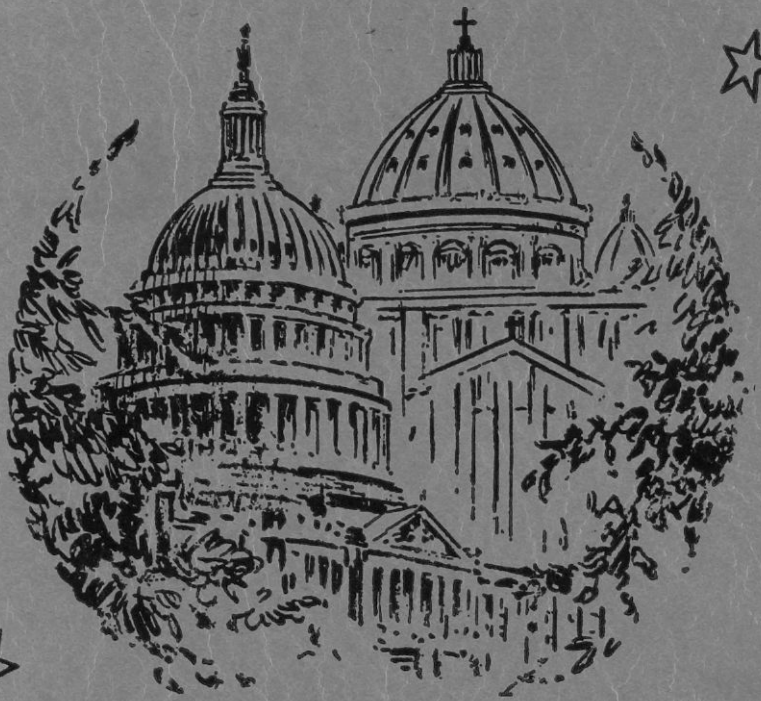
The CHURCH



in UNITED STATES HISTORY

Published by
OUR SUNDAY VISITOR
Huntington, Indiana

The Church In United States History

America's Debt to Catholics

Adapted with the Author's Permission

by

F. A. Fink

Nihil Obstat:

REV. T. E. DILLON

Censor Librorum

Imprimatur:

✠ JOHN FRANCIS NOLL, D. D.,

Bishop of Fort Wayne

OUR SUNDAY VISITOR PRESS

Huntington, Indiana

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

During the present (1937-38) observance of the Sesquicentennial of the Constitution of the United States Catholic groups throughout the nation are taking an active—in many places a leading—part in demonstrations planned to evidence the appreciation of our people of the liberties which they have enjoyed under that greatest of all liberty insuring documents. And it is only natural that they should do so, for essentially America is a Catholic nation, the daughter of the Catholic Church.

"Compared with the Catholic part in the history of America," wrote Maurice Francis Egan some forty years ago, "the coming of the Mayflower is but an episode." And his words are true. Most of the thrill-filled pages of early American history are Catholic pages. It is known generally, but seldom emphasized sufficiently in the histories of the discovery and colony-building in America that, as John Gilmary Shea tells us in his centennial essay for 1876:

> "The first explorers of our coasts were Catholics, and when they landed they planted the symbol of the Cross, and so studded their maps with names from the Church calendar, that we can trace their course by them. The lapse of years, the vicissitudes of war, the in-coming settlers with new-learned views, have not effaced them. When America took her rank among the nations, she claimed as her bounds the River of the Holy Cross and the River of St. Mary. . . It was the same in the interior, from St. Regis to the western river of St. Joseph and the rapids of Sault St. Marie. Catholicity had recorded her early presence as discoverer and explorer on the soil of the Republic. . . and each accession of territory brought in new proofs of Catholic discovery, exploration and settlements: St. Augustine on the south, St. Louis on the west, and beyond that the City of the Holy Faith (Santa Fe), and San Francisco, as in a medieval painting amid a group of saints."

While it is not our intention to review in this work the complete history of America from the time of its discovery, it is pertinent to emphasize these facts here: America was discovered by a Catholic, Columbus, whose voyage was financed by Catholic money and prompted by

a zeal for the salvation of the souls who were living in what was then thought to be the Indies. It was a Catholic after whom our nation was named; the first colonies of the New World were established by Catholics; it was the zealous missionaries of the Church who organized and sustained the first missionary efforts to propagate the gospel among the savage Indians. The first schools in the western hemisphere were opened and conducted by Catholics; Catholics founded the first institutions for higher education for both men and for women on the American continent. The first charter of religious liberty in history was granted by a Catholic in the Catholic colony of Maryland. The first printing press set up in any English colony was erected by a Catholic; the first book published in the American continent was a Catholic Catechism.

To Christopher Columbus belongs the undying fame of having discovered America. One of his primary objects in his voyage westward was to propagate the Catholic Faith. Every reader of history knows well the many disappointments and discouragements which he met in his preparations for his voyage, but few seem to realize that it was a Catholic priest who came to his assistance when all hope for his contemplated voyage of discovery seemed lost. Father Juan Perez, a member of the Franciscan order and a close friend of Queen Isabella, recognized in Columbus the genius that was his, and sought to interest the Queen in the proposed voyage. But even she was without funds to sponsor the missionary enterprise, so together she and Father Perez sought the cooperation of Cardinal de Mendoza, who secured from Catholic funds the money needed to send Columbus on his way.

Soon after the discovery of America Catholic Church authorities sent missionaries to the New World to spread the gospel in the vast reaches of this savage wilderness. The great religious orders of the Church manifested unparalleled zeal in this enterprise, and within a comparatively few years the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits were performing their labors in the western hemisphere. In many instances these priests suffered at the hands of the Indians and not a few of them gave their lives for the Faith. The first martyr was Father Padilla, a Franciscan, who laid down his life for his Faith in 1542.

The early explorers, all of them Catholic, set up the crucifix along all of the main lines of travel from one end of the continent to the other. So widespread were their missionary travels that the historian Parkman, a Protestant, was made to exclaim: "Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way."

For over two centuries after the discovery of the New World the work of exploration and colonization went steadily on, unchecked even by the commercial and religious revolutions that shook all Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the three principal colonizing nations, two were Catholic: Spain and France, and the claim of the third, England, to the far flung American colonies was based upon the voyages of Catholic discoverers—John Cabot and his son Sebastian, who set out upon their voyage under the last, save one, Catholic King, Henry VII.

The story of the three colonial empires—New Spain, New France and New England with the colonies to the South, need not be retold here. Edward Gaylord Bourne has written a classic in his "Spain in America," the fairest of all descriptions we possess of the wide extent and high degree of Spanish culture in the colonies. He shows us that the first century of Spanish colonists "produced larger results in relation to the natives, the buildings of towns and cities, the construction of bridges, and the encouragement of learning than in the first century of French or English colonization."

Exception may be taken to Francis Parkman's descriptions of missionary methods, but the twelve volumes of his "France and England in North America" are a dramatic exposition of the great sacrifices endured by Catholic colonists and priests from France to transmit to the New World the best culture of the old.

The conquest of the old Spanish and French colonial empires where Catholicism had once reigned was not rapid; but its march was steady and unswerving until the middle of the last century when the American Republic reached definite frontiers. The purchase of Louisiana (1803), the advance towards the West during the war of 1812, the "Great Migration" of the next decade, the creation of new states out of old Catholic lands, the rise of Texas and the inevitable conquest of the Catholic Southwest and of California—these are episodes in the

epic of our vanishing frontier—"the most American thing in America," as Professor Paxson called it.

There was never in these former appanages of the Spanish or the French crowns any considerable population; and beyond the place-names, the fascinating relics of the old Missions and the French customs of Louisiana, there is little trace of the heroic efforts made by Catholic priest and layman—Catholic martyrs, even—to build strongly and sturdily the House of God in the New World.

Early in the history of America there arose what has come to be known as "The Catholic Question in America." This arose because the Church was—and is—distinct from every other religious society in the land. Its center of government is in a foreign country, and its supreme spiritual head is resident there. Its disciplinary legislation is framed by "aliens" and executed under the command of "aliens". This charge is sufficiently based in truth to make it, in the mind of one who does not see the supernatural character and mission of this world-wide organism, lead to distrust. Nowhere since the rise of Protestantism has the "Catholic Question" given rise to more dangerous mistakes on the part of those who are not members of the Church than in English speaking lands. Under varying forms and formulas this has been the chief misunderstanding between Catholicism and Protestantism since Tyburn's day.

The history of the Catholic Church in America from colonial times to our own lies in the explanation of the delicate and supremely necessary adjustment of its spiritual obedience to the temporal claims upon Catholic civil allegiance. To understand the Catholic Church in America, one must see how naturally and integrally the spiritual allegiance of its members knits into their national allegiance so as to round each other out.

It is on account of this spiritual allegiance to the head of this corporate society which to Protestants bears in its name the proof of its alienship—the Roman Catholic Church—that so many millions of Americans fear the power of the Church in the United States. It would be absurd to say that these objectors to religious equality are not sincere in their distrust. It would be equally absurd to conclude that they are consciously violating the spirit of the Federal Constitution in their stand that

Catholics be barred from high official position in our government on account of their Faith.

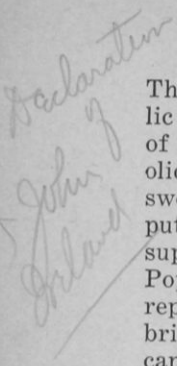
The purpose of this book is to bring, if possible, a clearer understanding of allegiance of Catholics to the spiritual head of their Church and to awaken a livelier interest on the part of the Catholics in the history of their Faith in this country. "My people," said the Prophet Osee, "have been silent, because they had no knowledge." There is, of course, slim excuse either for the Catholic not to know the story of the Church's gallant and almost victorious struggle through the ages, especially in our own land, to spread the sweetness and light of her doctrines, or for the Protestant not to understand by this time, after four hundred years of argument and controversy, that there can never be, as there never has been, the possibility of any conflict between the temporal allegiance the Catholic gives to those in authority in the government and the spiritual loyalty he is bound to give to those placed over him by Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church.

Few Know Story of Constitution

One of the greatest weaknesses, if not the greatest, in the popular knowledge of the American Republic and of the Constitution which gives it life, is that few of our citizens have bothered to read or to study the story of those days in the summer of 1787 when the little band of delegates met at Philadelphia to frame the document which Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Loyalty of Catholics Futile

An unbroken record of a century and a half of Catholic patriotism should by this time lay low this ghost of political bigotry. And yet the "Catholic Question" in the United States does not seem to have been answered, even by the overwhelming cooperation of Catholics, in time of war and in time of peace, in preserving the ideals of peace, in preserving the ideals of the Republic and in handing on to succeeding generations the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There could be no "Catholic Question" in our land if our Protestant fellow-citizens hearkened to the voices of our great leaders, Archbishop John Ireland, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Hayes, Bishop Noll, and many others.



There can be no "Catholic Question" when every Catholic citizen subscribes with all his heart to the declaration of John Ireland: "My religious faith is that of the Catholic Church—Catholicism, integral and unalloyed, unswerving and soul-swaying—the Catholicism, if I am to put it into more positive and concrete form, taught by the supreme chieftain of the Catholic Church, the Bishop and Pope of Rome. My civil and political faith is that of the republic of the United States—Americanism, purest and brightest, yielding in strength and loyalty to the Americanism of none other American, surpassed in spirit of obedience and sacrifice by none other citizen, none other soldier, sworn to uphold in peace and in war America's Star Spangled Banner."

I

The Origin of the Catholic Question

"The Catholic Question" in America is a legacy of distrust and misunderstanding bequeathed to all those who have descended from, or who have been influenced by, the colonial Puritanism of New England.

Puritanism did not create this misunderstanding; for, as has rightly been said by a recent anti-Catholic antagonist, the "Catholic Question" in America is an aftermath of the Reformation, which was essentially a struggle between two opposing forms of thought, one of which relied on Authority, and the other on the Private Mind. But American Puritanism gave to the anti-Catholic viewpoint several distinctive attributes which make it peculiarly a problem apart from the Protestantism of other lands.

To come now to the home of the Puritan—England. With the passage of the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559, Queen Elizabeth's government accomplished two things: first, they gave to the Queen supreme jurisdiction in religious affairs; and second, they standardized religious worship and discipline in accordance with the views of the Edwardine reformers. The immediate effect of the two Acts was to make the newly-established Church of England a department of the government and to outlaw the Catholic Faith in the realm. How the Catholics suffered under the legal disabilities created by the Acts does not enter into our story. We are interested chiefly in the fact that the new English Church was a kind of compromise made up of Catholic and Protestant factors. This religious compromise was not satisfactory to one group in the Anglican Church, and the opposition thus created has lasted until our own day and is intimately connected with most of the political history of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Bitter-Enders

There was present, therefore, at the birth of the Anglican Church a group of Protestants who were determined to carry the principles of the Reformation to the

bitter end in England. Their purpose was to rid the Established Church of every vestige of worship and discipline which in any way might recall the Catholic days of yore. Through their efforts, the Church of England was to be "purified" of all lingering "Popish" elements, and the episcopal system of Church government was to be supplanted by Calvin's more democratic system of congregational administration. The discontented Protestants who wished to effect these changes whilst remaining members of the State Church, were offensively called "Puritans." There were others who rebelled against the close union of Church and State set up by the Acts of 1559. These latter separated from the Anglican communion and were called Independents, Separatists and later Congregationalists.

From this latter group came in 1620 to Plymouth the justly-famed Pilgrim Fathers, and some eight years later they were followed by the forerunners of the Puritan immigration of 1628-1640. The history of these two movements—the Congregationalists of Plymouth and the Presbyterians of Salem—is one of the most interesting in all American annals. In spite of the instinctive prejudice the Puritan mode of life and thought arouses in the minds of many Americans, there is no denying the fact that, with all his grim aggression toward those who differed with him, the Puritan stands at the threshold of American history bearing in his hands some of the noblest gifts ever brought to our shores. One of these gifts had come over to him from his medieval Catholic ancestors, mixed, it is true, with the alloy of his hatred for the Faith of Rome. That gift was his love of liberty.

Puritan Attitude Towards Catholicism

It would be absurd to hold any longer that the Puritans, who gradually absorbed the communities set up by the Pilgrim Fathers, had come to the New World with the single-hearted desire to found a state wherein liberty would be the watchword. Worldly motives, and those mostly selfish, were not absent. Their original purpose, as their leaders expressed it, was to found in the New World "a bulwark against the Kingdom of anti-Christ." Anti-Christ meant Rome, and Rome meant "Popery." The Pope was "the man of sin." The ministrations of the

Church were superstitious and idolatrous. Mass was a blasphemy. The invocation of the saints was a device of Satan. Catholics were the enemies of God's truth. The term commonly applied to them was "ignorant and obstinate papists." The Pope was the world's worst tyrant. Catholics were treacherous, and would not scruple to break their word with heretics. No office of state, no position of public trust, might safely be confided to them. The whole aim of the Catholic was to control the government of every state wherein he resided in goodly numbers in order to renew the bloody Inquisition and to exterminate all heretics.

All these invectives saw their origin in Germany at the outset of the Protestant Revolt. They were embodied in that first great Protestant apology, the "Centuries" of Magdeburg, published by the Lutheran Flacius between 1556 and 1564. The earliest English Protestant writer to be influenced by the Magdeburg histories was John Foxe, the author of the notorious "Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs," which he published in 1563. Although thoroughly discredited today, even in Protestant circles, the "Book of Martyrs" as it was frequently called, was almost as well known to the Puritans of England and of New England as the Bible. The historian of the Puritans, Neal, says that "no book ever gave such a mortal wound to Popery as this; it was dedicated to the queen (Elizabeth), and was in such high repute that it was ordered (1571) to be set up in the churches, where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood."

Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"

The "Book of Martyrs" is one of the main sources of the intense hatred for all things Catholic in English-speaking countries. It is Foxe's book which stands in the shadow behind many of the "No Popery" laws enacted by our colonial legislatures. And it is the memory, dimmed though it be, of the anti-Catholicism it engendered among our American pioneers, that gives vigor to the same spirit today.

In the long line of battle between the opposing forces of Protestantism and Catholicism, the two armies have

fought their bloodiest battles not at any doctrinal point, but upon the field of divergent political standpoints. Essentially, Protestantism is a State religion; it is nationalistic, intolerantly bound up with the State government. Catholicism's capital sin in the eyes of a Protestant government is that it is international in its religion and in its administration. In English-speaking countries, as Carlton J. H. Hayes has pointed out in his "Essays on Nationalism," anti-Catholicism has chiefly been based upon the inherent dread Protestantism has ever had for the international or supernational influence which radiates from Rome out across national borders.

Study Club Outline

1. Define in your own words the "Catholic Question" in America. Trace its origin.
2. Who were the "bitter-enders"? What was their purpose? What was, briefly, the Reformation?
3. Who were the Puritans? When did they come to America? Why did they come?
4. What was the Puritan attitude towards Catholics? Towards Liberty? Towards the Pope?
5. Who was John Foxe? What did he write? How did his works affect Catholics? Name one important difference between Catholicism and Protestantism.

II

The Catholic Question in the Colonies

The transmission of the English "No Popery" spirit to the Colonies was effected through the preaching of the Puritan divines and by the spread of such collections of anti-Catholic diatribes as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs". We need not stop to analyze the "Book of Martyrs", although it is probable that not one in a hundred thousand of our American Catholics has ever seen the work.

Puritanism in New England, despite its varied and opposing forms, recognized a common enemy in the Catholic Church. The safety of its "Biblical Commonwealth" lay mainly in preserving the people from "Popery". A long series of legal enactments might now be cited to show how systematically that idea was kept before the people of the Colonies.

Anti-Catholic Legislation In New England

Under the guise of a law against idolatry, the celebration of the Mass in Massachusetts was made punishable by death. In the New Haven and Connecticut settlements the law expressly forbade Catholics to enter. The fact that Catholics did not come to Puritan New England did not make the magistrates and ministers any the less apprehensive about the spread of "Popery". In 1634, John Endicott, one of the foremost leaders, ordered the red cross cut out of the English flag because it was a "Popish" symbol. In 1647, Jesuits were forbidden to enter Massachusetts. The first offense meant banishment; the second death. Cromwell's advent to power in 1649 brought a feeling of security to Puritanism, and it was during the Commonwealth that the general court of Massachusetts gave legal expression to its deep Puritan horror of all things savoring of "Popery" by making the observance of Christmas a punishable offense. Naturally, much of this animosity was directed to the neighboring French settlements in Maine and Canada. The Puritans, to use the words of their chronicler, Felt, were "fearful lest Romanism spread in North America", and their leaders had viewed with ominous forebodings

the founding of Maryland as a refuge for the persecuted Catholics in the homeland, in 1634.

The restoration of Charles II to the throne of England (1660) cast the shadow of "Popery" again over New England, but with the downfall of the Catholic James II and the accession of William and Mary (1639), a new epoch of intolerance began in colonial America. There was more toleration for the dissenting Christian religious beliefs, but all the penal laws against the Catholics were more rigidly enforced.

Extension of the Persecution

The Revolution of 1688 opened, then, a new era in the penal laws for the persecution of Catholics in England at home and in the England beyond the seas. The cruel Act of 1699 "for further preventing the growth of Popery" found its counterpart in all the American colonies, except Maryland, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. The Stuart uprising of 1715 increased the severity of the laws against Catholics and the fear of Jacobite plots and intrigues ran on to the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754.

During all these years—the heart of the colonial period of American History—the feeling against Catholics never relaxed its vigilance, and it was fed by an increasing series of attacks upon "Popery" in and out of the pulpit. Many of the sermons delivered were printed and widely read, and a catalogue of the books and pamphlets published up to the American War of Independence reveals the fact that almost two-thirds of these are filled with what Sanford H. Cobb, in his "Rise of Religious Liberty in America", calls "the insane cry of 'No Popery'."

Intolerance in Virginia and the Carolinas

Outside of New England, when Virginia and the Carolinas were founded, the Established Church of England was established by law, and Catholics in these colonies met with the same intolerance under which their brethren in England suffered. Catholics had as little incentive to emigrate to Virginia and the Carolinas as they had to New England. The Virginia legislature enacted in 1642 a law of banishment against all priests

who might come into the colony, as a safeguard against the danger of "infection" from Roman Catholic Maryland. It was Virginia which passed in 1756 the act "for disarming Papists", the same act containing a clause forbidding a Catholic to keep a horse above the value of £5. "Only a desire to annoy," says Cobb, "would seem to account for that provision." The Carolinas were not founded for the purpose of complete religious liberty, but Protestant dissenters were permitted to enter, while Catholics were excluded from the colony. Georgia likewise granted liberty of conscience to all "except Papists".

In the other colonies founded under Protestant auspices, the history of religious equality or freedom of conscience is the same. In all of them except Rhode Island and Pennsylvania (Delaware was part of Pennsylvania until 1702), the history of religious equality or freedom of conscience differs little from the Puritan establishments of New England or the Church of England establishments in the South.

New York's Law Against Priests

Catholics were not wanted. With a short interlude under James II (1685-1688), when New York lived under the Charter of Liberties granted by the Catholic Governor Dongan, Catholics who came to the colony were not openly persecuted, but any priest found within the limits of the colony of New York after November 1, 1700, was to be condemned to life imprisonment. Should he escape and be caught, the penalty was death. Another law passed in 1701 excluded Catholics from holding office and from the right to vote.

In 1718, the ferocious Acts of the English Parliament against Catholics were made applicable to all the colonies, and after that date Catholic immigration to America was practically brought to a standstill. The few who lived in Maryland and in Pennsylvania were reduced to the political level of the slaves, although it was generally conceded at the time that the Catholics of these two colonies were pre-eminently the leading intellectual men of these provinces.

