the principle which, in fact, comes to us clogged and contradicted by a petition for an exception."

He says again:

"We have just now said, in relation to the rights of man, that they are universal and *unexceptionable*; or, if not so, then they are none at all. To profess the principle and then to plead for an exception—let the plea be what it may—is to deny the principle, and it is to utter a treason against humanity. The same is true, and it is true with an emphasis, in relation to those rights which are at once the surest guaranty of every other, and the most precious of all, namely, the rights of conscience. We say *rights*; for although they are *one*, they yet include what must be carefully specified in detail, as a caution against all contradictions and against any infringement."

And again he says:

"The rights of conscience not understood, or if they be misunderstood by a government, then the civilization of such a people is a glittering barbarism; it is nothing better."

If religion be here, under our Constitution, the care of the state, to a certain extent as claimed, and that religion means the religion of the Bible—a broad Christianity—so that the state is bound by its fundamental law to provide education in that religion as a necessary part of the instruction to be given in the public schools, then it can not permit exceptions to be made, even upon the plea of conscience, for the exception destroys in this case, not proves the rule, and the state may, yea, if the argument be sound, must, by the term of its constitution, step in between father and child, and educate the child in opposition to the father's faith. And to justify this interference, we are told that parents neglect their duty, and that a child has right of conscience as against its father!

I protest against this doctrine. Its application would be a monstrous tyranny. Its idea is pagan, not Christian.

Let me not be misunderstood. I believe in religion, in its priceless, inestimable importance and value, both "for the life that now is, and for that which is to come"—for this world and eternity.

I believe in the religious education of children; in their careful training, from infancy to youth and manhood, by precept and example, in true and practical piety, in the fear of God, and to love their fellow men; that they should be taught to remember their Creator in the days of their youth. I believe as firmly as a man can that they should be most watchfully and sedulously instructed, day by day, precept by precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, not merely in the learning of abstract morals, but in the duties of religious life, based upon the motives, sanctions, instructions, examples, and inspirations that can only be found in the Gospel of God our Saviour, and the scheme of redemption for a lost and sinful race as revealed in the person and work of the God-man, Christ Jesus, and held forth in the instructions, and services, and means of grace, and living oracles coming from the keeping of the church of the living God, as His kingdom on the earth.

But what I do say, and say most earnestly and with vehement protest, is that this branch of education the state, the civil power, through its law-making and executive administration; through its politics and parties; through its agents and officers; through its board of education and school teachers, shall fully, and can have, nothing whatever to do.

*Procul, procul este profani!* Let no unholy hands be laid upon the sacred ground. If the state is to furnish education in religion, in what, I ask, shall it do? It shall judge and determine what is true and what is false in all that claim to be religion.

ligion or even with Christianity; who shall pronounce with authority of law what is to be taught as embraced within what have been styled the fundamental or elementary truths of religion; who shall declare the amount, and the kind, and degree of the knowledge to be imparted?

These are important questions, seriously propounded and deserving of respectful answer. The gentlemen on the other side say they limit the religious instruction demanded to what they call a "broad Christianity." I have already once or twice adverted to the term. I do not know that I understand it. If I do, it is a "broad" humbug. The Christian religion is not a vain and unmeaning generality. It is a definite and positive thing. It means something or it means nothing. In my view it is a supernatural scheme of redemption—a revelation from God of his gracious purpose and plan of salvation to a race "dead in trespasses and sins," through the mediation and atonement of Jesus Christ, who, being God from eternity, became incarnate and by his death upon the cross became a sacrifice for sin, made expiation for it, and having risen from the grave ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father to make intercession for his people. The whole character and value of it as a religion consists altogether in being, as it claims to be, a supernatural plan of salvation from sin, otherwise irremediable. Strike out from the Bible the parts which disclose, reveal, and teach that scheme, and the rest is insignificant. And any instruction or education in religion which does not teach the facts which constitute that scheme, and which can not be stated even, except as conveying dogma, is no instruction in the Christian religion whatever—it is simply instruction in philosophy and ethics or practical morals.

Now I deny the authority and the ability of civil government to decide upon questions of religious truth.

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Now, if your honors please, the truth of religion is a matter of spiritual discernment. As the Apostle Paul has said: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." It is a matter of spiritual discernment, and I ask in all sobriety where, in the constitution and organization of any civil commonwealth on earth, from the beginning to the present day, there has ever been found a body of civil legislators capable of deciding for anybody but itself what is truth in religion?

There is an old lesson on this subject. I find it in the trial of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospel of John, that the chief priests accused Him before Pilate of blasphemy, saying: "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." When Pilate arraigned Him, he said to Him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus answered him, "Sayest thou this thing thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" Pilate answered Him, "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me. What hast thou done?" Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." Then when the Jews found that Pilate would not take jurisdiction of the case on the charge of blasphemy, on the ground that he had made himself the Son of God, and so had violated the law of the Jewish theocracy, they charged Him with treason, on the ground that he was claiming to set himself up against Cæsar as king, and when they found out that Pilate sought to release Him, the Jews cried out: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar."