Maryland Law to Prevent Conversions

In 1746, Governor Bladin of Maryland issued a procla-

mation in which any priest making converts to the Faith was declared a traitor to the colony. As a result of all this petty persecution, the Catholics of Maryland authorized Charles Carroll, the father of the Signer, in 1752, to apply to the French Government for a tract of land in Louisiana. The French and Indian War (1754-1763) caused another outbreak of legislation against the "Papists", and it is plainly visible in the newspapers of the time that colonial America was fast approaching the crisis of outlawing Catholics altogether in the British possessions along the Atlantic coast. Only the general discontent over the various points of dispute between the Mother Country and the Colonies prevented this concerted anti-Catholic movement, and the Revolution in this sense may truly be said to have saved the small body of Catholics from extinction.

With the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Canada passed into the possession of the English, and with the exception of the Island of New Orleans and two tiny islands in the Atlantic, England ruled everything east of the Mississippi River. The next eleven years were among the most perplexing in the history of British imperialism, and, as we shall see, the "Catholic Question" played an important part in the final decision which brought about the War of Independence and American freedom.

Before passing to these years, however, something should be said about a brighter page in the history of colonial intolerance towards the Catholics—religious freedom as practised in Maryland, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. As we shall see presently, unjust and inhuman as was the whole penal legislation in colonial America, there was a spirit at work which would eventually be enshrined in the American Constitution in 1787,—the recognition that without religious equality, the ship of state could not long keep from wreckage on the rocks of political disaster.

Study Club Outline

1. In which State was the celebration of Mass made punishable by death? In which settlements were Catholics forbidden to enter? Why? Where was the celebration of Christmas a punishable offense?
2. How did conditions in England affect Catholics in America?
3. In which colonies did Catholics receive the best treatment?
4. What were the prevailing attitudes towards Catholics in Virginia? The Carolinas? New York? How were priests treated?
5. Were Catholics always treated as equals in Maryland, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania? What prevented the outlawing of Catholics in all colonial America?

III

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore

Three Calverts shared in the founding of Maryland, the first colony in the future Republic to make the fundamental law of its government freedom of worship to all who believed in Jesus Christ—George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore (1579-1632), Cecil Calvert, his son, the second Lord Baltimore (1605-1675), and Leonard Calvert, the brother of Cecil, the first Governor of Maryland (1606-1647).

Much has been written—some of it in a spirit of bitterness—to dispute the right of the Calverts to the unique honor of being the first to enact and to practice the Christian law of liberty of conscience in the New World. In the first edition of his "History of the United States," Bancroft says: "Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent law-givers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the employment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects."

Maryland was the one spot, where "in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of a river, which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the State."

Exalted Position of the Calverts

Of all the facts in American history which remain vexatious to the lingering Puritan anti-Catholicism of our day, none is more so than the exalted position of the Calverts in the foundation of religious liberty in America. One may choose at random any ten of the latest histories of the United States written for our secondary schools, colleges and universities, and it is remarkable how sedulously they are silent upon the fact that Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary, at the time it was founded, was the only home of religious liberty in the New World.

The Calverts themselves have fared badly at the hands of some Maryland historians; and yet no three characters in the colonial period deserve a higher place among our pioneers. George Calvert stands apart from all the colonial founders in his determined effort to establish a province in the western world where Catholics and non-Cathlices might live together in peace and concord. Certainly, none of the colonial founders, not even with the exception of William Penn, had so colorful a life as the first Lord Baltimore.

The First Lord Baltimore

George Calvert was born of Protestant parents about the year 1579, in Yorkshire, England. At an early age he matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, and after graduating from that institution, he made the usual "Grand Tour" of the English college man, returned to England and entered Parliament. James I, the Protestant son of Mary Stuart, was then King, and Calvert soon found himself chosen as one of the inner circle of royal friends. In 1605, Calvert married, and shortly afterwards became private secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State. This was the year of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the King and Parliament; and, although denounced by the Catholic leaders in the kingdom, the discovery led to a renewal of the bloody persecution of Catholics. The manager of the Plot was Guy Fawkes and the date set for the explosion was November fifth.

Washington's Rebuke to Bigots

It is interesting in the light of its influence upon the colonial American mind, to recall the fact that this day was the common holiday of all the colonies up to its suppression by George Washington after he took command of the Continental Army at Cambridge in 1775. The day was celebrated with fireworks of various kinds, and so when July Fourth became the nation's holiday, the fireworks were carried over as part of the ceremonies. Washington's order, dated November 5, 1775, reads as follows:

"As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that religious and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so devoid of com-

mon sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; . . . to be insulting their (the Canadians') religion, is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late success over the common enemy in Canada."

Conversion of Calvert

George Calvert took a part in the persecutions which followed the plot against the King in whose favor he rapidly advanced. Knighted in 1617, Calvert became Secretary of State two years later, and received from James I a large estate in County Longford, Ireland. The religious controversies of those years between the Puritans and Anglicans centered men's minds on the old Faith which a half-century of brutal legislation could not entirely subdue, and in 1624, Calvert asked that most engaging of all the English Catholic priests of the period, Sir Tobie Matthew, the converted son of the Angelican Archbishop of York, to receive him into the Church. Owing to the Test Oath, no Catholic could hold any public office under the crown, and Calvert resigned his secretaryship, although James I retained him as a privy councilor and later elevated him to the Irish peerage as Baron Baltimore of Baltimore, in County Longford.

The creation of the two Virginia Companies—the London branch and the Plymouth branch—in 1606, for the purpose of colonization in North America, was followed by the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, under the auspices of the London Company. This same year the Plymouth Company attempted a settlement in Maine and when this proved unsuccessful, the merchant adventures were reorganized and New England was thrown open to settlers. The first to come were the Pilgrim Fathers who set out on the "Mayflower," in September, 1620, and landed at Plymouth Rock on December 21. The whole venture, the details of which need not be entered into here, focussed attention more than ever before upon the unjust legislation which had made exiles of these sturdy sons of England.

New England was a vague term in those days, and in 1620, Calvert purchased a part of Newfoundland which

he called Avalon. The charter for Avalon, granted by James I in 1623, is silent on the question of religious disabilities, and it is surmised that Calvert, who wrote the Charter himself, was then contemplating his conversion to the Church and consequently wished this omission in order to afford a place of refuge in the New World for the persecuted Catholics of England.

Calvert's Tolerance

Calvert spent about $100,000 in making a settlement (Ferryland) in Avalon, and in 1627, sailed for Newfoundland, accompanied by two secular priests. The Protestants of the colony were permitted to have their own minister. The following spring Calvert returned to England, and early in 1629, came out again to Avalon, bringing with him Lady Baltimore and his children. The severity of the winter and the failure of crops prompted him to abandon the colony and seek land farther south. In the autumn of 1629, he sent his children back to England and sailed with Lady Baltimore and the leaders of the Avalon colony for Virginia, arriving at Jamestown, October 1, 1629. Here he was met with coldness and contempt by the Governor and Council and was told that he could not remain unless he took the two Protestant oaths of allegiance and supremacy. To take the latter was impossible to any loyal Catholic. He then sailed for England, and obtained from Charles I a grant of land on both sides of the Chesapeake, which was called Maryland in honor of Charles' Queen, Henrietta Maria. Before the great seal of England was affixed to the Charter, Lord Baltimore died (April 16, 1632), and was succeeded by his son, Cecilius, who became the second Lord Baltimore.

The Charter of Maryland

The Charter of Maryland was the most extraordinary document issued by the English crown during the colonial period. Naturally, its religious clause has attracted the most attention from historians and has caused more discussion and debate than any similar clause in our colonial history. But there is another aspect of the Charter which is too often overlooked, even by Catholic defenders of Lord Baltimore's right to be classed as the first among the founders of America to establish religious

freedom. This is the royal prerogative of the Charter itself. The Charter made Lord Baltimore almost absolute monarch of Maryland. He and his heirs were absolute lords and proprietors, and there was vested in his person all power—civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical. He was in reality head of the State and of the Church. Charles I realized the full force of the powers and prerogatives granted in the Charter, when he issued it to the son of Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert. He knew also that the second Lord Baltimore was as staunch a Catholic as his father and was the son-in-law of one of the most influential Catholics in England, the Earl of Arundel. Neither the King nor Cecilius Calvert could have had any doubt about the meaning of the famous fourth section of the Charter which gave to the Catholics of the realm, for the first time since 1559, the surety of a refuge where they might worship God according to their conscience.

Maryland Land of Sanctuary

Every conceivable attempt has been made by Protestant historians, both here and in England, to rob the Charter of this meaning. But the objective fact remains that practically all England knew at the time exactly what the first Lord Baltimore's plan was, namely, a land of sanctuary for persecuted Catholics at home and a place of refuge for all others who were then suffering, especially in the American colonies, for conscience's sake. Few non-Catholic American writers have done justice to George Calvert. Bancroft's hypocrisy is the most outstanding example.

The late Bishop Russell has clarified the many disputes which have arisen around the Charter in his "Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary." Of George Calvert he writes:

> "He admirably illustrated in his life a combination of qualities too rarely found in great men. Having to deal with great political affairs, he was a statesman of the highest order, but at the same time he proved himself to be a man of the most scrupulous integrity. Impartial non-Catholic historians have vied with one another in praise of his character."

Nowhere else in colonial America does the stark tragic fact of Puritan bigotry stand out so clear as in Maryland.

For all time, the Act of Toleration, passed by the Catholics there in 1649 as a last dyke against the religious intolerance seeping into the Province with every welcome held out to Protestant dissenters from other colonies, will remain as America's greatest monument to the Roman Catholic religion.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was the first Lord Baltimore? From whom was the charter for Maryland received?
2. Who were first in the New World to enact and practice the Christian law of liberty of conscience? What does the Church teach about liberty of conscience as regards religious belief?
3. What has been the attitude of non-Catholic historians towards the Calverts? Give a brief outline of the life of the first Lord Baltimore?
4. Why did Washington rebuke the soldiers of his army? What was the Gunpowder Plot? Who was Guy Fawkes? When were fireworks first used in the U. S.?
5. Who were the Pilgrim Fathers? When did they reach America? How? Why did they come? Explain why the Maryland Charter is called an extraordinary document.

IV
Cecilius and Leonard Calvert

Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, the actual founder of Maryland, was born about 1606. Little is known of his boyhood and youth, except that at the age of twenty-three he married Anne Arundel, the daughter of one of England's foremost noblemen, the Catholic Earl of Arundel.

Like his father, he was a graduate of Oxford. He inherited all his father's sagacity and uprightness of character and showed in his plans for the colonization of Maryland the same prudence and wisdom. The Maryland grant included the territory now constituting the States of Delaware and Maryland, the southern edge of Pennsylvania, and a part of what is now West Virginia. After securing the Charter, Cecilius began to make arrangements for planting a colony on the banks of the Chesapeake. Here again, owing to his careful handling of the preliminary details of the voyage and to the "Instructions" he wrote for the conduct of the colonists while aboard the "Ark" and the "Dove" as well as after their landing, Cecilius Calvert has met with unfair treatment from American historians who accuse him of flexibility in matters of religion and politics and who insinuate that he was indifferent to both. Again, it may be claimed without danger of exaggeration that all that strata of English society interested in American colonization knew what Cecilius Calvert meant to accomplish—the establishment of a Land of Sanctuary for all persecuted Christians, including those of his own faith.

Opposition to Calvert's Charter

The Charter, when made public in 1632, immediately aroused a storm of opposition from both Anglican and Puritan leaders. Some of these objections arose, it is true, from Catholic leaders as well; but once Calvert's policy of toleration was understood and once it became known that he was being aided by prominent Catholics like the Howards, Arundels and Blounts, as well as by the Jesuits, these objections were dropped. It was not so easy to quell the Protestant opposition to this scheme of

refuge for the persecuted Catholics. Indeed, it looks as though what really saved the plan was the friendly influence of a Protestant, Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Stafford.

It was openly said by those opposed to the Maryland Palatinate that it would deprive Protestants of the opportunity to continue their design of forcing the Catholics to conform to the reformed church. To allow the Catholics to escape would deprive priest-hunters of their living and make the penal code idle legislation. Moreover, to allow Catholics to leave the realm would be an implicit acceptance of the rights of "Papists" to enjoy civic and religious freedom. One popular opposition was that the Catholic colonists of Maryland might call in the Spaniards, who were not far away in the West Indies, to massacre all the Protestants in New England and Virginia. All this certainly proves that the preparations for settling the Catholic colony of Maryland were not projected in the dark; and certainly anyone who reads the sturdy answers of Cecilius Calvert to the objectors can hardly conclude that he was anything else than a noble representative of his illustrious father.

Jesuits Accompany Colonists

The number of the Maryland pioneers is disputed, but it is generally believed that over three hundred colonists had finally agreed to emigrate to Maryland. Cecilius decided to send his brother Leonard Calvert as the head of the party and as first Governor of Maryland. George Calvert, another brother, accompanied Leonard, and with them went two assistants and counsellors, both Catholics —Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. The month of October, 1633, found the group ready to embark. Among the emigrants were two Jesuit priests, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham, and a Jesuit lay brother, Brother Gervase. The majority of the colonists were Catholics and it would have been quite in keeping with the politics of the day if Cecilius Calvert had instructed the Catholics to plan their form of government so that political power would always remain in their own hands. Such would have been the action—such was, in fact, the action—of every group of Protestant settlers landing on our shores.

First Law of Religious Freedom

But to have instructed the Catholics of his colony to follow this narrow minded Puritan policy was foreign to his liberal and far-seeing mind. This can be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to read his celebrated "Instructions," issued on November 13, 1633, to Leonard Calvert. In these he orders that everything be done "to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on shipboard," and that nothing be done to give scandal or offense "to any of the Protestants." The Catholic emigrants were to be warned that they were "to be silent upon all occasions of discourses concerning matters of religion." Moreover, all Catholic services, such as Mass and prayers, were to be performed as privately as possible. Such was the first law of religious freedom, enacted for the new colony—the absence of any persecution of Protestants because of their religious belief and respect for their religious feelings. What is more important from our point of view is the fact that while in Maryland religious freedom was only a part of the liberty granted to non-Catholics, since they enjoyed a civic freedom and the franchise as well, in every other English settlement along the Atlantic at this time, the large majority of the settlers were disfranchised on religious grounds.

First Mass in Maryland

On Lady Day, March 25, 1634, the colonists landed at St. Clement's Island and the first Mass was celebrated by Father Andrew White. The scene is best described in his own words:

> "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, in the year 1634, we celebrated Mass for the first time on the Island. This had never been done before, in this part of the world. After we had completed the Sacrifice, we took on our shoulders a great Cross, which we had hewn out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the Governor and his associates, and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting, on our bended knees, the litanies of the Holy Cross with great emotion."

Cecilius Calvert, the lord proprietary, never came to Maryland, and, during the first thirteen years of the

colony's existence, the burden of its political administration fell upon his brother, Leonard Calvert, to whom, therefore, should be given in an especial degree the praise due the whole glorious experiment. He found himself from the beginning beset by two dangers: the animosity of the squatter, Claiborne, who had taken possession of Kent Island in the Chesapeake and who was being aided and abetted by the Puritans of Virginia; and the silent but ever-growing religious animosity of the Protestants who were being welcomed to the colony. There is no need to relate the incidents of the bitter struggle which ensued. It is the most shameful page in the history of American Puritanism.

Calvert Oath of Tolerance

Cecilius Calvert had left no loophole in his "Instructions" for the government of Maryland for the entrance of religious intolerance in any form. The province was in control of a Catholic majority until 1649, and religious equality was rigidly enforced during that period. With a view to perpetuating this basic principle of his rule, Cecilius Calvert prescribed in 1636, the following oath, to be taken by the Governor:

> "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, or molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for, or in respect to, religion; I will make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors or rewards, for, or in respect of, religion, but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving, and endued with moral virtues and abilities; my aim shall be public unity; and if any person or officer shall molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested and punish the offender."

In July, 1638, occurred the trial of William Lewis, a Catholic colonist, who attacked two of his Protestant servants whom he found reading an anti-Catholic book. Lewis was arrested, tried, and found guilty of having offended against the fundamental law of the province and was heavily fined. In 1641, another Catholic planter, Thomas Gerard, was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for having interfered with Protestant services, and the sentence was so imposed that the fine itself should go for the

maintenance of the first Protestant minister to arrive in the colony. Toleration was the accepted social and religious law of the Maryland Catholics and was scrupulously obeyed as long as the Government of the colony was in Catholic hands.

The change came in 1648. Protestants had multiplied in the colony and that year (Leonard Calvert died June 9, 1647) they forced Cecilius Calvert to appoint a Protestant Governor, William Stone, together with five Counsellors, only two of whom were Catholics. The Governor's oath of office was changed in order that no Catholic would be discriminated against in the selection of public officers for the colony on account of his faith. Evidently, the Catholic freemen of the province realized that they could not long hope to enjoy the same freedom they had given the Protestants during the fifteen years that had passed; and in order to raise a barrier to the presence of religious bigotry in Maryland, the Assembly of 1649 passed the celebrated Toleration Act in order to place upon the statute books of the province a law which would enshrine the practice of this first period of Maryland's history.

The Toleration Act

The Toleration Act is the proudest monument in the history of the Catholic Church in the western world. As a legislative confirmation of an unwritten law, the Act remains forever as a reminder to those of our generation that all back through the years to 1649, Catholics and the Catholic Church have ever stood for religious equality and that in every decade during these three centuries the pages of our colonial and national history have been blackened by the deeds of that element in Protestantism which apparently has never lost its animosity towards the Catholic faith.

Naturally, everything that might be said against the Act, "the true glory of the Catholics of Maryland," has been said; but the result of impartial testimony has brought out in glorious colors the unique place the Catholic freemen of the Assembly of 1649 shall ever have as the creators of this immortal document. The storm of intolerance was about to break upon them, and in the succeeding decade the old hatred of "Popery" was to rule the province; but if the Maryland experiment went down

to defeat before its Puritan assailants, it was with an honor that can never be taken away from the Catholic Church. Six years later (1654), Catholics were outlawed, and from that time until the Revolution, the cry "No Popery," which one Protestant writer has called the absurdest shriek of agony that ever split the air, was the dominant note heard in the halls of justice, in the assembly, and in the pulpits of Protestant churches. Though Cecilius Calvert lived until 1675, he was powerless to aid his fellow-Catholics in the province over which he ruled. Puritan bigotry had won its greatest victory in the New World.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was Cecilius Calvert? Tell what you can of his life. What did he plan to accomplish? What territory did the Maryland Grant include?
2. Who protested Calvert's Charter? Why? How were Protestants treated under his rule? Were any Catholic priests with the Maryland pioneers? How many? Of what order?
3. What were the "Instructions" issued to Leonard Calvert? Who was he?
4. Were Protestants allowed to vote in Maryland? Were Catholics permitted to vote elsewhere in the colonies? When was the first Mass said in Maryland? By whom?
5. Did Cecilius Calvert live in Maryland? Did Catholics retain control of the colony? What is called "the most shameful page in the history of American Puritanism"? What was the Oath of Tolerance? Who was William Stone? What was the Toleration Act?

V
Roger Williams

Three of the founders of the thirteen English colonies deserve a place apart in the history of religious freedom in America—George Calvert (1580-1632), Roger Williams (1599-1683), and William Penn (1644-1718). All three of these colonial founders had much in common. As Charles Hallan McCarthy writes in his "History of the United States for Catholic Schools," Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, "is to be classed with George and Cecil Calvert, his predecessors in the field of religious freedom, and with William Penn, the Quaker, his worthy successor in the following generation."

All three differed in many ways, but they reached the decision to make religious equality a part of the colonial government they intended to establish upon the same liberal principles. Calvert went beyond Roger Williams and Penn in this—that religious freedom was the actual basis of his government. The credit is all the greater to these three pioneers, since they could not possibly have found in the social and political intolerance in England, or in the colonies already founded, any support for their liberality and humaneness.

Roger Williams Exiled From Massachusetts

Roger Williams was born in Wales in 1599 during one of the most blood-thirsty decades in the reign of England's cruel and intolerant Queen. We know what a gallant stand the Welsh made all through Elizabeth's reign against the New Religion and how, little by little, as Frederick George Lee has written in his "Church Under Queen Elizabeth," force gradually triumphed over conscience and the faithful Catholics were driven from church, convent, and monastery at the point of the sword.

Whether Williams was the son of Catholics parents is uncertain. He graduated from Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1627, and took orders in the Church of England. Shortly afterwards he became identified with the extreme Puritans and was one of those who sought refuge in the American colonies, owing to the hostility of Laud,

then Bishop of London. Williams was a thorough-going dissenter; and when he arrived in Boston, in February, in 1631, he soon incurred the wrath of its religious leaders by denying the competency of the magistrates to interfere in certain matters of conscience. Owing to his gentle disposition and the spirituality of his character, he was invited to take the pulpit in the Salem congregation. From this vantage-ground, he lashed the State-Church of Massachusetts for its intolerance. His radical view of the necessity of a complete separation of Church and State forced him to take refuge with the more liberal-minded Puritans of Plymouth. Here he remained about two years, and in 1635, the General Court of Massachusetts exiled him from the Colony. To those in power the teaching of Williams sounded like anarchy.

Williams Founds Town of Providence

Roger Williams fled to Rhode Island to escape arrest; and there founded the town of Providence, in 1636. His theology centered around the doctrine that Church and State were to kept apart and that the civil law had no authority in matters of religious belief, since each individual was free to follow the guidance of his own conscience. The Charter of 1644 of the "Providence Plantation" is silent, however, on the question of religious freedom. The Great Charter of 1663 contained the celebrated clause—"Every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments."

Out of these facts has grown a theory which has been practically accepted by all American historians that Roger Williams founded the first home of religious freedom not only in America but in the world. It is well to repeat some of the statements made by these writers. Hockett, in his "Political and Social History of the United States," claims that Rhode Island was "the first experiment" in full religious liberty. Cobb, in his "Rise of Religious Liberty," says that Williams, "the first among philosophers and statesmen, since the day of Constantine, to proclaim the complete freedom of mind and conscience from all civil bounds, became the founder of the first state in whose fundamental law that freedom was in-

corporated, not only as a charter of liberty, but as the actual reason and purpose of the states's existence." Beard's "Rise of American Civilization," probably the best survey of American history in English, calls Williams "a pioneer among the bold thinkers of the world in proclaiming religious toleration on principle rather than on expediency." All this is high praise. Indeed, were it true, it would place Roger Williams foremost of all Americans who have ever lived.

Three Documents of Toleration

No one can sincerely doubt Williams' integrity in his policy of complete religious freedom. No one would sincerely wish to deny to him the great glory of actually being the first to teach and to practice such a noble doctrine. That honor rests upon the interpretation of three documents—the Compact of 1636, the Charter of 1644, and the Great Charter of 1663. A careful examination of these three papers has been made by Rev. Lucian Johnston, of Baltimore, in his "Religious Liberty in Maryland and Rhode Island," and the critical analysis given in his pages raises several questions which have not yet been adequately answered by those who claim prior rights for Roger Williams in this regard. It must be remembered that the freedom written into the Compact of 1636 is two years later than the founding of Maryland and nearly ten years after George Calvert had made religious equality the basis for his government of Newfoundland, or Avalon. The absence of Catholics in Rhode Island leaves the issue in doubt, and considerable risk is run by the historian who claims that the Charter of 1663 actually opened the borders of Rhode Island to the Catholics who were proscribed by the laws of other American colonies.

It is undeniable that later on, about the year 1728, Catholics were disfranchised by the Rhode Island Assembly, but the historians of the State are agreed that the law was never acted upon. Archbishop Dowling, an authority on the history of the Church in the New England States, says in his "History of the Diocese of Providence" that no test oath was ever administered in Rhode Island and that no questions were ever asked as to the religion of the candidates for franchise in the colony.

Honor Due Williams

Without wishing to deprive Roger Williams of the honor and glory which are justly due to one who was so far advanced in liberality and tolerance beyond the Protestant leaders of the other American colonies, the problem of how far religious liberty was extended to Catholics remains unsettled, owing to the fact that Rhode Island had very few, if any, Catholic colonists whose presence would reduce to practice the theory on which Williams' .prestige has been based.

That Rhode Island was not the first colony to practice religious equality needs no proof, since Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 for Maryland, granting religious freedom, was the logical and historical development of his Avalon (Newfoundland) patent of 1623. Religious freedom was the law in Maryland a whole year before the banishment of Williams (1635) and for almost thirty years before the Great Charter of Rhode Island of 1663. But as one Catholic writer says, "a comparison of Williams and Lord Baltimore is, at bottom, somewhat idle as at best it is a priority of only a few years. Both were undoubtedly great and broad-minded men, pioneers in the cause of religious freedom, though not its originators. A broad view will give credit to both for equal liberality and for having worked out the problem in the best way suitable to each, one as a preacher, the other as a practical man of business, both as founders of colonies."

Williams' Liberal-Mindedness Catholic

What is of greater importance is the realization that the great and noble experiment of Roger Williams in creating a haven of religious freedom in the New World would have been utterly impossible had it not been that in his own unexplainable way there was not sufficient Puritanism in the man to carry on the blighting intolerance of those whose ancestors had thrown off the liberalism of Catholic teaching. The best the Protestant pioneer of the land brought with him, it has been said, no matter how unwittingly it was brought, was Catholic. Roger Williams' liberal-minded humaneness was as truly Catholic as the purest spirit of freedom in the Middle

Ages, when the world was Catholic. It is a consoling thing, says Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes in his "Obligations to America", and all the more so because it is so undeniably true, that "turn wheresoever you will in these United States and study any institution or any ideal which has commonly been regarded as an aspect of true Americanism, and you will discover that no matter who is immediately responsible for its erection or formulation, its embryo and antitype are to be found in Catholic theory or practice. This is what I mean by insisting that America is a daughter of the Catholic Church."

No group in the United States can revere more sincerely the great figure of Roger Williams than those who belong to the Catholic Church. Protestant as he was, his heart was nearer the true Faith in his love for his fellowman than any other non-Catholic in the colonies at that time.

Study Club Outline

1. Compare the principles held by the Calverts, Roger Williams and William Penn. In what way did Calvert go beyond Williams and Penn?
2. From which colony was Williams exiled? Why? Was he a Catholic?
3. What town did Williams found? What were his views on Church and State?
4. Describe in your own words the Providence Charter. What was its principal provision? How were Catholics treated under it? Was the Charter changed?
5. What erroneous statement is made concerning the first home of religious freedom? Discuss Maryland's and Rhode Island's claims for the honor of being the first home of religious freedom in the world.

VI
William Penn

Similar in several important respects to the Calvert foundation of Maryland was the establishment of the province of Pennsylvania by William Penn in 1681. Penn was at this time in middle life, having been born in London in 1644. The son of Admiral Sir William Penn, he was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he fell under the influence of Thomas Loe and became attracted to the Quaker faith. His life from this time until his death can be divided into three periods: from his conversion until his departure for Pennsylvania in 1682; from that year until his departure from the colony in 1701; and from his return to England (1701) until his death in 1718.

This third period of his life has little bearing on the history of religious freedom in America. The second period it is which has given to William Penn an exceptional place as one of the most benevolent and broad-minded men of all time. In Penn's case, the first period must be sharply separated from the second; for, there is little in his writings (and he wrote much during these years) to indicate that when he founded his colony, complete religious freedom would be the rule.

Persecution of the Quakers

His co-religionists had suffered cruelly at the hands of the English government, in some cases as cruelly as the Catholics, during these years. George Fox, the acknowledged founder of the Quakers, began his preaching in the days of the Commonwealth (1649-1660) and enjoyed to a certain extent the protection of Cromwell; although when the throne was restored to Charles II, four hundred coherents of the Society of Friends were in prison for their faith. Many of them suffered during Charles' reign (1660-1685) because they would not take the oath of supremacy. During these years, Penn had been expelled from Oxford on account of his refusal to conform to Anglican services and custom, and went abroad for a time to escape punishment. In 1664, he re-

turned to London and began the study of law. Later he was sent to his father's estate near Cork, as manager, and there he became a Quaker. Owing to his father's prominence at the Court of Charles II, every effort was made to have him abandon the Society, but he remained firm in his new-found faith and was soon acknowledged as the best controversial writer and preacher among the Quakers. Thrown into prison on several occasions for his utterances, he fought steadily against the Established Church of England.

In 1670, Penn's father died and among the parcels of the estate he inherited was a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the King. After vainly trying to extract the debt from Charles II, Penn compromised for the grant of a large tract of land between Maryland and New York of about 45,000 square miles, to which the King gave the name: Pennsylvania. The Charter, granted March 4, 1681, resembled that of Maryland. Penn was to be recognized by the Crown as the true and absolute lord of the domain.

Penn's "Holy Experiment"

He was now free to do what the Calverts had accomplished, in spite of the penal legislation which outlawed the Quakers, namely, to establish a refuge for the persecuted members of his faith. He already owned West Jersey, having purchased that territory in 1674, and upon securing his Charter, he was ready for what he called his "holy experiment." By that term he meant a commonwealth built upon the two principles of democratic government and liberty of conscience. This he declared in the printed advertisements which he issued in English and German, and soon a goodly number of English and German colonists prepared to settle in the newly-established province.

The colony flourished from the very outset. Many settlers had already come to the territory and were ready to greet the proprietary, when the "Welcome" with Penn aboard landed near New Castle, Del., in September, 1682. The first colonial assembly of Pennsylvania met at Chester, Pa., in December, 1682, and the "Great Law" passed at its sessions has as its first chapter "On Religion." Therein it is stated that all persons "living in this Pro-

vince. . . shall not in any case be molested or prejudiced for his, or her, conscientious persuasion or practice." This meant freedom of worship for the Catholics, who should come to the province from abroad or from the neighboring colonies. Under the "Great Law," a Catholic could enjoy not only religious liberty, but the franchise as well. "This exceptional favor," writes Cobb in his "Rise of Religious Liberty," was due to the sentiment of Penn, "who in England in his arguments and influence had grouped the Romanists with the Quakers, as classes from whom civil disabilities should be removed."

Penn's Attitude Towards Catholics

William Penn had not always thought kindly of Catholics, and it may well be surmised that one of the reasons why his violent diatribes against the Catholics so generously scattered through the pages of his many pamphlets in the earlier part of his public career, were silenced, was because he was obliged in 1678 to defend himself before a committee of Parliament from the charge of being "a concealed Papist, a seminarist, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in the pay of the Pope, a man dedicating his endeavors to the interest and advancement of that party." He was honest enough to perceive that he could not in justice demand liberty of conscience for his own co-religionists without extending that same liberty to Catholics; but it took some years for that realization to effect a change in his antagonistic attitude towards Catholicism. A bond of suffering, writes Kirlin in his "Catholicity in Philadelphia," united Catholics and Quakers. "Both had felt alike the lash of persecution; both had been taxed unjustly for the support of a religion that had made itself odious. Although the Friends had felt the force of laws directed primarily against the Papists, and although Penn did not approve of all Catholic practice and certain doctrines that he thought were Catholic, his true charity would not permit him to except Catholics from his liberal laws, as they were excepted in the other colonies.

Early Catholics of Pennsylvania

There is evidence, indeed, of Catholics living in the province from its earliest settlement. Daniel Nestorius,

who led the first German colonists to what is now Germantown, had a Catholic in his party, and the record exists of a J. Gray, a Roman Catholic gentleman of London, who came to Philadelphia under the name of John Tatham, in 1685. It is believed that his profound knowledge of the faith and his staunch adherence to the Church gave to Pennsylvania its first Catholic convert, Lionell Brittin. Before the first decade had passed, the Catholics of Philadelphia and the surrounding villages were being attended by priests from New York and Maryland. In fact, it is on record that Mass was celebrated in Philadelphia as early as 1707.

But the liberal attitude shown toward Catholics by Penn himself did not last long. After his first return to England in 1684, he succeeded in obtaining from James II the release of more than 1,200 Quakers from prison; and when the King issued his Declaration of Indulgence (April, 1687), granting liberty of conscience to all his subjects, the pressure which drove Catholics out of England was removed for a time. This declaration may be taken as the first step in James' downfall the following year. When William and Mary ascended the throne, Penn was in peril for a time owing to his friendship for the last Catholic King of England and was harried by the English government until 1694, when his proprietary rights in Pennsylvania were restored to him and he was free to return to Philadelphia. This second journey occurred in September, 1699. Two years later, he was obliged to return to England to protect his rights, and he never returned, dying on July 30, 1718.

English Test Oath

Meanwhile, the first Parliament of William and Mary's reign had passed (1689) the Toleration Act granting freedom of worship to all dissenters except Catholics. The test oath to be taken by all public officials was extended to the colonies and this excluded Catholics from the right of franchise. William Penn made a gallant fight against the application of the test oath in his province, but it was passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1696. In 1699-1700, he succeeded in restoring the liberty granted by the "Frame of Government" of

1682, but a peremptory order from William's successor, Queen Anne, in 1702, annulled the law of 1682, and exacted the test oath of every person in public office. This act remained in force until 1776. "Thus," says Cobb, "the Quakers went back on their record as champions for human freedom, and established for their chosen colony the principle which elsewhere they had resisted, that the full enjoyment of civil rights should be confined to professors of a specified religious creed."

During these years (1702-1776), while Catholics were excluded from participating in the political affairs of the province, to the honor of Pennsylvania it can be said that they enjoyed during this period a larger freedom for the exercise of their faith than in any other colony along the Atlantic coast. Penn failed, as the Calverts had failed to stem the tide of that intolerant attitude towards the ancient Faith which has always acted on the principle that only Christians of the Protestant churches were fit for public office or citizenship.

Washington Helped Build Catholic Church

As a result of the religious freedom granted to Catholics in Pennsylvania during this period when civic rights were denied (1702-1776), there was a more compact organization of Catholic life in the Province than in Maryland. St. Joseph's church, in Philadelphia, was erected by Father Joseph Greaton, S. J., who began his labors there in 1720. We have a fuller history of Catholicism in Pennsylvania from this time to the Revolution than in any other part of the colonies. It was in Philadelphia that the first church for the Germans was erected, and it is a sign of the important change that had come over the colonial mind when we find President George Washington's name in the list of contributors to the erection of St. Augustine's church in 1796.

Side by side with the Calverts and Roger Williams stands the sturdy, stock figure of William Penn. A fighter like the other pioneers of religious liberty in the colonies, Penn never yielded on the principle of freedom of conscience, and he deserves to be ranked as one of the pioneers of America's greatest heritage—equal justice and liberty to all the inhabitants of the land.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was William Penn? What was his religious belief? In which period of his life are we principally interested? Why?
2. Who were the Quakers? Were they persecuted? By Whom? Why? Who was George Fox?
3. How did William Penn obtain his Charter to Pennsylvania? What other Charter did it resemble? In what way? What was his "holy experiment"?
4. What was Penn's attitude towards Catholics? Discuss this as a group. When was Mass first celebrated in Pennsylvania? Where?
5. What was the English Toleration Act? How did it affect Catholics? Protestants?

VII
Thomas Dongan

Thomas Dongan, the second Earl of Limerick, was born the year of Maryland's founding (1634), at Celbridge, County Kildare, Ireland, and was a nephew of Grace Calvert, the daughter of Lord Baltimore, who married his uncle, Sir Robert Dongan. Thoroughly devoted to the Stuarts, the Dongans went into exile after the execution of Charles I (1649), and Thomas became a colonel of one of the Irish regiments in France. He returned to England in 1678, and six years later was appointed by James II then Duke of York, as Governor of the Province of New York.

Few men who participated in colonial foundations in America have received such universal praise as Governor Dongan. And justly so. For Dongan contributed to American history something more than another page in its annals of religious freedom. He, more than any other statesman of the colonial period, laid the foundations of American liberties. The "Catholic Encyclopedia" attributes to him, as the author of the Charter of Liberties of 1683, the high honor of being the founder of the American Constitution of a century later, because "his system of government became the programme of continuous political agitation by the colonists of New York Province during the eighteenth century. It developed naturally into the present state government, and many of its principles passed into the framework of the Federal government."

Distortion of History by Omission

The Charter of 1683 is one of the outstanding papers in the development of political science. It enacted a democratic form of government similar to that under which we now live in the United States. Courts of justice were established. Religious liberty was guaranteed, and the shibboleth of Revolutionary days—no taxation without representation—was made the cornerstone of the policy of the Province. Suffrage or the right to vote was denied to none. In spite of the breath-taking liberality of the

Charter, the reader will look in vain for it in such manuals (prepared for our colleges and universities) as that by the eminent historian, William Macdonald, "Select Charters Illustrative of American History." Dongan's name will not be found in one of the most pretentious of all histories of the United States—that by Charles Beard and his wife. It is silences like these that make the Catholic student of American history pause. It is difficult to pass them by with the charitable word: oversight. Indeed, the Catholic student must be on his guard at all times against the conscious or unconscious suppression of the truth practiced against his Faith and his Church by Protestant historical writers. It is an unpleasant side of American scholarship, but there can be no doubt of this rather general betrayal of the truth in American historical literature.

Dongan's Famous Charter

Governor Thomas Dongan landed in Boston on August 10, 1683, and was received with due honors by the Governor of Massachusetts. On August 25, he arrived at New York City, the capital of the Province entrusted to his care. On October 17, 1683, he met the seventeen delegates who formed the Assembly, and presented for its consideration the celebrated Charter of Liberties, which the Assembly passed and which Dongan signed on October 30. The religious clause of the Charter was as follows:

> "No person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be anyways molested. punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion or matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the Province but that all and every person or persons may from time to time and at all times freely have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion throughout all the province, they behaving themselves, peacefully and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others."

The administration of the Province before his coming had become grossly corrupt, and Dongan found no easy task ahead of him in trying to bring order out of the anarchy around him—drunkenness, debauchery, swearing

and blasphemy are particularly mentioned in his official instructions from James, Duke of York. His task was evidently difficult, when all knew that he was a staunch and zealous Catholic. The Province was almost without exception peopled by Dutch and English Protestants, all of whom were strong believers in the dangers of "Popery."

The reader interested in the moral and political condition of New York will find them described in "Religion in New Netherland," which the Rev. Dr. Frederick J. Zwierlein, of Rochester Seminary, published some years ago. It is a sad picture, and only a man of Dongan's courage would have attempted the administration of the Province. How quickly he won the good will of the leaders in New York can be seen in the letters sent to the head of the Dutch church at Amsterdam and to James himself. For example, the sheriffs of the Province in an address to the Duke of York wrote: "We do therefore beseech your royal highness to accept our most humble and most hearty thanks for sending us over the honorable Colonel Thomas Dongan, to be lieutenant and governor of this province, of whose integrity, justice, equity and prudence we have already had a very sufficient experience at our last general Court of Assizes."

King James' Instructions to Dongan

The instructions given by James II to Dongan reveal the last of the Stuarts to ascend the throne of England as a statesman far beyond the boasted liberality of the times. For the first—and let us admit it honestly, the last—time, in the history of the colonies up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the people, without distinction of creed, class or property ownership, were given control of their own government. You will look in vain in all colonial American history for the words found in the preamble to the Charter of Liberties—"the people met in general assembly."

Dongan was accompanied in 1683 by Father Thomas Harvey, S. J., as his chaplain. In 1685, Father Henry Harrison, S. J., arrived in New York City, and later Father Charles Gage, S. J., came to the Province. Although the Charter expressly gave toleration to Christians only, it is historically true that the Jews were al-

lowed to erect a synagogue by the fair minded Governor. Catholics were few in the Province; but evidently there were enough to warrant the opening of a Latin School by the Jesuits. When Charles II died in 1685, Dongan's protector, the Duke of York, ascended the throne as James II and New York ceased to be a proprietary government and became a royal province. The Board of Trade and Plantations which governed the colonies vetoed the Charter of Liberties and James II was forced to accept their decision. In 1687, the King dissolved the New York Assembly, and the following year Dongan was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who became Governor of the consolidated Provinces of New England and New York. Dongan then returned to his estate on Staten Island.

Dongan Forced to Flee

With the arrival of William, Prince of Orange, who married James' oldest daughter, Mary, in England, on November 5, 1688, the Protestant Rebellion began, and ended that same year.

Governor Dongan's term of office was short, but he wrote into the history of political government in America one of its immortal pages. Religious intolerance had kept New York in a constant state of turmoil for nearly forty years before Dongan's arrival. He found the colony on the verge of bankruptcy and rebellion. He made it a haven of peace, a home of justice and refuge, for those persecuted elsewhere for conscience's sake. Eight months after the fanatic Leisler drove him out, the Province was aflame with rebellion. The subsequent history of New York brings out in splendid contrast the liberality of Dongan's scheme of government. It is not surprising that as we come to know him better, we realize that he justly deserves to be called the greatest colonial statesman of the seventeenth century.

Shameful Pages in New York History

How different is the history of religious tolerance after Dongan's departure. The New York Assembly of 1691 declared null and void all the liberal laws of Dongan's rule. The Catholic Church was outlawed and the "diabolical designs of the wicked and cruel Papists" were again proclaimed as the chief evil in the Province. In

1700, an act was passed declaring that every priest remaining in or coming into the Province after November 1st of that year, should be condemned to "perpetual imprisonment." In case of escape and capture, he might be treated as an outlaw. The following year Catholics were disfranchised.

There is a shameful page in the story of New York's religious bigotry during the eighteenth century— the hanging of the unfortunate John Ury in 1741, ostensibly because he was alleged to have been an instigator in the Negro Plot, but in reality because he was believed to be a Catholic priest. Whether he was or not, has never been fully determined, although the evidence would lead one to believe he was not. It is, however, quite clear from the printed evidence that the "holy horror of Popery" had as much to do with his execution as the fear of a Negro insurrection. Ury was arraigned as a priest, tried and condemned as a priest, and never formally denied his priesthood.

New York might have had a glorious share in the history of high-minded religious liberality, if the Charter of Liberties which Colonel Dongan gave her had been preserved as it was. However, so ingrained was the anti-Catholic spirit that it was only in 1806 that the New York legislature abolished the last of its barriers to Catholic freedom in that state.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was Thomas Dongan? Outline his claims to fame.
2. How has Dongan been treated by historians? How would you explain such treatment? Discuss this as a group.
3. What was the Charter of Liberties? Discuss its religious clause. Compare with Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.
4. What made Dongan's work particularly hard? Explain. What peculiar privilege were the people accorded?
5. Describe conditions in New York previous to Dongan's term of office. What is called the most shameful page in New York's history?

VIII
Colonial Attitude Towards the Church

We have seen so far that out of all those whose names and whose fame are inseparably linked with the colonial history of the United States, only six men deserve to be held up to posterity as possessing in their own day of bigotry and narrow-mindedness a humane attitude towards those of other faiths than their own. These men are the Calverts (George, Cecil, and Leonard), Roger Williams, Penn, and Thomas Dongan. Apart from these leaders, the entire weight of the colonial mind was deadly so far as liberality of religious thought and action are concerned. Not to understand the colonial anti-Catholic spirit is to bar one's way to the secret springs of many currents in present-day American political thought.

From this anti-Catholic standpoint, the colonial history of the United States may be divided into two distinct parts: first, from the founding of all the colonies (except Georgia) to the year 1689; and secondly, from that date to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Whatever attempts had been made before 1689 to bring a more humane spirit of religious relief into the New World were stilled when the Glorious Revolution became a recognized fact and England's last Catholic King, James II, was in exile in France.

Passage of English "Toleration" Act

It is doubtful whether any date in American history, even including the year of the Declaration of Independence, is more significant than that of 1689. That year marks the accession to the throne of William III, "the idol of seventeenth century Protestantism," and Mary, his Queen, the Protestant daughter of James II. It was England's third revolution in forty years and the new sovereigns realized that peace must be secured at any cost in order to hold their joint throne. Above all was religious peace necessary. To secure this, the Toleration Act was passed in 1689, granting to all dissenters, that is to every form of Protestant worship, the legal right at home and in the American colonies to public worship upon the acceptance of the oath of allegiance to the

crown. By this Act the chief cause of religious strife at home and abroad, was removed.