In this colloquy between Pilate and our Lord on this point as to his kingship and the nature of his kingdom, Pilate said unto him, "Art thou a king, then?" Jesus answered, "Thou sayest that I am King. To this end I was born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate said unto Him, "What is truth?" *Then was the head of the civil state unable to comprehend, because unable spiritually to see the truth as it is in Jesus—the truth of religion.*

Let the civil authorities now, as well as then, beware when called upon by popular clamor, whether of Pharisees or priests, to pronounce upon religious truth, lest, in their necessary ignorance to discern it, they do not crucify the Lord of glory afresh. And let his disciples beware lest in tossing the Bible and its precious truths into the arena of political controversy they violate that injunction and warning, "that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine, nor trouble them under their feet, and turn again and rend you."

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There are hundreds and thousands of children in this goodly, this Christian, land, who have no chance or opportunity for being educated in what my friends on the other side call "the elementary truths of Christianity," not even a knowledge of the Bible and of Christianity, unless it can be given to them by a perusal every morning of a chapter or a chapter of a few verses out of the Bible in the common schools. I say, if

it be so, it is a lamentable confession of great lack and neglect of duty, not on the part of the state, but on the part of the church, meaning by that the invisible body of true believers who are, as they believe, to create the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth.

It is said they are in the by-ways, lanes, and alleys. And can not they be reached there? Can not the church send out its ministers, or are they too busy, day after day, in their studies, preparing to dole out dogmatic theology Sunday after Sunday to the tired ears of their wearied congregations? Can not they send out their Sunday school teachers? Can not they send out their missionaries? Why, the command of the Saviour was to go out into the streets and lanes of the city, and into the highways and hedges, and bring all in; bring them to the feast which He had prepared—this feast of fat things, of goodly things. Must we say that the church has grown idle and lazy, and can only hobble on its crutches, and therefore that our school directors must set themselves up as teachers of religious truth? No! Let the church cease to depend upon any adventitious or external aids. Let it rely solely upon the omnipotent strength of the spirit of the Lord that is in it. Let it say to the state, Hands off; it is our business, it is our duty, it is our privilege to educate the children in the true knowledge of godliness. Don't let them starve on the husks of a broad Christianity. Let us give them that which is definite, distinct, and pointed—the everlasting and saving truths of God's immortal gospel.

Don't teach them "Be virtuous and you shall be happy," but "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." Now, I say, and I say it with all due humility as one not called upon to instruct, but, nevertheless, to say what is in me—let the church say, Here is our field; it is white to harvest; here is our duty; here is our mission; here is our work, to evangelize, to save the lost and perishing crowd.

Let her rise up in the full measure and majesty of her innate spiritual strength—let her gird her loins for the mighty task—let her address herself with all earnestness and heroic zeal to the great but self-rewarding labors of Christian love—let her prove herself by her works of self-denying charity to be the true church, as Jesus proved Himself to the disciples of John to be the true Messiah, when he told them "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up and the poor have the gospel preached to them." Let her organize all her forces for a more determined and closer hand-to-hand struggle with sin and evil of every form, and the misery and wretchedness of which they are the cause. Let her ministers and missionaries not only proclaim from their pulpits "the unsearchable riches of Christ," but descending among the hungry multitudes distribute to them the precious bread of life. Let them declare to the rich and the educated their duties, their responsibilities, and their privileges, and lead them in person to the places where their work is to be done and stimulate them by their example to do it. Let them inspire by their enthusiasm and fire with their zeal the indifferent and slothful. Let them, by setting forth the beauty of holiness and the purity of "the truth as it is in Jesus," which is able to make us wise unto salvation, send the healthful and invigorating influences of our holy religion through every social relation and glorify the business and the pleasures of our daily and secular life by consecrating them to the glory of our Father who is in Heaven. Let them turn these streams of the pure water of life, welling up in the hearts of their followers, into the dark and pestilential receptacles, where ignorance, poverty, misery, and sin are gathered and breed disorder and death. Then the great and the good, the noble and the wise, in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace, forgetting those things which are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, pressing toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, in one grand array will meet and wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places, and shall not wrestle in vain, for they shall be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, clad in the whole armor of God, their loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and above all, taking the shield of faith wherewith they shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit. Then shall be hastened the promised time of the coming of our King, when there shall be a new Heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness—the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, the tabernacle of God with men, where He will dwell with them and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them and be their God.

But let them remember that to advance this glorious consummation the church must throw away the sword of civil authority which some of her too eager and impetuous sons would put into her hands; that the kingdom of her Lord is not of this

world ; that she must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's ; that she must not permit any unholy dalliance with the solicitations of worldly power or advantage, but keep herself unspotted from the world ; that her dominion is over the minds and hearts of men, and her victory achieved with spiritual weapons alone, by appeals to their reason, to their conscience, to the highest and best in their ruined nature, to be restored by the power, not of human laws, but of the spirit of God ; and that in proportion as she becomes conscious of her origin and destiny, of the divine life she bears in her bosom, hid with Christ in God, and grows into the recognition of her mission and place in the work and history of the world and of eternity, she will dissolve all the ties that bind her to secular influences and the natural sphere of human interests and actions, and establish herself firmly upon the seat of her spiritual throne, whence shall silently but most potently issue streams of truth and goodness, wisdom and love, faith and charity, into all the channels of human thought and activity, to restore upon earth the paradise of God.

The committee then adjourned.