Debarred without exception from the benefit of the Act were all Roman Catholics. Moreover, the Act itself, while bringing relief to many Protestant objectors to the Established Church, enabled all Protestants—Anglicans and Nonconformists—to make common cause against the Catholics of the realm. To hold any office or public trust under the English government the following test oath had to be taken:

"I do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

With the Toleration Act as a bludgeon the way was open for the final extermination of Catholicism in England and in her colonies. The reorganization of the American colonies carried with it certain political changes, the chief of which were a more direct royal power over the colonial Assemblies and the maintenance of a more effective royal control by means of officials sent by the King. Out of this recast of colonial politics was to come eventually the self-determination which ended in independence.

But there was something more. The attempts made by the only liberal-minded statesmen the colonies saw—the Calverts, Williams, Penn, and Dongan—to establish freedom of conscience for all the inhabitants of the land were at an end. Religious coercion was henceforth the law in all the colonies, and with the exception of a small minority of Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania who succeeded in escaping persecution on account of their social and financial position or on account of the quietness of their lives, one law ruled the American colonies—No "Papists" would be allowed civic or religious rights of any kind and every means would be permitted to the provincial legislatures to outlaw their presence.

"No Popery," Protestant Rallying Cry

From 1689 until the outbreak of the American Revolution, the rallying cry of colonial Protestantism was "No Popery." In 1690, the number of Americans was about 220,000. They were living mostly in a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic from Maine to the Carolinas. On the eve of the American Revolution (1760) the total population had increased to 1,500,000. During these years (1689-1763), the American colonies were thrown into the maelstrom of European rivalries and wars; and while the question at stake was international control, religious causes were prominent in the four intercolonial wars—King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1763).

In the first three of these conflicts England was at war with Catholic nations, France and Spain. The proximity of the French in Canada and Louisiana was used by colonial legislatures to offset any alliance between the scattered Catholics, and some curious, if not amusing, laws were passed to keep them from helping their French and Indian coreligionists.

Penal Legislation Against Catholics

The first result of the reconstruction of colonial government under William and Mary (1689-1702) and Anne (1702-1714) was the re-enactment of the penal legislation against Catholics. Effectively confined to the localities in England in which they were living, they could not emigrate freely to the colonies, and those who came found the same restrictions here. The test oath debarred them from all civic office. Priests were not permitted in the colonies and if they succeeded in entering the provinces they were expelled. A second entry in some cases meant imprisonment and death. One of the most curious pieces of legislation is the action of the General Court of Massachusetts, about ten years before the accession of William and Mary, in making the observance of Christmas a punishable offense, because it savored of "Popery." The legal enactments against Catholics after 1689 were all the more strongly worded, because Protestants in England and in the colonies had not yet recovered from

their horror of the proclamation of 1687, in which James II gave freedom to Catholics.

Where the colonial legislation shows no enactments against Catholics between 1689 and 1754, it is because there were no Catholics in that particular province and therefore no cause for alarm over their presence. The Stuart uprising in 1715 and the Highland Rebellion of 1754 found echoes in the colonies and careful watch was placed upon all known Catholics for fear of possible Jacobite sympathies. When Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, died in England in 1715, his son, the fourth Maryland Palatine, found no other way open to secure possession of his province except formal apostasy, and this he agreed to that same year. "A degenerate scion of a noble Roman Catholic house," Cobb calls him. Since the largest number of Catholics (and few they were when totalled up) in the colonies was in Maryland, the Maryland Assembly, therefore, presents the anti-Catholic colonial mind clearer than those of the other provinces, where the doughty Protestant legislators were either playing crude politics or fighting imaginary shadows in their succession of "Acts to prevent the growth of "Popery."

Acts Against Catholics

Maryland passed such as Act in 1704, in order to outlaw the presence of any priest or bishop in the province. The only freedom allowed to the Catholics was that of having religious services within the home of a "private family of the Romish communion." In 1715, it was enacted that children of a Protestant father and Catholic mother, in case the father died, could be taken legally from the mother and brought up by Protestant relations. An act of 1718 forbade Catholics to vote at the polls unless they adjured their faith. The peak of all this irksome penal legislation came in 1756 when a law was passed "for disarming Papists." All Catholics were required to give up whatever arms and ammunition they possessed, because "Papists" were considered potential enemies during the French and Indian War. A similar law was passed in Pennsylvania and Virginia.

There can be no surprise, therefore, that Catholics did not come in large numbers to the American colonies

during these Protestant years (1689-1763). The surprise is that in spite of so much penal legislation, American Catholics were able to keep the Faith. Classed as unfit to take part in the political affairs of the colonies, they were thereby placed in the same civic scale with the Negro slaves. "Of all the religious legislation in the colonies," writes Cobb, "nothing was more absurd than that against Roman Catholics. One would suppose that the Roman Church was a constant and threatening foe to colonial institutions. The fact was far otherwise."

Cobb's Comments on Injustice to Catholics

When the Revolution occurred, there were not more than fifteen thousand Catholics in all the American colonies. Bishop Carroll estimated the total number of Catholics in 1784 as about twenty-five thousand. And standing out like a baleful fire in the midst of Protestant intolerance towards those of the ancient Church is the monstrous ingratitude of the Protestants of Maryland. Cobb, in his "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," brushes all this anti-Catholic legislation aside with a condescending gesture. To his mind, and his volume shows how carefully he holds to the principle that Catholicism can only exist in a "Protestant" land, like America, by the large-minded sufferance of those who are opposed to the Catholic Faith, the colonial penal legislation was chiefly sound and fury. Refusing to recognize the deadening effect socially and morally of the weight of these penal laws, he says that the Roman Catholics "suffered no great hardships and no personal persecutions." It is interesting to note that he passes over in silence the case of John Ury, who was hanged in New York in 1741, because the jury believed he was a Catholic priest.

It only clouds the issue when it is said that "with all the loud professions of Protestant zeal on the part of the leaders, there was too much love of liberty in the land to countenance severity." Against this statement stands the fact that the oppressive anti-Catholic laws were never repealed by the colonial legislatures. The next ten years (1763-1774) were to witness an anti-Catholic agitation in the colonies that was the logical result of a century of Protestant bigotry.

Study Club Outline

1. How many men of colonial days deserve to be remembered for their religious tolerance? Name them. From an anti-Catholic standpoint, how may our colonial history be divided?

2. Why is 1689 so important in our history? What were conditions in England in that year? How did they affect America? Why was peace so necessary? What step was taken to secure religious peace? Discuss this.

3. What was the oath of allegiance? Did it affect Catholics? If so, how? What was the test oath? Discuss.

4. Have one of your number discuss the "Protestant Rallying Cry".

5. Have another member discuss anti-Catholic legislation. A son of what prominent Catholic family is here mentioned? Why?

IX

Eve of the American Revolution

It might be held that the highest level of Protestant colonial intolerance apparently had been reached during the French and Indian War (1754-1763) with the "Act for disarming the Papists," were it not for the fact that the following year (1755) witnessed a cruelty unparalleled in the history of any Christian country. This was the dispersion of the Acadian Catholics from Nova Scotia. The principal actor in this disgraceful scene was General John Winslow of Plymouth, Mass.

For a century before Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain (1713), these pious and industrious French colonists had built for themselves and their descendants quiet, peaceful villages. They were attached to France and were loyal children of the Catholic Church. After 1713, they accepted English rule and held aloof from all the French and Indian forays along the New England border. Hence they were known as "French Neutrals." They had no part in the French and Indian War, but their lovely valleys and expansive bays were the object of envy to the New Englanders who began to flock there in great numbers after 1713. Ordered to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain—an oath which implicity meant the denial of their Faith—they refused.

Outrageous Treatment of Acadians

There is little use in retelling the story of duplicity and of disgraceful trickery practised by the Americans in robbing the Catholic Acadians of their land. Winslow's act of September 5, 1755, in driving 2,000 of these poor people at the point of the bayonet aboard British vessels has covered his name with an infamy which has never been lightened. Husbands were separated from their wives and children. Children never saw their parents again. The ships that carried them to the American colonies left groups at many a port and the little bands soon found that they were in the midst of a hostile folk whose hatred for their Faith and their race dried up the springs of charity. Almost alone, the Quakers of Philadelphia.

the Catholics of Maryland, and the Huguenots of South Carolina treated them with kindness.

No effort has been left undone to paint these horrible scenes in a light favorable to the Americans and English who were responsible, but nothing can blot out the fact that it was because the Acadians were "Popish Recusants," that they were made to suffer untold tortures. The newspapers of the day contain formal protests against the presence of these "Papists" in the provinces. It was stark tragedy, born of anti-Catholic hate, but it did not prevent Governor Morris of Pennsylvania from calling these wretched exiles "Scorpions in the bowels of the country." Within the next four years, Louisburg and Quebec fell and Canada was at last, after a century of wars in all of which this purpose was a salient factor, an English possession.

When peace came formally in 1763, the Treaty of Paris contained the following clause: "His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will consequently give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." On October 7, 1763, a royal proclamation was issued defining the boundaries of the newly acquired territories. The English colonies in North America were divided into four sections: Quebec, the southern boundary of which became the northern limit of New York and New England; East Florida; West Florida; and the Indian Country, that is, all that territory lying west of the Appalachian Mountains to the borders of the Mississippi.

Frenzied Agitation Against Catholics

We do not need to review the debates which followed when the religious freedom of the Treaty of Paris of 1763 came before Parliament. The Quebec Act, as it is called, finally became a law in 1774. These eleven years saw an anti-Catholic agitation in the American colonies which rose almost to a frenzy. "No Popery" became the watchword, and in thousands of sermons from Protestant pulpits, the titles of which may be seen in Evans' "Chronological Dictionary of Pamphlets," the "drum

ecclesiastic" was beaten as never before in England or America. The popular viewpoint was that King George III, by assenting to the Quebec Act, that is, by granting freedom of worship to the Catholics in the conquered territory of Canada, had thereby become a traitor to the coronation oath and was secretly a "Papist." Even so enlightened a statesman as Alexander Hamilton said that if Parliament had been "friends to the Protestant cause, they would never have provided such a nursery for its great enemy. They would never have given such encouragement to Popery. They may as well establish Popery in New York and the other colonies as they did in Canada. Your lives, your property, your religion, are all at stake."

On September 6, 1774, the famous Suffold County Resolutions were passed, and the tenth of these urged the Americans "to take all possible measures" for their security against this new freedom granted to the Catholics of Canada. The day previous, the First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, with representatives of twelve of the colonies present. The "Declarations and Resolves," passed on October 14, 1774, contained a resolution against freedom of conscience being granted to the Canadians. On October 21, Congress sent an Address to the People of Great Britain, protesting against the action of the British Parliament in establishing in Canada "a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and disbursed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world." On October 26, a Petition to King George III was passed with a similar protest in stronger language.

Strange Conduct of Congress

These two state papers we can understand. They are symptomatic of the frenzied fear which the "Popery" bogey always creates in the Puritan mind. But what is difficult to characterize is a letter sent that same day (October 26) by Congress to the Canadians, urging them to join the Americans in the war for independence which they saw was inevitable. In this letter Congress says: "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity

with us." Intolerance, the Congressional Committee wrote, was a lowminded infirmity.

Few among the better-known writers in the field of American history touch the religious issue of the War of Independence. The noted English historian, Cardinal Gasquet, published some years ago in the London "Tablet" several articles under the title—"The Price of Catholic Freedom in Canada." He declares that England by keeping her word with France lost the American colonies. The leading American historian of the Revolution, Van Tyne, holds that the well-known economic causes given in our textbooks for the Revolution are not sufficient to explain the bitterness of the struggle, and he rates as principal causes religious bigotry, sectarian antipathy, and the influence of the Calvinist clergy.

The Cardinal's words merit repetition: "The American Revolution was not a movement for civil and religious liberty; its principal cause was the bigotry rage of the American Puritan and Presbyterian ministers at the concession of full religious liberty and equality to Catholics of French Canada. The Taxation Acts were only a minor cause, or rather occasion, and the dispute could have been settled by Constitutional agitation without secession but for Puritan firebrands and the bigotry of the people."

The Shadow of the Past

The national inclination of all Americans regardless of creedal differences is to forget these unhappy years of colonial anti-Catholicism. Indeed, many Catholics are opposed to recalling incidents which describe the privations and sufferings endured by their devoted forebears during that long eighteenth century of proscription. But there is no surer or more direct way to know America than to make one's self familiar with the evolution of religious equality up from these darkened years before the Revolution to the full light of America's Constitutional guarantees. The shadow of the past is still upon the land and the intolerance of that past cannot with safety be ignored by those whose hearts are concerned about America's future. When millions of our fellow-citizens believe that the two terms—Americanism and Protestantism—are interchangeable and equal, then we

cannot refuse to learn the lessons to be gained from a recapitulation of the wrongs inflicted on Catholics in the name of Protestantism in this land. Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was John Winslow? Discuss him. What is important to Catholics about the year 1755? Who were the Acadian Catholics?
2. Who were the Huguenots? They and who else befriended the Acadians?
3. How did England gain possession of Canada? Who was Governor Morris?
4. What was the Treaty of Paris? How did it affect Catholic Canadians? Were they given religious freedom? How did Alexander Hamilton view the treaty?
5. What was the first Continental Congress? When was it held? How many colonies were represented? Have one of your number discuss this Congress. Let the group join in.

X

Catholicism and Democracy

Almost four score years have passed since the white-robed figure of one of the greatest of modern Dominicans, Henry Dominic Lacordaire, arose in the French Academy to deliver his inaugural address before that body of Immortals. It was customary then, as it is now, for each newly-elected member to extol the virtues of his dead predecessor; and seldom had anyone a panegyrist of such supreme skill as de Tocqueville had in Lacordaire, the foremost pulpit orator of the nineteenth century.

Charles-Alexis de Tocqueville, the eminent political writer and statesman, died in 1859, at the early age of fifty-four, after having won undying fame by his great classic "Democracy in America," which he published in 1840. In January, 1861, Lacordaire, then at the height of his powers and within the shadow of his untimely death, was elected as his successor in the French Academy.

The American Civil War was then visible on the political horizon and it is not surprising that the burden of Lacordaire's famous discourse should be about America. No man of his times foresaw with more striking accurateness of vision the future greatness of the Catholic Church in the United States and the inevitable disintegration of Protestantism than de Tocqueville. His profound appreciation of the political institutions of our country was universally regarded in his own day as the clearest and most impartial judgment ever made upon the American Republic.

New Experience for De Tocqueville

"It was impossible for de Tocqueville to touch the soil of America," Lacordaire said, "without being astonished by this new world, so different from that where he was born. Everywhere else in the old world, where he visited, whether in England, Russia, China, or Japan, he came face to face with a situation, he knew already—that of peoples governed by rulers. For the first time he saw a flourishing nation, peaceful, industrious, rich, powerful, respected abroad, spread-

ing day by day into vast solitudes the tranquil stream of its population, and nevertheless having no master but itself, submitting to no distinction of birth, electing its own magistrates of every degree of the civil and political hierarchy, free as the Indians who preceded them, as civilized as the best peoples of Europe, religious without giving to any sect exclusive or preponderating rights, and presenting to an admiring world the living drama of the most absolute liberty in an equality the most entire."

Few descriptions of contemporary American institutions contain so many vital truths as this. De Tocqueville's admiration for America was not, however, without its restrictions. He did not believe that the political and religious systems which we had achieved were equally applicable to all peoples. In the very midst of his eloquent praise of America he feared not to lash the horrors of slavery which were then quite apparent in the land.

But when he compared our institutions with those in Europe and visualized the future of humanity, he saw the United States as the leader of that world democracy which has written its latest chapter on the bloodiest battlefields of all time. The future always held, as he said, a sort of religious terror for him, and the only hope he saw was in the fact that the democracy which governed American communities appeared to be rapidly rising into power in Europe. In one of the strongest paragraphs of his volume he writes:

"The first duty which is at this time imposed upon those who direct our affairs is to educate our democracy; to warm its faith, if that be possible, to purify its morals; to direct its energies; to substitute a knowledge of business for its inexperience, and an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities; to adapt its government to time and place, and to modify it in compliance with the circumstances and the actors of the age. A new science of politics is indispensable to a world entirely new."

American Democracy's Basic Elements

The new science de Tocqueville saw in the spirit behind the successful organization of the American Republic, and his volume "Democracy in America" was, and is still, the textbook for the nations of the world. What

were the essential elements of that spirit, what were the principles of democracy, what were the granite rocks, as Lacordaire said, upon which the truest democracy might be built? The answer to these questions de Tocqueville saw in an analysis of the American spirit. That analysis gave four basic elements:

1. The American spirit is religious.
2. It has innate respect for law and order.
3. It cherishes liberty as intensely as it cherishes equality.
4. It places the foundation of political liberty in civil liberty.

In placing religion first in this category, de Tocqueville was influenced not only by his own belief in the necessity of a religious basis to all political institutions, but also by the powerful factor religion had been in the foundation and conservation of the American Republic. It was this affinity between religion and politics which became consecrate at the time the American colonies were founded, and which has been the safeguard of American democracy ever since. De Tocqueville says:

"The greatest part of British America was peopled by men who, after having shaken off the authority of the pope, acknowledged no other religious supremacy; they brought with them into the New World a form of Christianity which I cannot better describe, than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. This contributed powerfully to the establishment of a democracy and a republic; and from the earliest settlement of the emigrants, politics and religion contracted an alliance which has never been dissolved. Almost fifty years ago, Ireland began to pour a Catholic population into the United States; on the other hand, the Catholics of America made proselytes, and at the present moment more than a million of Christians, professing the truths of the Church of Rome, are to be met within the Union. These Catholics are faithful to the observances of their religion; they are fervent and zealous in the support and belief of their doctrines. Nevertheless they constitute the most republican and the most democratic class of citizens which exists in the United States; and although this fact may surprise the observer at first, the cause by which it is occasioned may easily be discovered upon reflection."

Catholicism Favorable to Democracy

It is now almost a century since de Tocqueville visited the United States, and his tribute to the Catholicism of that day is indeed one worthy of being cherished always; but the illustrious author saw even more profoundly into the place Catholicism was to hold in the land, if democracy was to endure.

"I think," he writes, "that the Catholic religion has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of democracy. Among the various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favorable to the equality of conditions. In the Catholic Church, the religious community is composed of only two elements: the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal. On doctrinal points the Catholic faith places all human capacities upon the same level; it subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed; it imposes the same observances upon the rich and the needy; it inflicts the same austerites upon the strong and the weak; it listens to no compromises with mortal man, but reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar, even as they are confounded in the sight of God. If Catholicism pre-disposes the faithful to obedience, it certainly does not prepare them for inequality; but the contrary may be said of Protestantism, which generally tends to make men independent, more than to render equal. No sooner is the priesthood entirely separated from the Government, as is the case in the United States, than it is found that no class of men are more naturally disposed than the Catholics to transfuse the doctrine of the equality of conditions into the political world. . . . The Catholic clergy of the United States has never attempted to oppose this political tendency; but it seeks rather to justify its results.

"The priests in America have divided the intellectual world into two parts; in the one they place the doctrines of revealed religion, which command their assent; in the other they leave those truths, which they believe to have been freely left open, to the researches of political inquiry. Thus the Catholics of the United

States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens."

This is a tribute to the Catholic faith which should encourage every heart that loves America. Catholicism—with its doctrines, its religious life, its profound idea of authority, its attitude of reverence towards those who exercise that authority, and with its spirit of obedience to the laws of the land; Catholicism—with its heroic American past, with Columbus and Las Casas, Champlain, La Salle, and Marquette, Calvert, England, Hughes and Gibbons, and its long honor roll of great names who have given of their best for the foundation and the preservation of America; Catholicism—with its unbounded response at all times, both in peace and in war, when the country calls upon its citizens for aid; Catholicism, in fine, with its unbroken and unbreakable doctrine of allegiance to the law of the land, has been America's one constant and faithful element down the aisle of the years that have elapsed since Freedom's day in 1776.

Washington's Hope Not Yet Fulfilled

Washington told us a century previously that he hoped our fellow citizens would never forget the patriotic part men and women of our faith took in the accomplishment of the Revolution and in the establishment of our government or the important assistance which was received "from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed." There are many within the fold of the Church who feel that Washington's hopes have never been generously fulfilled.

They see the blackened ruins of convents and churches burnt by fanatic anti-Catholic mobs; they see newspapers filled with diatribes and lies against the Faith, going to millions of homes in the United States; they realize that a process of anti-Catholic selection is always at work in the professions and in public places of trust; they are disheartened by the ever recurrent anti-Catholic campaigning which shames so many of our State and Federal elections—but in spite of all this, in spite of the inevitable conclusion that many of those outside the Faith in America have not yet reached the height of the American ideal of religious equality and freedom, Catholics

must always remember that the better elements of our people voice in more ways than one the belief of de Tocqueville that "the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens."

That heritage has been won for us by the devotion and piety of our Catholic ancestors in this country, and it is our duty, not only as loyal children of the Church, but more especially as loyal Americans, to keep the spirit of our Catholicism pure and undefiled from the irreligious and consequently undemocratic spirit of the sects around us. Catholicism in its dogmatic and in its moral teaching is the surest bulwark America possesses against the disintegration of the nation's ideals and against the collapse of America's prestige in the world as humanity's kindliest and tenderest mother—the home of equality, of liberty and of fraternal charity.

Democracy's Debt to the Church

A striking thing it is, to notice with what complacency in volume after volume on American political ideals, the false principle is enunciated that democracy is the "creative expression" of Protestantism. The most recent descant on this threadworn record is that a nation needs but to apply democracy to its system of government and immediately "all the fruits of the Reformation will be realized, even in a Catholic community." Nothing could be farther from the truth; nothing more misleading to the impartial mind seeking for the real origins of democratic government. American Catholics are not blameless in the face of the persistency of this falsehood, for it is due in large measure to their lack of interest in the Catholic origins of democracy that those outside the Church are not halted in the thoroughly hackneyed and untenable theory of an essential identity between Protestantism and democratic equality. A single reading of the volume "The State and the Church" by Fathers John A. Ryan and Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S. J., will reveal to all who are sincerely interested in this fundamental question of American history the extent of all that the United States owes to the Catholic Faith.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was Henry Dominic Lacordaire? Who was Charles-Alexis de Tocqueville? What did the latter find in America which astonished him?
2. What were the four basic elements in de Tocqueville's analysis of Democracy in America? Discuss them.
3. Whom did de Tocqueville consider "the most republican and the most democratic" class of citizens in the U. S.? Why?
4. Why is Catholicism favorable to Democracy? Why is Democracy favorable to Catholicism? Discuss this as a group.
5. What was Washington's hope for religion in the U. S.? Has it been fulfilled? Why is Catholicism the country's strongest bulwark? Discuss from what you have read so far and your own knowledge "Democracy's Debt to the Church."

XI
Declaration of Independence

Of all the challenges that may be given to those who fail to understand the "Catholic Question" in the United States, none can be made with such security as this: Catholic doctrine and practice alone possess the real origin of those political principles which are enunciated in the immortal Declaration that placed the United States among the free and independent nations of the world.

It is customary to view the Declaration of Independence as the logical culmination of a long train of abuses and usurpations on the part of a despotic home government which could not or would not understand colonial America. We have not made sufficient advance in the education of our citizens to expect that the colonial and revolutionary backgrounds to American independence are being adequately grasped today. Patriotic tradition and popular misinterpretation of the facts involved in our freedom prevent to a great extent the spread of a more accurate knowledge of these supreme facts in the nation's history.

For that reason, not to stress many others, it will only be those whose acquaintance with our history has advanced beyond the elementary stage, who will be interested in recognizing the abrupt cleavage made by the Founders of the American Republic in framing the Declaration of 1776 from the many acts and statutes passed by our colonial legislatures for the political and religious discrimination of their fellow-colonists of other faiths and creeds.

The Declaration of Independence has been described by Dr. William MacDonald, in his "Three Centuries of American Democracy," as a document combining with rare skill and effectiveness a theory of government and a statement of grievances—"the theory of a free state, governed on a divine order of human equality, subsisting under forms of government sanctioned by the consent of the governed, operating for the maintenance of human rights and subject to change through revolution when the government ceased to serve the ends for which it had

been created." The political philosophy which gave birth to this new theory of government is accredited by Dr. MacDonald to the writings of Rousseau and to the essential foundations of English political theory and practices.

Neither of these two propositions stands up under an impartial scrutiny.

Declaration an Abrupt Change of Policy

In fact, nothing so clearly emphasizes their inherent falsity as the abrupt change from the English colonial narrowness of political vision as the central principles of the Declaration itself. These are the doctrine of human equality and the doctrine of the right of government as derived from the consent of the governed.

No two pronouncements broke so thoroughly with the colonial past as these. A careful survey of the colonial charters and other organic laws of the period to 1776 in Thorpe's great collection of seven volumes will reveal how closely intertwined were property and religious qualifications as legal restrictions on liberty.

A list of the test oaths promulgated in the colonies, and later in many of the State Constitutions from 1776 to 1844, will show how far removed Puritan and Anglican America was from any "divine order of human equality." A careful study of the long struggle that followed the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1787-1788, on the part of those free Americans who carried over into the new Republic the political and religious ostracism of colonial days, will prove to the hesitant student that the Declaration of Independence was at the time it was passed an astounding attempt to make America safe for democracy. In fact the twelve years of anarchy in our State and Federal governments between 1776 and 1787—the least known of all the chapters in American history—can rightly be interpreted by those seeking the actual conditions which then prevailed, as giving the lie to these two basic principles of the Declaration itself.

The two principles which constitute the very cornerstone of the American Republic were copied into the preamble of the Declaration of Independence from the preamble of the Declaration of the Bill of Rights adopted by the Virginia convention on June 12, 1775. The preamble of the Virginia Declaration was written by Jeffer-

son. It declared that all men are by nature equally free and are invested by nature with certain inalienable rights, among which are "the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the means of accruing and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety," that "Power is, by God and nature, vested in, and consequently derived from the People," and that "government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common Benefit and Security of the People, nation, or Community."

This preamble, as rewritten the following year by Jefferson, is found in the Declaration of Independence in practically the same phrases:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The problem of the historian is to ascertain with scrupulous exactitude the source whence Thomas Jefferson drew his knowledge of these self-evident truths.

The commonest (because the easiest) method of answering this question will be seen in most of the popular manuals of American history in use today; namely, that the preamble of the Declaration came from the preamble to George Mason's Virginia Bill of Rights, and that this latter came from the English Bill of Rights of 1689. Evidently the authors of these manuals never compared the two documents, for, the alleged English prototype of 1689 contains in none of its parts these two foundation stones of American democracy. It is historically dishonest to make the claim that the Bill of Rights of 1689 is the model for the Declaration of Independence.

Tracing Origin of Declaration's Principles

One of the first Catholic scholars who successfully traced the origin of the preamble to the Virginia Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence through Algernon Sidney, who was executed in 1683 for his democratic teachings, and John Locke, whose "Two Treatises on Government" appeared in 1689, to Suarez, Bellarmine, and

Persons, and to the Catholic political philosophers of the middle ages, was the late Gaillard Hunt in an article he contributed shortly before his death (1921) to the "Catholic Historical Review." In 1924, Dr. John A. Ryan and Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S. J., thoroughly analyzed the question in their volume: "The State and the Church." Another writer to deal with this question in a popular way is Sylvester McNamara, in his "American Democracy and Catholic Doctrine."

With the exception of a short essay by Dr. David Schaff of the Union Theological Seminary, read before the American Society of Church History in 1927, and entitled: "The Bellarmine-Jefferson Legend and the Declaration of Independence," Protestant, or, to be more precise, Calvinist, scholars have generally ignored the challenge in this question.

And, it has been wiser to ignore it. For, there is a road without an egress before those who attempt in our late day to plead further the tradition that American freedom was born of Protestantism. Treacherous indeed are the pitfalls for the student who would endeavor to trace to Protestant political writers the democratic ideals of the United States.

Effect of Reformation on Democracy

Democracy was all but annihilated by the so-called Reformation. Protestantism meant, for all practical purposes, the destruction of the right to life, property and personal freedom; it meant the abolition of freedom of conscience, of speech, of the press. Its most appalling consequence was the decay of education and the outlawing of charity. As McNamara has written:

"It added nothing new to the sum of existing democratic thought; but, on the contrary, popularized dogmas productive of absolute and arbitrary government in teaching the union of Church and State and the divine right of kings—two of the most pernicious doctrines ever conceived in the mind of men to destroy the political freedom of a people. Its dogma of private interpretation has been the actuating principle and justification of every religious fanatic and political anarchist who saw in himself an inspired prophet of God or the saviour of a people from political bondage. Its teaching of passive obedience and denial of the right

of legitimate rebellion against political tyranny, while illogical in view of its dogma of private interpretation, was the direct cause of the civil and industrial oppression and exploitation of the masses. History records no greater political servility than that fostered and established by the so-called Protestant Reformation."

Apparently, there are two lines of descent through the political philosophers of the past to the minds of Mason and Jefferson and all the Americans of their day who believed as they did on the question of inalienable rights and representative government.

One of these lines is as old as the Catholic Faith and can be traced from the writings of the Fathers to the Scholastics and from their day on to the great Jesuit leaders of political thought—Father Robert Persons, S. J., Blessed Robert Bellarmine, S. J., and Father Francis Suarez, S. J. The other line of descent begins with Hooker, who wrote his "Ecclesiastical Polity" in 1594, and can be traced through Prynne and Rutherford to Algernon Sidney, and to John Locke, whose "Two Treatises" were published in 1689. Sidney and Locke were the most popular political writers among the Americans of the eighteenth century, and no American knew their works better than Jefferson.

America's Debt to Catholicism

The truth is that there are not two lines of descent. There is but one, and that is Catholic. Hooker gave his readers nothing more than he had found in Catholic writers who antedated his "Ecclesiastical Polity." Prynne, who publishd his "Sovereign Power of Parliament" in 1643, admits that it is to Catholic writers he was obliged to go to find true democratic principles, and he was accused as a result of "plain and palpable Popery." No one has ever seriously claimed profound originality of thought for Sidney and Locke. Both copied largely from Medieval Catholic writers and both depend upon Bellarmine for their exposition of democratic government and the natural rights of man.

It would take us too far afield here to enter into a detailed discussion on these points. Indeed, with McNamara's little treatise at hand it is not necessary. All that need be stressed for the surety of the continuance

of American idealism, is that Catholics should enter more profoundly into the study of our political origins in order to realize that the preamble of the Declaration of Independence is a Catholic heirloom which fortunately escaped the deadening blight of that absolutism in government which is essential to all Protestant governments.

Let it be clearly understood, however, that this challenge to impartial American historical scholarship is made not primarily for the purpose of refuting the unjust claim that modern civil liberty is the result of the doctrines of political Protestantism. Such a challenge ought to have but one immediate effect—a determined effort to gain a fuller understanding of the great debt American democracy owes to Catholicism.

Had the Catholic Church not been the constant source of Christian democracy, had she not fostered it in a hundred ways especially during the thousand years she was supreme mistress of religious thought, and had her great scholars, of whom Bellarmine is foremost, not fought for the preservation of the democratic ideal of government, civil and religious liberty as enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States would have never have been given voice and authority in the birth of our nation.

Study Club Outline

1. Where is to be found the real origin of the principles of the Declaration of Independence? Discuss. Have one of your number contrast the Declaration of Independence with laws passed by colonial governments.

2. What are the central principles of the Declaration of Independence? From whence were they derived? From whom comes the right to rule?

3. Discuss Jefferson's part in writing the Declaration of Independence What experience had he previously had?

4. Name several Catholic authorities whose writings influenced the framers of the Declaration of Independence.

5. What are "inalienable rights"? Name and discuss these rights.

XII

Catholic Participation in the Revolution

High up among the so-called causes of the American Revolution must be placed the Puritan opposition of New England to the Quebec Act of 1774, granting religious freedom to the French Catholics of Canada. All the contemporary newsprints and pamphlet publications are so crowded with invective over the Quebec Act that Catholic writers are within the strictest rules of historical criticism in emphasizing the predominant anti-Catholic sentiment of the decade which preceded American independence.

"No Popery" reigned then as seldom before in the land of future religious liberty. That such animosity existed is not surprising, for it was the logical result of a hundred and seventy years of abuse and misrepresentation. But what will always remain a question of great moment in American history is the astounding fact that after all these years—over a century and a half—of bitter opposition to their presence and to their religion in the colonies, the Catholics leaped into the breach with their non-Catholic fellow-colonists, once the tocsin sounded for independence.

Surely one might rightfully conclude that the dead weight of Puritan prejudice in the colonies when placed in contrast with England's determination, as seen in the Quebec Bill, to do justice at last to the down-trodden Catholics, would have produced one leading Catholic Tory, one outstanding Catholic Loyalist, at the time of Revolution. But there was no Benedict Arnold, no Charles Lee, in the Catholic ranks.

Foreign Catholic governments were too well-informed by their agents here not to be fully cognizant of the religious background to the Revolution; and yet, they, too, came to the aid of the struggling Americans at the darkest hour of the struggle. All the facts concerning Catholic participation in the War need not be listed; for, while they remain up to the present time the glorious heritage of very Catholic American in the land and are his high-

est incentive to a noble patriotic love for his country, these facts are less interesting from the standpoint of the "Catholic Question" in America than that outstanding phase of the Revolution—the gradual recognition by the Revolutionary leaders, the Assemblies, and by a part of the people, of the right of Catholics to complete civic and religious freedom.

Father Carroll's Patriotism

It was natural for the First Continental Congress to select Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and his cousin, Father John Carroll, as members of the Canadian mission along with Franklin and Chase. To win Canada over to the American cause after a flood of Puritan pamphlets had abused her people on account of their religion, was an impossible task; but even to have secured her neutrality in the approaching struggle would have been a strategic move of high importance. That the Canadian mission failed, and that Bishop Briand, who saved Canada to the British Empire, scorned Father John Carroll for taking part in a committee representing a Congress which the Quebec prelate believed to be inimical to Catholicism, are unpleasant facts in our history.

Back of Bishop Briand's attitude toward Father Carroll stood Father John McKenna, who had been driven out of the Mohawk Valley, along with his colony of Catholic Highlanders, on account of their Faith. John Carroll had no explanation to offer for the bigotry of the "Address to the People of Great Britain" and to the "Petition to the King," written in 1774 by a Congressional committee. Still more difficult was it to explain the sublime hypocrisy of the "Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec." And we know from his letters to his mother before starting out on the Canadian mission, that he realized the futility of the long and hazardous journey to Quebec. But the leaders of his country asked him to perform this highly unpleasant task, and he went.

By the time it became necessary to write the grievances of the Americans into a Declaration of Independence from England, the founders of the future Republic had seen the wisdom of subduing the anti-Catholic sentiments which had fanned the flames of rebellion; and al-

though there is a hidden allusion to the Quebec Act in the final draft of the Declaration, that cause had served its purpose. To have emphasized it after it had accomplished this purpose, would have been impolitic in view of the assistance the colonists would need from foreign powers, particularly France, then the foremost Catholic nation of the world. The agent of the United States, Silas Deane, was even then in Paris trying to negotiate an alliance with the French Government.

Charles Carroll's Letter Of Explanation

Only one Catholic name is signed to the immortal Declaration—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then about forty years old, the leading Catholic in the colonies, and one of the wealthiest Americans of that period. Fifty-three years later (1829) when Carroll was ninety-two, he wrote to George Parke Custis, Washington's adopted son: "When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only our independence from England, but the toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion and communicating to them all great rights. Happily, this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradicating religious feuds and persecutions, and become a useful lesson to all governments. Reflecting, as you must, on the disabilities, I may truly say, of the proscription of Roman Catholics in Maryland, you will not be surprised that I had much at heart this grand design founded on mutual charity, the basis of our holy religion."

It was Carroll's patriotism that largely influenced the Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania to give their whole-hearted support to a movement which needed every man it could count.

Revolution Not Generally Supported

We are not proud, for the most part, of speaking too openly to the boys and girls in our schools about the division of sentiment among the Americans at the outbreak of the War of Independence. The popular conception of a vast uprising of nearly 3,000,000 people to throw off British domination is far from the truth. The colonists were sharply divided into three groups—the Tories or Loyalists to the British crown, the Whigs, and the middle section of American society which looked upon the

Tories with disdain and who feared the Whigs as radicals, as agitators, or demagogues.

Without being able to give the exact figures, American historians generally admit that almost two-thirds of our people not only held aloof from the Revolution but also took part within the land in harassing the American rebels. At the height of the War, there were over 200,000 men of military age upon whom Washington should have been free to call; and yet in the spring of 1777, he had not more than 4,000 regular soldiers at his command. Sabine estimates the number of American Tories enrolled during the Revolutionary War in English regiments opposing the Americans as 20,000. How many Tory families fled the country before 1783 it is impossible to state, but it is certain that the number was large.

Catholic Support of Washington

The Catholics who co-operated in the success of the War of Independence were: those residing in the colonies; the Catholic Indians of Maine and of the old Northwest; Catholic Canadian volunteers in the Continental Army; France, by its alliance of 1778; and Spain, which also secretly aided the Americans in the loan of money and in keeping her colonists in Louisiana, Florida, and Cuba neutral while the issue was being brought to a climax. Many facts might be mentioned, but each of them would take a chapter in itself. There are dramatic moments of Catholic participation in the war for independence, and some names are particularly sacred to us: Father Peter Gibault, who assisted our forces in winning the Middle West; Commodore John Barry, the Father of the American Navy; Colonel Stephen Moylan, the Muster-Master-General of the Army, and the brother of the Bishop of Cork; Colonel John Fitzgerald, aide-de-camp and secretary to General Washington; Thomas FitzSimons, the right-hand of Robert Morris in financing the Revolution; Count Pulaski, who was killed at the siege of Savannah, in 1779; the gallant Pole, General Kosciusko; Commodore Grasse; Count Rochambeau; Admiral d'Estang, and a host of others whose names are on the Catholic role of honor of Founders of the Republic. In his "Hidden Phase of American History" Michael J. O'Brien has

thrown a flood of light upon the splendid co-operation of Catholics in winning independence.

The anti-Catholic spirit died out among the real patriots of the Revolutionary War, but it lingered in the hearts of many who hated to see the colonies free and independent. This point is often overlooked by historians. Not all the Tories or Loyalists, that is those who wished to see our land remain subject to Great Britain, were self-exiled or driven out between 1781 and 1783. Many remained, silent and cautious lest their sentiments become known, and out of this group—each State had such a group—has come all down the decades the adherents of anti-Catholic societies, who, under a hypocritical guise of patriotism, basely turn the liberty Catholics helped to win for them against the Catholics themselves.

Benedict Arnold's Hatred of Catholics

The anti-Catholicism of the Revolutionary War period has as its outstanding exponent, Benedict Arnold. After his treason (1780), Arnold published his "Address to the Inhabitants of America," justifying his dastardly act; and among the reasons he gives for his disloyalty to the American cause is the fact that he had seen "your mean and profligate Congress at Mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory, and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruption your pious ancestors would bear witness with their blood."

With the war won and peace near at hand, Catholics could look forward with surety to the abolition of all legal and religious disabilities against those of their Faith. Some disillusionment was to follow, but the heart of the country was sound; and while it took another half-century to free American Catholics from all legal discrimination, religious and political equality came eventually, just at the time the Church was face to face with the problem of the Americanization of the Catholic immigrants from Europe.

Study Club Outline

1. What was one of the principal causes of the Revolution? What was the Quebec Act of 1774? How did Catholics respond to the call to arms? Who were Benedict Arnold and Charles Lee? Discuss Arnold's attitude towards Catholics.

2. What change do we see about this time in the prevalent attitude towards Catholics? Discuss it.

3. Who was Father John Carroll? On what important mission did he serve? Was the mission successful? Was Bishop Briand's reaction justified?

4. Which was at this time the foremost Catholic nation in the world? What help did the Revolution obtain from it? From other Catholic nations and individuals?

5. How many Catholics signed the Declaration of Independence? Who? Was the Revolution unanimously supported? Were the people divided? How?

XIII
The Constitution of the United States

If the years of the War of Independence taught the rebelling colonies any one particular truth removed from the realm of pure politics, it was that the perpetuation of the colonial religious jealousies—Puritan for Anglican, Protestant for Catholic—would undoubtedly be a dangerous factor in the great work that lay ahead, namely, the formation of the Union. A first plan for the United Government of the States was submitted by Benjamin Franklin in July, 1775, but it was not until July, 1778, that the Articles of Confederation were adopted and signed by the delegates of eight States. When Maryland signed the Articles on March 1, 1781, it may be said that the United States of America came at last into existence. Only one Catholic, so far as known, signed the Articles—Daniel Carroll.

Religious equality is taken for granted in the Articles and is not mentioned except for a passing phrase linking it up with the possible causes of war against the "firm league of friendship" which the Articles created. Theoretically, the Articles were the only binding power of general movement in the United States until the completion of the framing of the Constitution on September 17, 1787. It was the Congress of the Confederation during this time (1778-1787) which issued the Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (July 13, 1787), and in this celebrated document we find for the first time enshrined in its first article the principle of religious freedom:

"No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments, in the said Territory." It is in this same Ordinance that we find the statement (Article III) which has brought honor to its framers: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Constitution Guards Against Religious Tests

The Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., has recently published a large volume entitled "Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States." We have, therefore, in this large collection of 1115 pages all the historical papers pertaining to the debates which occurred in Philadelphia during the four summer months of 1787 when the Constitution was written. Reading over these historic pages, we realize that complete religious liberty was never questioned by the delegates who were present, representatives of all but one of the thirteen original States. On Monday, August 20, 1787, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina presented a number of resolutions, among them the following: "No religious test or qualification shall ever be annexed to any oath of office under the authority of the United States." In the discussion on this clause which did not come up until August 30, Pinckney moved to change the text to read: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States." It is this reading which was finally adopted.

It is interesting to note that Roger Sherman of Connecticut thought the clause unnecessary, owing to "the prevailing liberality being a sufficient security against such tests." The only State voting negatively on the clause was North Carolina. Daniel Carroll, who naturally voted in its favor, found himself opposed by his fellow-delegates from Maryland, two of whom, Luther Martin and John Francis Mercer, refused to sign the Constitution after its adoption by the Constitutional convention.

The direct application of this famous clause, which became part of the third section of Article six of the Constitution was to exclude all test oaths for federal office. The emphasis of the last sentence is on the word, federal, because in all the State Constitutions which had been written and adopted from 1776 to 1787, with the exception of Virginia, election to high office was barred to Catholics.

Illiberalism of State Constitutions

By virtue of these early State Constitutions, South

Carolina declared the Christian Protestant Religion to be the established religion of that State; the Massachusetts Constitution permitted the taxation of Catholics and other non-Protestants for the support of Protestant teachers of religion; and in six other States—North and South Carolina, Georgia, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Vermont—only Protestants could hold office. Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, South Carolina and New York barred clergymen of all denominations from being elected to the legislature and other high offices in the commonwealth. Rhode Island had not participated in the Constitutional Convention, but so far as its Constitution concerned religious freedom, it needed no change to enable Catholics to occupy places of public trust. New York applied the test oath to all its citizens. This barred Catholics because the oath contained an abjuration of all foreign allegiance "ecclesiastical as well as civil," and was done for the express purpose of excluding Catholics from public office. New Jersey allowed only those who professed their belief "in the faith of any Protestant Church" to hold office. Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland allowed Catholics the right to vote.

When the Constitution came before the State Legislatures for consideration, the clause against the test oath in the sixth article aroused considerable discussion. It would take us too far afield to describe the action of each of the thirteen Assemblies. In some of the State Legislatures it was decided that the sixth article did not go far enough in establishing religious equality. In other States, particularly in Massachusetts, fear was expressed over such liberty being granted to Catholics. Major Lusk, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, openly declared that he "shuddered at the idea that the Roman Catholics might be introduced into office."

Only two Catholics are Signers of the Constitution—Thomas FitzSimons and Daniel Carroll.

The Constitution was adopted by eleven States between December 7, 1787 and July 26, 1788. North Carolina and Rhode Island came into the fold after the new government began its career (April 30, 1789), the former on November 21, 1789, the latter on May 29, 1790. The first Congress of the United States had as one of its first

tasks the settlement of what has since been called the Bill of Rights, namely the acceptance of certain amendments proposed by the States, at the time they adopted the Constitution, for the purpose of guaranteeing individual liberty. The first ten amendments were passed and declared to be in force December 15, 1791.

Tolerance Provision in Bill of Rights

It is highly significant that the very first statement in the American Bill of Rights reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." From the outset, therefore, the government of the United States was determined to proclaim and practice, so far as lay within its federal powers, full liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants of our land, and was determined likewise that no restrictions, either on the franchise or on holding public office, should prevail against any man on account of his religious belief.

Far otherwise was it with some of the States. So far as Catholics were concerned, they were free to vote and therefore to hold office in Rhode Island, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. The franchise was denied them in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The Constitutional Convention had done its utmost by the clearcut brevity of its attitude on religious equality throughout the land; but years were to pass before the eight States just enumerated were to accept complete religious freedom.

The dates are well worth remembering. The first to enfranchise Catholics was South Carolina in its Constitution of 1790. Georgia followed in 1798. New York was the third State to broaden its religious liberty. Although the law of 1700 against "Popish priests and Jesuits" was repealed in 1784, the test oath, which no Catholic could in conscience take, was passed in 1801, and remained a law until 1806, when on the election of Francis Cooper, a Catholic, to the State Assembly, it was repealed.

Connecticut's Established Church (Congregational) existed for a quarter century after it adopted the national Constitution. No State-Church was stable in the conflicting changes of politics and a new constitution of the

State was drafted in 1818, in which freedom of worship was made the law. Delaware abolished religious tests by its Constitution of 1831. Puritan bitterness died hard in Massachusetts, and it was only in 1833, forty-six years after the framing of the Constitution of the United States, that all religious tests for office were abolished and the Protestant Church disestablished from the State. Two years later (1835) North Carolina abolished its negative form of the test oath in order to allow that great Catholic, Judge William Gaston, to take his seat on the Supreme Bench of the State. The New Jersey Constitution of 1776 discriminated in favor of Protestants and remained in force until 1844, when absolute freedom of worship was guaranteed by the Constitution of that year. The Constitution of New Hampshire of 1784 refused to abolish the test oath which excluded Catholics from high office in that State. In 1876, all religious disqualifications were abolished by the convention of that year, with one exception, namely the clause empowering towns to provide, at the expense of all citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, for the support of Protestant teachers of religion and morality. Various attempts have been made, especially in 1889, to abolish this discrimination but they have all ended in failure. The "Catholic Encyclopedia" justly says that this discrimination "still remains a blot on the fairest and first of all written American State Constitutions."

American Spirit Tolerant

The problem of the absence of power on the part of the national government to prevent State Established Churches, while always a grave one, is being met in other ways. What needs to be emphasized is that in every epoch of our national life there have been groups of malcontented individuals whose design it has been to bring back some of the political and religious disabilities which hindered the Catholic Church in colonial days from sharing her marvellous power for righteousness with the better statesmanship of the country.

The American spirit is opposed to religious disabilities of any kind, and every right-thinking citizen instinctively feels that discrimination against any man for holding the highest offices in the land on account of his par-

ticular belief is the entering wedge to what would eventually prove to be the undoing of the constitutional guarantees upon which the American Republic is founded. The Federal government has echoed this feeling more than once. In establishing the Northwest Territory (1787) as we have seen, in the legislation for newly-acquired lands, such as Louisiana (1803), Florida (1819), Texas (1848), Alaska (1867), and Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines (1898), the principle of religious equality has been embodied in the treaties that made these territories parts of the Union.

Study Club Outline

1. When did the United States come into existence? What were the Articles of Confederation? How many Catholics signed them? Who? What do they say about religion?

2. Who was Charles Pinckney? What did he propose? How was his proposal accepted? By North Carolina? By Maryland? Were the State Constitutions favorable to Catholics? Discuss.

3. How many Catholics signed the Constitution? Who? Which was the last State to ratify it? What is the Bill of Rights? Is it important to Catholics? Discuss it.

4. Who was Judge William Gaston? What was done to enable him to hold office? Discuss the gradual granting of equality to Catholics in the several States which refused it.

5. Have one of your group give an appreciation of the U. S. Constitution. Discuss the talk.

XIV
Bishop John England

When Bishop John England reached his episcopal See of Charleston at the end of December, 1820, the political and religious condition of the Catholics had changed considerably. Some of the original States preserved their religious test oaths for office and others held to certain property qualifications for the exercise of the franchise. Among these was one State over whose Catholics he had been given spiritual jurisdiction—North Carolina.

John England was entering upon a territory where social and political intolerance towards Catholics was deeply imbedded in the life of the people; and yet, the very first year of his episcopate proved that there was a way and a manner of reaching Protestant American minds and hearts—and that was a thorough-going spirit of unity, harmony, and understanding of American patriotic ideals. He proved within a year that Protestant doors, private, public and ecclesiastical, would be opened to Catholic leaders whose hearts were patriotically determined to give the best there was in Catholicism for the moral and intellectual uplift of the people, regardless of creed or social status.

Protestant Pulpits Opened to Catholic Bishop

During that first year he travelled everywhere in the three "Protestant States" of his diocese, and found court houses, public halls, and above all the pulpits of every Protestant denomination opened with a hearty welcome to the Catholic bishop. Protestant ministers vied with one another to secure him for their churches and often, to keep the good will of all, he had to remain long enough in these towns, where probably only a handful of his own people lived, to occupy all its pulpits, and he never preached anything but Catholic doctrine, honestly, without minimizing religious differences between his own faith and the audiences he faced, and with such sincerity of purpose that he won friends everywhere, among those who had never heard the Catholic religion spoken of except in terms of bitter prejudice.

Had the Catholic Church in the United States possessed at this time a hierarchy trained in the same mold as John England, and had we had, at each strategic point where episcopal Sees had been erected, bishops who were able to catch in its fulness the new nationalism which followed the War of 1812, it is quite possible that the era of anti-Catholicism which set in about 1830 might not have dawned. Within less than two years the enemies of the Church within the Fold, the turbulent trustees of Charleston and other cities, were forced to surrender to a prelate who used two weapons in the swift, short struggle he had with the rebels—the discipline of the Church and the laws of the American Republic.

Bishop's Patriotism Won Good Will

In founding his diocesan Seminary he stressed in no uncertain terms that only those young men would be advanced to the priesthood who joined to sound faith, tried virtue, and extensive knowledge, "an attachment to our republican institutions—men who could be easily assimilated to the climate, and who would feel that they are, as it were, a part of the country itself." There was never any flamboyant patriotism in his speeches and sermons, never any narrow, chauvinistic viewpoint of America's future. The truth was that he loved this new land to which he had come in order to devote his energies to the spiritual advancement of its Catholic citizens, and loved it in such a way that by his very sincerity he won the good-will and even the co-operation of thousands outside the Faith.

His Address to Congress

Probably, the high point in his career as a bishop came when he stood before President John Quincy Adams and Congress, at its invitation, on Sunday, January 8, 1826, to deliver a sermon two and a half hours in length. Here was an occasion when many a less prudent cleric might have taken as his subject the usual patriotic themes we hear at such assemblies; but those two hours and a half were devoted to a defense of the Catholic doctrine on the meaning of religion, on the duty of worshipping God, and on the obligation of searching after God's truth. And this before a gathering of the legislators of the nation, practically all of whom were Protestants and

who had been fully imbued with the popular idea of the incompatibility of the Roman Catholic Faith and the republican institutions of America. The only reference he made to the growing animosity of Protestants towards his Church, came at the end:

"In these happy and free States we stand upon the equal ground of religious right; we may freely love and bear with each other, and exhibit to Europe a contrast to her jealousies in our affection. By inquiry we shall correct many mistakes, by which our feelings have been embittered; we shall be more bound together in amity, as we become more intimate; and may our harmony and union here below produce that peace and good will that may be emblematic of our enjoyment of more lasting happiness in a better world."

If all of John England's writings may be summed up in a phrase, it is this: that America should be the land where all hatreds expire.

July fourth of that year, 1826, saw the passing into eternity of two of the three surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence—John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who died a few hours apart on the Golden Jubilee of American freedom. Bishop England could point out to the growing hosts of those who seemed bent upon destroying the Catholic Church in the United States, that the last signer, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then eighty-nine years old, was a living proof of the harmony that existed between the doctrines of the Church and the ideals of the Republic. Two years later (1829), in his alarm over the growing intolerance in the land, Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to George Parke Custis, Washington's adopted son, that when he signed the Declaration, he had in view not only our independence from England, "but the toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion and communicating to them all great rights." "God grant," he wrote that same year to a Protestant minister of New York City, "that this religious liberty may be preserved in these States to the end of all time," and that charity and mutual respect should prevail among all Christian sects.

Turning Point in Protestant Attitude

But that year (1829-30) was to be the turning-point in the Protestant attitude towards Catholicism; and the

reader who is interested in the history of religious equality in this country, should compare the "Pastoral Letter to the Laity" which John England wrote at the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, with the "Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States," issued at their General Convention in Philadelphia just a month previous. In the first, the Catholic bishops of the country imposed upon the faithful the duty of charity and forbearance in the face of the almost nation-wide assault being made upon the Catholic religion. In the other, there is an insidious appeal to force and violence as the best "preventative against Popery." In January, 1830, the "Metropolitan" was founded by Archbishop Whitfield for the purpose of keeping the "Catholic Question" on a higher plane. That same month saw the first issue of the "Protestant" in New York City, and its first page contained an appeal to Protestants to throw off the morbid affection of charity towards Catholics, "if they would not sink under the influence of the papal pestilence."

During the next twelve years, Bishop England expended every effort and used to the utmost all his own personal influence, which was national, to offset what he saw only too visibly on the horizon of American social and religious life—the creation of political parties to drive Catholics out of the land and to foment among the uncultured Protestant bodies a mob spirit which would use violence towards that end.

What he hoped for was that the triennial meetings of the American Bishops at Baltimore in Provincial Councils would bring about a united front against the increase of an evil which could easily plunge the country into civil war; but in this he was disappointed. All along the years when unity of action was so badly needed, Bishop England believed that one phrase summed up the Catholic situation—"Fighting in Detached Squads." He did not hold to the policy taken by his colleagues in the American episcopate of allowing the faithful Catholics of their period to lie at the mercy of mob rule. He believed in charity and in the doctrine of loving one's neighbor, but the American in him rose in its anger more than once when he saw that under the guise of exterminating Cath-

olicism in the land, the intolerant Protestants who were abetting mob violence were striking secretly at the American Constitution by endeavoring to create a union of Church and State in this country.

He Defines Catholic Attitude

And it was the American in him that spoke through the "Pastoral Letter" of 1837, at the height of the frenzy of Protestant bigotry, when he wrote:

"We owe no religious allegiance to any State in this Union, nor to its general government. No one of them claims any supremacy or dominion over us in our spiritual or ecclesiastical concerns; nor does it claim any such right or power over any of our fellow-citizens nor would we submit thereto. They and we, by our constitutional principle are free to give this ecclesiastical supremacy to whom we please, or to refuse it to every one, if we so think proper; but, they and we owe civil and political allegiance to the several States in which we reside, and also to our general government. When, therefore, using our undoubted right, we acknowledge the spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy of the chief bishop of our universal church, the Pope or bishop of Rome, we do not thereby forfeit our claim to the civil and political protection of the commonwealth; for, we do not detract from the allegiance to which the temporal governments are plainly entitled, and which we cheerfully give; nor do we acknowledge any civil or political supremacy or power over us in any foreign potentate or power, though that potentate might be the chief pastor of our church."

Study Club Outline

1. Have one of your group outline the career of Bishop England. Discuss his ability to win an audience, his patriotism and good will.
2. What was unique about Bishop England's address to Congress?
3. What phrase sums up all of Bishop England's writings?
4. What two signers of the Declaration of Independence died on the same day? Who then remained the sole survivor of the signers?
5. What may be called the turning point in the Protestant attitude towards Catholicism? Discuss. Define the Catholic teaching on allegiance to Church and State.

XV
Anti-Catholic Literature

No two facts are more outstanding in what is now known as the period of Jacksonian Democracy (1829-1841) than the advent of the "common man" in party politics and the sudden rise and growth of scurrilous literature against the Catholic Faith. By the time the American Protestant Association was organized in New York (1830), the Protestant press had so swollen the "Catholic Question" out of proportion that it would be difficult to describe the revivals that had occurred in Protestant denominational churches without centering them around the inherent fear of the Catholic Church which somehow the descendants of the Puritans had not been able to overcome. The very elements in the social and intellectual life of the United States which should have lowered the barriers of intolerance—the spread of democratic ideas, a more widely diffused knowledge of Catholic life, as lived by the thousands of immigrants who flocked to our country, the growth of industrial life, of business and of commerce, in all three of which there was little if any spur to mark off creed from creed—these factors apparently failed to produce a better feeling among the younger and more vigorous-minded Americans of the day.

Out of the same Middle West whence had come the hosts which had sent John Quincy Adams and his New England Puritan backing down to defeat in 1828, and had forced into the Presidency the "Man of the People," Andrew Jackson, came a goodly group of religious leaders who meant to save the East from another kind of corruption—"Romanism." It was an idle fancy of the editors of our Catholic newspapers to hope that the points of controversy on the "Catholic Question", would keep to the high, dignified, and intelligent plane of pure controversy. There had been controversies where the evident purpose on both sides was to clarify the question at issue.

Carroll-Wharton Controversy

Nothing nobler in the English language exists than

the controversy which occurred in 1784 between our first bishop, John Carroll, and his apostate cousin, the former Jesuit, Charles Wharton. The subjects discussed were infallibility, transubstantiation, and the problem of salvation outside the Catholic Church. Carroll's "Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States" is by far the most brilliant controversial tract of its day. The controversy between the noted Boston convert, Father John Thayer, and the Rev. George Leslie, a Congregationalist minister, in 1793, again centered around the question of infallibility, and both opponents displayed an uncommon erudition and ability of presentation. A controversy in 1819, between Father Leonard Edelen, S. J., and the Rev. John Brady, of the Episcopal Church, was on the Church's attitude towards the Bible. During the next decade and a half (1820-1836), the Catholic newspapers were practically all engaged in controversy with local Protestant ministers, and among these weekly papers, the one which bore the brunt of the nation-wide opposition to Catholicism was Bishop England's "United States Catholic Miscellany," which he founded in 1822. Even he, gallant and courteous fighter though he was, soon realized that the gentlemanly days of theological dispute were gone.

A definite date cannot be given to the change. But it is part of that great frontier movement which historians today accept as the explanation of all nineteenth-century American history. The trek westward had begun before the American Revolution and grew in volume as the territories in the Middle West became States. A working theory for the political and religious situation at the time (1830-1835) would be that the cities in the East were already throbbing with Catholic life and that the Middle West, the "Valley," as it was called, was to be saved by all means from the inroads of the Catholic immigrant.

Bishop England has a paragraph in the "Catholic Miscellany" for July 4, 1835, which describes this attitude of mind:

> "How common has been the expedient, employed by missionaries from the west, in the eastern states, of raising money for education or for religion, upon the

allegation that it was necessary to prevent the ascendancy of the Catholics? How often has it been asserted, throughout the last ten years, that this was the chosen field on which the papists had erected their standard, and where the battle must be fought for civil and religious liberty? What tales of horror have been poured into the ears of the confiding children of the pilgrims, of young men emigrating to the west, marrying Catholic ladies, and collapsing without a struggle into the arms of Romanism; of splendid edifices undermined by profound dungeons, prepared for the reception of heretic Republicans; of boxes of firearms secretly transported into hidden receptacles, in the very bosom of our flourishing cities; of vast and widely ramified European conspiracies by which Irish Catholics are suddenly converted into lovers of monarchy and obedient instruments of King!"

The Abuse of Catholics

The abuse of Catholics had by this time become a trade and into the whirlpool of the animosities created there was flung a host of anti-Catholic tracts and books which dragged the old-time controversies into a base and obscene slough. In vain did the better-minded Protestant leaders, cleric and lay, strive to prevent this degradation of what they believed to be a legitimate method of combating the advancing hosts of Catholicism.

The Catholics in 1835 formed a minority of less than one twenty-fifth part of the population of the United States, and by many liberal-minded Protestant editors, it was acknowledged to be the height of the ridiculous to see the anti-Catholic press constantly repeating the charge that 500,000 American Catholics could be a menace to the liberty of nearly 12,000,000 American Protestants, while, as one editor puts it, "the great elements of power, physical and moral, such as the wealth, the literature, the education, the press, the government of the country, are almost exclusively in Protestant hands. It is useless to accumulate arguments on such premises."

Political Aspects of Anti-Catholic Campaign

The political aspect of the abuse heaped upon the Catholics was subordinated at this period to the crusade against the moral character of Catholics, especially in regard to the clergy and the nuns. Another passage from

John England's usually restrained pen reveals the hideousness of the attack:

"We are so tired and disgusted with the relentless outpourings of fanaticism, and rank, loathsome filth collected and swept to our doors by every vehicle of revolting bigotry, that we are wearied with the task imposed upon us, of refuting today the charge we must meet afresh tomorrow. . . . If we destroy our altars, demolish our churches, burn our records, our olden documents—stand forth tomorrow as ready to embrace what we are told we knew not before, the correct knowledge of what the Redeemer taught, and what is worse if we be, as we are, told to seek for that amongst wrangling, jarring sects, before what tribunal in the United States must the 'Catholic Question' in America receive the final decision? It is high time to answer this 'Question'. Misrepresentation and calumny and slander have had their long day. . . Let the sect of Protestantism be named to which we must adhere in preference to all others, and thus claim for itself the prerogative of infallibility, we then shall find something tangible, something beyond the mere empty sound of the Religion of the Bible and such loose phraseology, and then and not till then can we with that sect, the Ajax of the Protestant religion, adjust the difference between it and mother church and thus decide the 'Catholic Question' in America."

The Catholic Church in the United States, a century ago, was in a somewhat singular situation. From Maine to Florida and westward to the Mississippi, Catholics were assailed by every species of calumny and vituperation. What the opposition wanted to produce, no man knew then, no man knows now. What was expected as a result of the wave upon wave of slander and misrepresentation that swept the Barque of Peter, no man who reads this contemporary literature can form the least logical idea.

Scurrilous Attacks on Priests and Nuns

No complete study has ever been made of the anti-Catholic literature in the United States during the nineteenth century. Bishop England listed the number of Protestant newspapers devoted to scurrilous attacks upon the Catholic clergy and sisterhood as almost four hundred.

But the chief weapon was the printed book and pamphlet. To list all that were issued during the period previous to the Civil War would fill several pages. Lyman Beecher, who was principally responsible for the mob that burned the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834, wrote his "Plea for the West," the following year in order to arouse Protestants to the danger the "Valley" ran from Romanism; and two years later Maria Monk's "Awful Disclosures" appeared, fostered by a publishing house of New York City which later became quite prominent. Other volumes published during this period of frenzied attack on the Church were: "The Convents' Doom," "Party Spirit and Popery, or the Beast and his Rider," "Romanism Incompatible with Republican Institutions," "A Treatise on the Jesuits," "Pope or President," "Six Hours in a Convent," "The Master Key to Popery," "A Letter from Rome Showing the Exact conformity of Popery and Paganism," "Popery Unmasked," "Nunneries as They Are," "Six Months in a Convent," and a number of novels, chief of which were: "Rosamund Culbertson," "Hannah Corcoran," "Louise, a Canadian Nun," and "Father Clement."

There could be but one logical outcome from the flood of abuse these volumes created. Read with avidity in the backwoods and in the rural districts where the hawkers and peddlers stopped on their journey where they filled a want in minds that were stagnant from the lack of external interests, this literature sold as did no other kind in the United States before this time. The Yankee peddler was never at a loss to sell his stock of books, and wandering preachers and colporteurs of the American Tract Society visited an amazing number of families distributing volumes that were almost without exception breeders of a prejudice and error against the Catholic Faith which have never been eradicated.

The Puritan Literature

Probably nothing has done so much to create anti-Catholic sentiment in the whole history of the Church as the Puritan literature in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. The alarm had been sounded after the War of 1812, when Catholic immigration became a formidable social and religious factor in

national life, and the steady stream of villification coming from the Protestant religious newspapers, from vicious and obscene pamphlets, tracts, and books, inevitably brought the issue of Americanism and Catholicism to what is probably its highest level in our history. Prejudice that had become ingrained as the result of centuries of abuse and misrepresentation in Protestant England and Scotland needed little impetus towards the violent outbreaks of the two decades immediately before the Civil War. It is all a sad commentary on the message George Washington gave to his Catholic fellow-citizens in 1790:

"As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the Community are equally entitled to the protection of civil Government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost Nations in example of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their Government; or the important assistance which they received from a Nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

Study Club Outline

1. What threatened to remove from its high plane the Catholic-Protestant controversy? What effect did the frontier movement have?
2. How many Catholics were there in the U. S. in 1835? How many are there today? Who controlled the press, education and government a century ago? Who does today? (A knowledge of present conditions is needed here. If necessary ask your study club leader to discuss these questions.)
3. Why did the anti-Catholic attack become especially obnoxious at this time? Discuss Bishop England's protest.
4. How many anti-Catholic papers were there 100 years ago? What was the Catholic defense of scurrilous attacks? What was the effect of the attacks?
5. What message to Catholics from George Washington is here printed? What other friendliness did he evidence towards our forefathers?

XVI
The Pioneer Catholic Press

No chapter in the history of the "Catholic Question" in the United States is more important than that describing the origin and progress of our American Catholic newspapers and periodicals.

Here is a noble theme awaiting a just and adequate study at the hands of a competent historian.

In the story of the Catholic Press in this country we reach what may well be called the first heroic heights of the gallant efforts Catholics have always made to promote harmony in American social and religious life. The purpose of the Catholic newspaper from the beginning was not only to make known to its readers items of current interest, but also to assist the clergy in clearing away that uncommon mass of prejudice and animosity towards the Church which the colonial period had so deliberately and so successfully fostered.

No country in the world depends more largely than our own upon the public press for the formation of public opinion. As in every other land where Protestantism counts its adherents in greater numbers than the Catholic Church, the power of the press in the United States has always been an uncertain factor in the promotion of religious equality.

In colonial times, from the year 1690 onwards, there were newspapers in many of the leading cities and towns, and it is safe to say that, apart from scattered notices which help us to follow the story of Catholic immigration into the colonies, all these newspapers were dominated by the "No Popery" spirit of the colonial charters and legislation.

After the War of Independence American newspapers and periodicals of a religious character sprang up all over the new Republic. These were in most cases violently anti-Catholic. They were founded for the express purpose of carrying the prejudices and hatreds of the Puritan colonial mind into our national life. With rare exceptions, the ethics of these Protestant editors seldom rose above the range of misrepresentation and unfairness

in dealing with Catholic topics. If the secular press of the early decades of the nineteenth century was anti-English, it was also anti-Irish. The religious faith of the Irish newcomers was too closely bound up with the political struggle for Catholic freedom in Great Britain and Ireland for our newspapers to treat them with justice and fairness.

Catholic Press Started by Irish

The first newspapers under Catholic management, therefore, were Irish journals founded by exiles from Erin who realized the power of the press in keeping the American mind properly informed on the fight for political and religious freedom across the seas. The earliest of these weeklies was the "Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle," begun in New York, on December 10, 1810, by Thomas O'Conor, the father of the great jurist, Charles O'Conor. The chief questions dealt with in its columns were the agitation for the Repeal of the Union and Catholic Emancipation. In treating these, its editor had to cope week by week with malignant prejudices against Ireland and the Catholic Faith. The illustrious Doctor William MacNeven, who contributed to its columns, says that such a periodical was then a vital necessity in the United States, because "the same violence and invective, the same violation of truth, the same distortion of the past, that marked the conduct of the British faction towards the United Irishmen in Europe, have been revived here by the retainers and hirelings of the same enemy."

First Distinctively Catholic Weekly

In June, 1822, appeared the first issue of our first distinctively religious weekly—the "United States Catholic Miscellany," founded by Bishop John England of Charleston.

It was in a very real sense the forerunner of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR. Like O. S. V. its object was to meet a well-recognized need in Catholic American life. At the time Bishop England ventured to enter the precariously-supported field of Catholic journalism, the Protestant religious newspapers were not only numerous, but were busily fanning the smoldering flames of religious bigotry. With but few exceptions in those days, the ranks of the

Protestant ministry were filled with men whose best asset was their forensic power of denunciation of all things Catholic. Dr. England's "Miscellany" was quickly understood by these defamers of the Catholic Faith as a courageous effort to place before the reading public answers to the charges that formed the warp and woof of the Protestant press and as a keen and profound attack upon what undoubtedly has never died out in the Puritan mind of America—the determination to form a union of Protestant Church and American State. It was not without vision into that future which is part of our immediate present that led the young Bishop of Charleston to place as a motto to the "Miscellany" the first amendment to the Federal Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Bishop England's example was not lost upon his fellow-priests, and during the twenty years of his editorship of the "Miscellany" other Catholic weekly newspapers were founded in the more populous centers of the country. Among these were the "Truth Teller," founded by his life-long friend, Father John Power, in New York City in 1825; the "Catholic Press," started at Hartford Conn., in 1829, under Bishop Fenwick's guidance, the first number of which was greeted by the editor of the "Connecticut Observer" with the appeal, "How will it read in history that in 1829, Hartford in the State of Connecticut, was made the center of a Roman Catholic Mission?"

A year later, when the "Observer" had failed to arouse the readers to rise up and destroy the little Catholic church in that city, every street was placarded with the following printed notice: "To the Public. Be it known unto far and near that all Catholics and all persons in favor of the Catholic church are a set of vile impostors, liars, villains and cowardly cutthroats. I bid defiance to that villain, the Pope. A True American."

Beginning of Boston Pilot

The "Catholic Press" was followed by the "Jesuit and Catholic Sentinel" founded that same year (1829) by Bishop Fenwick of Boston. In the files of the "Jesuit"

we find the best historical material for that outrage upon the Ursuline nuns of Charlestown, which Bishop England always called the "Shame of Massachusetts." In 1835, the title of the Boston weekly was changed to the "Literary and Catholic Sentinel," and the following year it became the "Boston Pilot," now the oldest and one of the most influential Catholic diocesan newspapers in the United States.

Meanwhile, in other cities, Catholic weeklies were started. In Cincinnati, the "Catholic Telegraph" began its long and successful career in 1831, and two years later under the direction of the future Archbishop of New York, Father John Hughes, the "Catholic Herald" was established in Philadelphia. Out in St. Louis, the "Shepherd of the Valley" was begun in 1832, and in 1835 at Bardstown, Ky., the "Catholic Advocate" was founded. In 1837, the first German Catholic weekly, "Der Wahrheitsfreund," was started in Cincinnati. In 1840, the "Freeman's Journal" was established in New York City, and in 1842, the first successful French weekly, "La Propagateur Catholique," was begun in New Orleans.

In 1844, the Pittsburgh "Catholic" was launched by Bishop O'Connor, and the "Catholic Mirror" of Baltimore, which made its appearance in 1849, was to last up to 1908, when it was succeeded by the "Baltimore Catholic Review." In 1852, Thomas O'Arcy McGee began publishing his "American Celt," which became five years later the "New York Tablet," the most literary of all our weeklies in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. At the time the Civil War broke out, each Catholic center of importance had its weekly or monthly newspaper. Accurate data concerning all these periodicals is not easily ascertained; but from a list published in 1893 by the late Rev. Dr. Middleton, O. S. A., of Villanova, it is evident that the Catholic press suffered many failures owing to the economic crisis of the decade before the war.

During this first period of Catholic journalism (1810-1865) many other ventures were made with weekly and monthly periodicals, but only the few of the newspapers mentioned above have lasted until our day. When the time comes to write the complete history of the "Catholic Question" in this country, all these periodicals will be

found to contain valuable material on the progress of the ideal of religious equality in the United States.

Leadership of the "Catholic Miscellany"

Among all these weeklies founded before the Civil War, the "Catholic Miscellany" of Charleston never lost its leadership in Catholic journalism. In 1856, Archbishop Hughes could write in his "Reflections on the Catholic Press in the United States" that the "Miscellany" had sustained itself throughout with a dignity and an erudition such as had not been surpassed by any Catholic periodical in the country.

Study Club Outline

1. Who founded the first Catholic papers in the U. S.? Why were such papers necessary? Name the first distinctively Catholic weekly. Who was its founder?
2. In what way did "The United States Catholic Miscellany" compare with OUR SUNDAY VISITOR? See Chapter 37.
3. Which is the oldest Catholic paper published today? Name some of the first papers. Why did many of the papers fail?
4. Have one of your group or your study club leader discuss Catholic journalism in the U. S. today.
5. Have another member discuss the necessity of a strong Catholic Press. Are you in duty bound to support the Catholic Press? Why?

XVII
Native Americanism

Stripped of all its lies and subterfuges, Native-Americanism means nothing less than this: the United States is a Protestant country; Catholics are permitted to come here, and to make their homes, and to enjoy that which apparently is of supreme importance to them, namely, the free exercise of their religious worship; but beyond this right which is written into the Constitution, they are to be thwarted in every legitimate or illegitimate way from political equality with their fellow-citizens of non-Catholic faiths.

The origin of the Native-American Party is not known with certainty. Much has been written on this Politico-religious group and on its successor in the field, the Know-Nothings. If their own histories are to be trusted, the first meeting held was that at Germantown, Pa., in 1837, when a constitution was framed and adopted, and the platform of the Party expressed in these words:

> "While, at the same time, we invite the stranger, worn down by opposition at home, to come and share with us the blessings of our native land—here find an asylum for his distress, and partake of the plenty a kind Providence has so bountifully given us, we deny his right (hereby meaning as foreigner any immigrant who may hereafter arrive in our country) to have a voice in our legislative halls, his eligibility to office under any circumstances, and we ask a repeal of that Naturalization Law (1790), which, it must be apparent to every reflecting mind, to every true son of America, has now become an evil."

This initial stage was not followed up with sufficient zest, and, as the "Nativists" saw, had no effect on keeping the Catholic Irish from offices of trust and profit under the Constitution. The leaders of the movement were always somewhat boisterous in their assurance that nothing was contemplated which would interfere with the religious tenets of the Church. It was simply an effort to save America for those who founded it—the Protestant churches.

American Republican Association

A second meeting took place in Philadelphia in December, 1843, and a society was formed—The American Republican Association. In its Declaration of Principles, we read: "We hold that native Americans, only, should be appointed to office, to legislate, administer, or execute the laws of their own country." A similar organization was created in New York the following year and soon gained sufficient force to elect James Harper mayor of the city. In Philadelphia there was a deliberate baiting of Irish Catholics and only a spark was needed to set ablaze the smouldering enmities of years. Kirlin well says in his "Catholicity in Philadelphia" that "the year 1844 is written black in the history of Philadelphia, because of the un-American and un-Christian scenes of violence that disgraced the traditions of the City of Brotherly Love." That the Philadelphia situation was deliberately created by ministers and members of the Presbyterian church no one who reads the contemporary sources will deny. The secular press of Philadelphia added to the turmoil by abusing day after day the "Irish Papists," the "miscreant Irish," the "degraded slaves of the Pope." It was a new, fresh, vigorous and deadly chorus from Colonial days, and the refrain was always: "No Popery."

The riots that took place in Philadelphia in May and July, 1844, and the fearful disorders and bloodshed that ensued, we need not stop to describe. When calm came, St. Augustine's church was a blackened ruin and in the ashes were the remains of one of the finest libraries in the United States. St. Michael's church had been burned and looted the day before, and it looked for a while as if every Catholic institution in the city would be destroyed. Bishop Kenrick took refuge with a Protestant clergyman and the Blessed Sacrament was removed from St. John's church to the house of another Protestant gentleman. "It was a heart-sickening sight," one of the newspapers said, "the like of which we hope we may never again look upon in this or any other city—a sight mortifying and humiliating to those who have been taught to believe that our laws afford equal and efficient protection to all."

Let the truth be told—there was no remorse in the ranks of the Native Americans. Their three newspapers,

"The Native Eagle," "The Native American," and "The Daily Sun," continued to cry for more violence and outrage upon the Catholics of the city.

Terrorism of Nativists

All efforts were now to be directed towards a great public demonstration on July Fourth, 1844. That day and night all Catholic churches and rectories were protected by the police and by volunteer bands, and during the next week the city was terrorized by the marauding "Nativists" clamoring for a show of force. Bloodshed again occurred, and the situation became so unmanageable that a messenger was sent to Washington to ask the President to dispatch troops at the earliest moment. Fortunately, the military forces in the city were able to enforce a cessation of the mob violence.

The Philadelphia riots frightened the entire country and Nativism was never able to recover its influence in local or national politics. A national convention of the Party was held at Philadelphia in July, 1845, and the principle was adopted that "no foreigner, hereafter coming to these United States, shall be allowed to exercise the elective franchise, until he shall have become a resident here at least twenty-five years." This was to become a plank in the platform of the Know-Nothing Party within the next decade.

This first attempt to settle the "Catholic Question" in the United States by an appeal to force ended in rioting, burning of churches, and bloodshed. All true Americans of the day were ashamed. Good men of all Protestant denominations deplored the fearful deeds of the fanatics who were responsible. The "Shame of Massachusetts" had grown more forbidding as the "Shame of Philadelphia" arose, and the shadow of intolerance lay heavy upon the land. Only one good result came out of it all—the league against Catholicism was discredited after five months of existence. There were those in Protestant circles who recalled for the benefit of the fanatics that the Gordon Riots in London in 1780 marked the precise beginning of Catholic growth and prosperity in England.

Study Club Outline

1. What does "Native-Americanism" really mean? What was the Native American Party? The Know-Nothing Party? (See Chapter 19.) The Ku Klux Klan?. (See Chapter 35.)
2. Discuss the disorders in Philadelphia and the burning of St. Augustine's Church.
3. What was the effect of the Philadelphia riots on the rest of the country? On the influence of Nativism?
4. Can you recall from a past chapter what was termed the "shame of Massachusetts"?
5. Ask one of your group to give a brief review of what you have so far studied in this book.

XVIII
Archbishop John Hughes

The first period of the history of our American hierarchy (1790-1815) belongs to John Carroll as its outstanding figure. The second period (1820-1842) belongs to the ablest exponent of the Catholic Faith in the United States up to the present, Bishop John England. The third period (1842-1864) is unquestionably that of John Hughes, first Archbishop of New York.

John Hughes had a singularly attractive career. He was born in Ireland in 1797, came to the United States in 1817, and in 1820 entered Mount St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, to study for the priesthood. Ordained by Bishop Carroll for the Diocese of Philadelphia in 1826, he was successively stationed at St. Augustine's, St. Mary's, St. Joseph's, and St. John's, the last of which he built in 1832. The following three years witnessed his victory over the Rev. John Breckenridge, a Presbyterian minister of Baltimore, in a controversy which gave Father Hughes national fame.

It is to be lamented that Catholics today are not familiar with the "Discussion of the Question: Is the Roman Catholic Religion in any or in all its Principles or Doctrines, inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty?" which was published as "Oral Discussion," in 1836. This volume contains both sides of the controversy and is in reality an encyclopedia of objections against the Church by Breckenridge and of answers by Father Hughes. For the first time in the history of the Faith in this country, the doctrines of the Catholic Church obtained a hearing in almost every section of the Protestant public. Father Hughes was well liked in Philadelphia, and his many friends in Protestant circles could not fail to contrast the gentlemanly Christian spirit with which he met his opponent and the scurrilous language to which Breckenridge soon descended, when he saw that the controversy was lost to his side of the argument.

Becomes Coadjutor Bishop of New York

In 1837, John Hughes was appointed Coadjutor-Bishop of New York and was consecrated on January 7,

1838, in old St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City. He succeeded Bishop Dubois on the latter's death. December 20, 1842.

The great fight of Bishop Hughes' episcopate was over the common school system. The public funds for elementary education in New York were entrusted to the Public School Society and theoretically the object was "to teach religion without sectarianism." But the practice of the Society was even worse. The influence of the public school commissioners, the text-books used and the bulk of the teaching body, were all highly anti-Catholic in spirit. So much so, that the school system of New York, supported by public money raised by taxes, was a weapon of antagonism against the Catholic Faith. For two years, Bishop Hughes led the Catholics of New York against the iniquities of so un-American a situation and won his case against the Public School Society which finally went out of existence.

Exclusion of Catholics From Office

In the midst of the excitement caused by the school controversy came the first organized party-movement towards the exclusion of Catholics from public office. Bishop Hughes had gained such extraordinary influence in Irish circles in New York that he was naturally singled out by the Native-Americans as their chief foe. In April, 1844, the Native-Americans paraded New York City, carrying illuminated banners with the words, "No Popery," on them, and with hidden arms, trying to provoke a riot with the Catholics. Nothing untoward occurred, since Bishop Hughes had strictly ordered his people to avoid all contact with the anti-Catholic mob. The Native-American success in Philadelphia, between May and July, 1844, in destroying several churches and in creating an unforgettable condition of rioting and bloodshed in that city, made them more eager than ever to repeat their villainous outrages in New York City. Only the valiant stand of Bishop Hughes prevented a massacre in what was then America's leading city. The Mayor, Robert H. Morris, had evidently no intention of protecting the lives and property of the Catholic citizens, until Bishop Hughes warned him that there were laws in the State Constitution which permitted such protection and hinted

that were these laws not carried out, Catholics would protect themselves in a legal manner. This could have only one meaning, and Morris fortunately understood—there was no disturbance in New York City.

When the Know-Nothing movement become a danger to Catholic peace ten years later, Archbishop Hughes again showed his consummate prudence in warning his flock to avoid every appearance of aggression, and to face the danger with confidence that no party so thoroughly un-American could long thrive in this country. It is remarkable that New York enjoyed peace all through the turbulent days of the Know-Nothing riots in other cities.

Archbishop Hughes was the second Catholic prelate to be invited to address Congress. It was almost twenty years after John England had done so, when in 1847, Archbishop Hughes spoke to Congress on "Christianity, the Only Source of Moral, Social, and Political Regeneration." This remarkable sermon, though much shorter than that of Bishop England, follows practically the same theme—the necessity of religion, the truth of the Christian religion, and the impossibility of government unless founded upon that respect for law and order which is an essential doctrine of Christian duty.

Sent as U. S. Envoy

Archbishop Hughes holds one of the unique distinctions which have come to members of our hierarchy—that of being entrusted as envoy extraordinary with a political mission to the Court of Napoleon III. While in attendance at the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1846), he was called to Washington by Buchanan, then secretary of state, evidently for the purpose of being sent on a diplomatic mission to Mexico. This honor he politely declined, on the advice of the prelates of the Council, unless the Government gave him the full rank and title of a diplomatic representative. President Polk was unable to do this owing to the manner in which the Mexican government had treated our minister. The request made by Secretary Seward, in 1861, was of a similar kind, and this time no difficulty existed to prevent his acceptance of so high an honor.

Archbishop Hughes left for Europe in November,

1861, and, as his own letters indicate, it was chiefly through his consummate tact that France was prevented from following in the footsteps of England in recognizing the Confederacy. On his return to New York on August 12, 1862, the whole city turned out to welcome him, and the mayor greeted him with a congratulatory address extolling the success he had in Europe in winning many statesmen to the Union cause.

The journey to Europe exhausted his strength which had never been very robust. He went to Baltimore to attend the funeral of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, in July, 1863. On his return to New York from Baltimore he found his episcopal city in a frenzy of excitement over the conscription quota, and at the height of the riots in July, 1863, Governor Horatio Seymour wrote to him, begging him to exert his powerful influence to put a stop to the disorder then reigning in the city. Although broken in health, Archbishop Hughes readily accepted this call to duty and addressed a crowd of five thousand persons, who had gathered to hear him, from the balcony of his house, at 218 Madison Ave.

His Appeal for Order

Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, in chronicling the sale of this house, thus describes the scene:

> "He came out on the balcony with Vicar-General Starrs and several other priests, but he was not able to stand up. Seated in a chair, he made a long and rambling speech that plainly indicated the ravages his fatal malady had made on him mentally as well as physically. At the end he was much exhausted and the crowd peacefully dispersed after he had given them his blessing. It was his last public appearance. He travelled during August and September in a vain search for strength, and passed the next months in a state of almost entire prostration, his vitality steadily waning until the end came as the year closed."

He died on January 3, 1864. To quote from the biographical sketch penned by Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop Hughes "lived and passed away amid stirring times. It was providential for Church and country that he lived when he did. His natural gifts of mind and heart, independent of his education, were of a high order and made

him pre-eminent in leadership. Not only was he a great ruler of an important diocese in a hierarchy remarkable for distinguished bishops, but also a master-builder of the Church in the United States and one of the most helpful and sagacious of the makers of America."

Church and State will ever be indebted to John Hughes, the fearless priest of God and the loyal citizen of this country, for a life lived solely for the advancement of his fellow-man.

Study Club Outline

1. Who were the Catholic leaders in the three periods of history up to 1864? Appoint three of your group to briefly discuss these men and their contribution to our Church and Country.
2. What did Bishop Hughes attack in New York? Why? Ask one of your group to explain the Catholic attitude towards public schools today.
3. Discuss the wisdom of Bishop Hughes in warning Catholics to avoid contact with the "Native Americans."
4. Name two events in the life of Archbishop Hughes which "made history."
5. Let each of your members tell who in his or her opinion is the outstanding Catholic leader in the nation today. Give your reasons for your choice.

XIX
KNOW-NOTHINGISM

"They never pardon, who have done the wrong!"—No phrase describes so well the persistent Puritan intolerance which existed in the U. S. The "Shame of Massachusetts" in 1834 was followed by the "Shame of Philadelphia" in 1844, and the end of the next decade was to witness the most striking anti-Catholic demonstration in our history.

Cajetan Bedini, titular Archbishop of Thebes and Governor of the Papal State of Bologna, was appointed in 1853 Apostolic Nuncio to the Court of Brazil. Instructed by Pope Pius IX to visit the United States on his journey to South America, Bedini arrived in New York on June 30, 1853, and proceeded to Washington to present a friendly letter from the Holy Father to President Pierce. The animosity of the Protestant newspapers was immediately aroused and Bedini was accused of trying to obtain official recognition as papal envoy to this country. Even had this been his secret purpose in coming to the United States, Bedini would not have been violating diplomatic courtesy, since our country had its own Ministers accredited to the Court of Pius IX since 1847. The opposition to Bedini's presence here was led by Gavazzi, an apostate priest of Bologna, the leader of a band of Italian revolutionists in New York City.

The Know-Nothing groups in our chief cities were then in a formative stage, and aided by Italian renegades and malcontent Irish, these anti-Catholic leaders determined to drive the Archbishop out of the country. Plots to assassinate him were formed, and public demonstrations against him were held in New York, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Cincinnati, and elsewhere; but the noble courage of the Archbishop won the protection of local authorities, although the government of the United States took no measures to guard the envoy of the Holy See from these vile outbreaks. Bedini's visit may have been ill-timed, but his incomparable dignity and fearlessness made a profound impression on all the better classes of Protes-

tants. He remained here until January, 1854, when he returned to Rome.

Native-American Party Revived

Bedini's visit was all that was needed to revive the animosity towards Catholics which had been sullenly quiet after the bloodshed of 1844; and the old Native-American Party was revived, under the name of Know-Nothings, between 1853 and 1858. The Know-Nothing leaders had as their purpose the amalgamation into one political party of the various anti-Catholic organizations —Sons of the Sires, American Republicans, Order of United Americans, Sons of America, United American Mechanics, and others. The united group was called the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner, and was familiarly known as "Sam." In its published ritual, it was stated that the aim of the Order was "to protect every American citizen in the legal and proper exercise of his civil and religious rights and privileges; to resist the insidious policy of the Church of Rome and all other foreign influences against our republican institutions in all lawful ways; and to place in all offices of honor, trust or profit in the gift of the people or by appointment none but Native-American Protestant citizens."

The utmost secrecy was enjoined upon the members who were instructed to reply to all questions: "I don't know," thus winning for themselves the nickname "Know-Nothing." Within a short time, Know-Nothingism was firmly established in thirty-five states and territories, and its leaders claimed control over a million and a half of the voting population. Its candidates had won municipal elections in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, San Francisco, New Orleans, and other cities, and in 1854 there were forty Know-Nothing representatives in Congress. The following year this number had grown to seventy-five, and it was logical that the Know-Nothing Party should enter national politics.

This opportunity came in the campaign of 1856. The two major parties at this time were the Republicans and Democrats, and the leaders of both parties realized that the entrance of the American or Know-Nothing Party into the contest was fraught with serious danger to the peace of the country. The Know-Nothing platform of

1856 contained an election slogan—"Americans must rule America." Article V of the platform reads: "No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any alliance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power." Article IX demanded a change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years an indispensable requirement for citizenship.

Democrats Repudiated Know-Nothingism

The Democratic party platform disavowed all connection with the Know-Nothing principles, and declared:

> "A political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government."

The Republican party, the legatee of the old Federalist and Whig policies, had too many anti-Catholic incidents in its career to repudiate openly the Know-Nothing platform, but it was generally known that the Republicans meant to oppose any discrimination against Catholic citizens.

The Know-Nothings nominated Millard Fillmore at Philadelphia in 1856 as their candidate for president. Opposed to Fillmore was James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democrats, and John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate. Fremont's father was a Catholic and he had himself given expression to his reverence for the Catholic Church, although he had been reared an Episcopalian. This, with other facts of a similar nature, was used against the great Pathfinder in the campaign of 1856.

The presidential election of 1856 was the first in which full rein was given to anti-Catholic politics in this country. There can be no doubt that the Know-Nothing party expected to win a tremendous vote. The result was an astounding revelation of the popular distaste for the injection of religion into politics. Rioting occurred during the election and bloodshed also; but when the votes were counted, it was seen that the Know-Nothings had

been crushed in every state in the Union, except one, Maryland.

"The American people," writes Peter Condon, "had weighed the claims of the Know-Nothing party to be regarded as the saviours of the republic and had witnessed the criminal excesses to which that party had resorted in its effort to secure political control, and the sober sense of the great mass of the people had repudiated both."

The Know-Nothing party now passed out of national politics to be succeeded some thirty years later by the American Protective Association. In local politics it held its ground until the outbreak of the Civil War and its history during these years is a long list of outrages, rowdyism, and bloodshed.

From the standpoint of internal political peace in the United States, nothing is more regrettable than that the criminal excesses of the Know-Nothings, and of the Native Americans before them, should be forgotten by our Catholic and non-Catholic citizens. Each generation of Americans had witnessed the recrudescence of this Puritan intolerance towards the Catholic Church, and if history is of any value at all to the average citizen, that value certainly is the lesson it teaches for the present problems in our national life.

Were the outrages and public violations of the law by these anti-Catholic mobs known in all their details, there would be more hesitation on the part of non-Catholics in joining similar organizations. Were Catholic citizens to know in all their details the pages that might be written on the action of the local police and civil authority which so often refused to protect the lives and the property of their co-religionists, there would be more hesitation in accepting the benign and optimistic view that such outrages cannot happen in the future. This latter fact is so appallingly evident in the history of these anti-Catholic outbreaks that they must give every honest citizen pause. Only the prudence and Christian forbearance of our bishops during the reign of Know-Nothing terror from 1853 to 1860 kept the country from witnessing that worst of all political evils—a religious war.

The Catholic Church in the United States came peril-

ously close during these years to witnessing a constitutional amendment denying the franchise to its children.

Lincoln's Letter of Tolerance

There was then as there has ever been in American life an overwhelming number of non-Catholics who realized the threat to the permanency of our republican institutions in each anti-Catholic movement we have had during the past century. The reaction to Know-Nothingism saw the formation of a society for the protection of civil and religious liberty in which many of the best citizens of the land secured membership. There is among the letters of Abraham Lincoln one written to a friend on August 24, 1855, which deserves to be cited:

> "I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, "all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

Two years later (February 23, 1857), George Washington Custis, the adopted son of the first President, wrote to the Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty:

> "The American people have forgotten the great principles of the Revolution for which their fathers fought and bled in the times that tried men's souls, and have introduced in modern times bigotry and intolerance where all should be kindliness and brotherly love. . . the adopted son and last survivor of the domestic family of the beloved chief, I speak to my countrymen as with a voice from Mount Vernon, and I pray God that the Americans, seeing the error of their ways, may return to first principles; the spirit of the Revolution and civil and religious liberty."

The anti-Catholic cry had been heard so long in the land that the Hon. J. R. Chandler of Pennsylvania made

it the subject of an eloquent speech in the House of Representatives on January 10, 1855. There was a charge of latent treason in the accusation that the religious faith of Catholics "overrides all fealty to the government of the country and would render them unworthy of public truth—suspected citizens and dangerous officers." Mr. Chandler, a Catholic, replied to these words of Nathaniel Banks, representative from Massachusetts, taken from an address in which the latter said: "I will say that, if it be true that the Pope is held to be supreme in secular, as in sacred affairs, that he can absolve men from their relations with others not of the true faith, it is not strange that men should hesitate in support of his followers. I would not vote for any man holding to that doctrine, and I doubt not, other gentlemen here would concur with me in that feeling."

Chandler's Answer to Banks

Chandler's noble answer to this age-old charge—"as old," he says, "as the hostility of paganism to Christianity," deserves to be read in full in these days. Quotations from the writings of Bishop England, Archbishop Kenrick, Archbishop Troy of Dublin, Archbishop Hughes and other prelates are given in his speech to prove the "entire political independence of every Roman Catholic outside of the Papal States." The famous Propositions of 1789 sent by Pitt to the Catholic Universities of Europe are introduced. One paragraph from Chandler's speech merits repetition for its timeliness:

"I deny that the Bishop of Rome has, or that he claims for himself, the right to interfere with the political relations of any other country than that of which he is himself the sovereign. I mean—and I have no desire to conceal any point—I mean that I deny to the Bishop of Rome the right resulting from his divine office, to interfere in the relations between citizens and their governments. And while I make this denial, I acknowledge all my obligations to the Church of which I am an humble member, and I recognize all the right of the venerable head of that Church to the spiritual deference of its children; and I desire that no part of what I may say, or what I may concede, in my remarks, may be considered as yielding a single dogma of the Catholic Church, or manifesting on my

part a desire to explain away, to suit the spirit of the times or the prejudices of my hearers, any doctrine of the Catholic Church."

Mr. Chandler had no need to go far afield for his answer to Banks and other Protestant antagonists who held that Catholics could not be loyal to any but a Catholic government. There were the Pastoral Letters of the American Bishops from 1829 to 1852 upon which to base his celebrated speech, the first in fact to be heard in the House of Representatives from a Catholic in defense of the Church.

The prelates of the First Plenary Council of 1852 wrote to the laity in their Pastoral Letter:

"Attachment to the civil institutions under which you live has always marked your conduct . . . we cannot however, deem it altogether unnecessary to exhort you ever to discharge your civil duties from the higher motives which religion suggests. . . . Thus will you refute the idle babbling of foolish men . . . and overcome by the sure test of practical patriotism, all the prejudices which a misapprehension of your principles but too often produces."

Chandler's speech lay almost forgotten for three quarters of a century until interest in it was revived, because of its similarity with Governor Al Smith's celebrated reply to Charles C. Marshall.

Study Club Outline

1. What event led to the revival of anti-Catholic animosity and the beginning of the Know-Nothing party? What former party was the parent of this party?
2. How did the Know-Nothing party get its name? What was the purpose of its leaders? What was known as "Sam"? How successful was the party?
3. Who was nominated by the Know-Nothings? Was he elected? What encouraging attitude was evidenced towards Catholics in the election.
4. What was Lincoln's attitude towards Know-Nothingism? Was his attitude fairly general among the people?
5. To what would you credit the ever increasing understanding of Catholics by non-Catholics and the friendlier spirit evidenced by all except professional bigots?

XX

U. S. Recognition of the Papacy

Few facts are more curious in the history of American intolerance towards the Church than the recognition given to the Papacy by our government during the most intense years of the anti-Catholic political agitation.

From the eighth to the nineteenth century the Popes of Rome were recognized not only as the spiritual heads of the Catholic Church throughout the world but also as temporal lords of what was known as the State of the Church.

On the question of the historical origin of the temporal power of the papacy we do not need to enter here. Juridically based upon the free donations of Catholics and accepted by the leading governments of the eighth century, the Patrimony of Peter, or the States of the Church, as the territory became known, was ruled by the Popes all through the medieval period well on into modern times until the year 1870, when the Papacy was robbed by the force of Italian armies of its legal proprietary rights to the city of Rome and the surrounding principalities. As King and as Pope, the Roman Pontiffs had their representatives at different courts of Europe and America, and at the court of the Pope were the accredited ministers of many of the leading countries of the world.

The principle of separation between church and state which was written into the American Constitution did not interfere with the presence of American consular agents at Rome. In fact, American consuls were also stationed at Civita Vecchia, Ancona, and other cities in Italy. The consular fees, however, were not attractive; and, as is the custom today in many American cities, natives held these posts. There were, moreover, papal consular officers in some cities of the United States. The chief purpose of these consular agents was a commercial one, but so little exchange existed between the United States and the Papal State that the work involved in the office was almost negligible.

President Polk's Recommendation

In his annual message to Congress on December 7,

1847, President Polk announced that the United States Government was considering the opening of diplomatic relations with the court of Rome, and a bill was introduced to defray the necessary expenses of the office. The proposition aroused intense feeling throughout the country, and the leader of the opposition was Representative Lewis C. Levin of Pennsylvania. Levin is now known to have been directly implicated in the Philadelphia riots of 1844, and in a lengthy speech in the House of Representatives in 1848, he assailed the Church in a manner which brought upon him the stern displeasure of his colleagues from Pennsylvania.

On March 2, 1848, Levin who may well be taken as the prototype of the fanatical anti-Catholic, began an attack in the House on the bill with these words: "Mr. Chairman, I have been so often misrepresented by the paid agents of the Jesuits who hang around this Hall and who swarm over our land, that I have come prepared today." There follows a long speech filled with diatribe and calumny against Pius IX and the Catholics of this country. He openly accused President Polk of promoting the Roman legation because of a "wonderful and newly-awakened sympathy for Rome" which had as its cause "the increase of the Roman Catholic vote." Without mentioning the name of Archbishop Hughes, Levin claimed that the creation of the embassy at the Court of Pius IX was "the work of an intriguing, restless, grasping, and ambitious priest, who fans in his bosom the nefarious hope that he is himself to be the destined organ between a free republic and an absolute hierarchy."

Rebuked by Henry W. Hillard, representative from Alabama, for his want of liberality in religious matters, Levin attempted to reply, when he was interrupted by Charles Brown of Pennsylvania who said: "Yes! He—(pointing to Mr. Levin)—the gentleman from Pennsylvania—was the first to introduce the incendiary subject of religion into the politics of Philadelphia, and by his inflammatory harangues, produced all the incendiarism and bloodshed that for a while covered it with gloom and disgrace. Yes, sir, he was the author of all the incendiary measures—" here the Speaker intervened and called Brown to order. Charles Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania,

then arose to ask why Mr. Brown was out of order, and the session adjourned in "great confusion and excitement," to use the words of the "Congressional Globe" of the day.

A few days later (March 8, 1848), Ingersoll took the floor and made a spirited defense of Archbishop Hughes and of Pius IX, paying a glowing tribute to the Jesuits of Georgetown College. "For fifty years," he said, "those Jesuit Fathers have been disseminating the doctrines of human freedom, as well as the treasures of science to the youth of America, and not an instance has occurred of anything to their dishonor."

Ingersoll's analysis of the Native-American riots in Philadelphia in 1844 was a crushing rejoinder to Levin whom he pilloried as a common bargainer in votes, using his influence with the Native American party at the behest of the highest financial bidder. The bill to establish the legation in Rome passed by a vote of 137 to 15 in the House of Representatives and by an equally large majority in the Senate, and on April 1, 1848, Jacob L. Martin was appointed by Secretary Buchanan as American Minister to the Papal States.

Relations With Vatican Lasted Twenty Years

The diplomatic relations thus begun lasted for twenty years and the archives of the Secretary of State contain considerable material in the way of letters, despatches and reports which throw considerable light on American Catholic history and on the international problems created by the "risorgimento" policy of Young Italy. In some of these state papers we find an expression of opinion which has a distinct connection with the history of the "Catholic Question" in the United States. For example, in Secretary Buchanan's earliest instructions to Minister Martin, we read:

> "There is one consideration which you ought always to keep in view in your intercourse with the Papal States. Most, if not all, the governments which have diplomatic representatives at Rome, are connected with the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church. In this subject the government of the United States occupies an entirely different position. It possesses no power whatever over the question of religion. All denominations of Christians stand on the same footing in the

country, and every man enjoys the inestimable right of worshipping his God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

These are precious words from our government, since they were written at the very time Catholics were being assailed by antagonists who were bent on curtailing that right if possible.

Minister Martin Captivated by Pope

Martin's despatches show that he was captivated with the liberal-mindedness of Pius IX. Martin lived but a year, dying at Rome on August 26, 1848. He is buried there. His successor, Lewis Cass, Jr., served until 1858 and was singularly fortunate in his attitude towards the unstable Republic which Mazzini had succeeded in creating at Rome in 1848. The eloquence and forcible logic of Archbishop Hughes of New York was bringing home to Catholic and non-Catholic alike at the time the irregular proceedings of the Italian revolutionists, and in a way his discourses on the flight of the Pope to Gaeta were a warning to our government that the sacrilegious invaders of the Eternal City did not merit recognition.

Offer of Asylum to Pope

Cass was succeeded by John Porter Stockton, who presented his credentials to Cardinal Antonelli, late in 1858. Pius IX had returned in triumph from Gaeta in 1850, but it was visible to all that the movement for the unification of Italy was too powerful to be stopped. After the fall of Naples in 1860, Stockton asked for his recall (April 2, 1861), and Rufus King was appointed as his successor. Seward's instructions to King were explicit indications to the Holy See that the United States had no desire to violate friendship with the Papal States by taking any part in the political revolution which had the capture of Rome as its objective.

King soon resigned to accept the post of Brigadier-general in the Union Army, and was succeeded by Alexander Randall, who remained but a short time, and by Richard W. Blatchford. General King was again appointed to the Holy See in October, 1863, and there was much question at the time whether it would not be prudent for Pius IX to take refuge in the United States. When the question was broached to King, the American Minister

replied that the United States "was the home of civil and religious liberty as well as a refuge of all who fled from political and other troubles in the old world, and that His Holiness, should he see fit to go to the United States, would no doubt meet with a kind welcome and be left to pursue, unquestioned and unmolested, his great work as Head of the Catholic Church." Archbishop Hughes had already visited Pius IX when this matter was being seriously discussed through diplomatic channels, and Pius IX expressed to the American Minister his great appreciation that the New York prelate had been entrusted with a mission so fraught with noble possibilities for the preservation of the American Union.

Approval of Confederacy

It was during the incumbency of Minister King that the Holy See was approached by the Confederacy, not exactly for recognition as a separate state, but as a sign that the Southern leaders fully appreciated the value of the sympathy of so great a liberal statesman as Pius IX. The occasion of the correspondence was an Apostolic Brief sent by the Pope to Archbishop Hughes of New York and to Archbishop Odin of New Orleans, on October 18, 1862, requesting these two prelates to use every possible means to bring the awful slaughter of the Civil War to an end.

The Holy Father said in his letter:

"Wherefore we write you this letter, in which we urge you, Venerable Brother, with all the force and earnestness of our mind, to exhort, with your eminent piety and episcopal zeal, your clergy and faithful to offer up their prayers, and also apply all your study and exertion, with the people and their chief rulers, to restore forthwith the desired tranquility and peace by which the happiness of both the Christian and the civil republic is principally maintained. Wherefore, omit nothing you can undertake and accomplish, by your wisdom, authority and exertions, as far as compatible with the nature of the holy ministry, to conciliate the minds of the combatants, pacify, reconcile, and bring back the desired tranquility and peace, by all the means that are most conducive to the best interests of the people.

"Take every pains, besides, to cause the people and their chief rulers seriously to reflect on the grievous

evils with which they are afflicted, and which are the result of civil war, the direst, most destructive and dismal of all the evils that befall a people or a nation. Neither omit to admonish and exhort the people and their supreme rulers, even in our name, that with conciliated minds they would embrace peace, and love each other with uninterrupted charity. For we are confident that they would comply with our paternal admonitions and hearken to our words the more willingly as of themselves they plainly and clearly understand that we are influenced by no political reasons, no earthly considerations, but impelled with your surpassing wisdom, to persuade all that true prosperity, even in this life, is sought for in vain outside of the true religion of Christ and its salutary doctrines. We have no hesitation, Venerable Brother, but that calling to your aid the services and assistance even of your associate bishops you would abundantly satisfy our wishes, and by your wise and prudent efforts bring a matter of such moment to a happy termination."

Jefferson Davis' Letter to Pope

On September 23, 1863, J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State for the Confederacy, wrote to A. Dudly Mann, then Confederate Commissioner to Belgium, enclosing a letter from Jefferson Davis to the Holy Father, and ordering Mann to go to Rome at once and present the Confederate President's letter to Pius IX. This letter was as follows:

"Executive Office,
"Richmond, Sept. 23, 1863.

"Most Venerable Chief of the Holy See and Sovereign Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church:

"The letters which your Holiness addressed to the venerable chiefs of the Catholic clergy in New Orleans and New York have been brought to my attention; and I have read with emotion the terms in which you are pleased to express the deep sorrow with which you regard the slaughter, ruin and devastation consequent on the war now waged by the Government of the United States against the States and People over which I have been chosen to preside; and in which you direct them, and the clergy under their authority, to exhort the people and the rulers to the exercise of mutual charity and the love of peace. I am deeply sensible of the Christian charity and sympathy with which your Holiness has twice appealed to the venerable clergy of your church urging them to use and apply all study and exertion

for the restoration of peace and tranquility.

"I, therefore, deem it my duty to offer to your Holiness, in my own name and in that of the people of the Confederate States, the expression of our sincere and cordial appreciation of the Christian charity and love by which your Holiness is actuated, and to assure you that this people, at whose hearth-stones the enemy is now pressing with threats of dire oppression and merciless carnage, are now, and ever have been, earnestly desirous that this wicked war shall cease; that we have offered at the footstool of our Father Who is in Heaven prayers inspired by the same feelings which animate your Holiness; that we desire no evil to our enemies, nor do we covet any of their possessions, but are only struggling to the end that they shall cease to devastate our land and inflict useless and cruel slaughter upon our people, and that we be permitted to live at peace with all mankind, under our own laws and institutions, which protect every man in the enjoyment not only of his temporal rights, but of worshipping God according to his own faith.

"I, therefore, pray your Holiness to accept from me, and from the people of the Confederate States, this assurance of our sincere thanks for your effort to aid the cause of peace, and of our earnest wishes that your life may be prolonged and that God may have you in His holy keeping.

"JEFFERSON DAVIS,
"President Confederate States of North America."

Pope's Reply to Davis

The following December, Pius IX replied to Davis, addressing him by his title: "President of the Confederate States of America," and thanking him for the gratitude expressed in his letter of September 23. He wrote:

"Would to God that the other inhabitants of these regions (the Northern people) and their rulers, seriously reflecting upon the fearful nature of intestine warfare, might, in a dispassionate mood, hearken to and adopt the counsels of peace!"

These words caused considerable excitement at the time and the old charge of the Catholic Church being leagued with the slave-owners was revived. The Draft Riots in New York City in July, 1863, in which one thousand persons were killed or wounded, gave the enemies of the Catholics another opportunity to press the charge

of disloyalty, and the letter of Pius IX did not help to allay this suspicion.

It was fortunate that we had a resident Minister at Rome at the time, for Rufus King was clear-headed enough to keep our government properly informed of the Holy Father's peaceful intentions. Davis and the other Southern leaders realized that Pius IX had not recognized the Confederacy by his letter. Secretary Benjamin, in fact, called the use of President Davis' title "a formula of politeness, not a political recognition of a fact."

The American legation at the Court of Pius IX lasted through the War, but came to an official end in 1867, when Congress refused to appropriate the money necessary for its upkeep. Had an American Minister been resident in Rome in 1870 when the Italian army took the Eternal City, the question of the Pope's taking refuge in the United States might have been revived, and had Pius IX come here, the international complications involved in his presence outside of Rome might have produced an immediate settlement of the Roman Question. As a young priest Pius IX had visited South America, and more than one of its Catholic governments hoped that he would return rather than submit to the indignity of an imprisonment which the New Italian state practically forced him to accept and which his successors since 1870 and until 1929 shared, to the admiration of the Catholic world.

Study Club Outline

1. Under which President did the U. S. recognize the Papacy? Was he unopposed in this? Who was Lewis C. Levin? Who was Charles Brown? Who was Charles Ingersoll? What did these men do?
2. How long did the relations with the Vatican last? Discuss Secretary Buchanan's instructions to Minister Martin.
3. Who was Pope at this time? How did he impress our ministers?
4. Who invited the Pope to live in the U. S.? Why? (Consult a good Church History for further information about conditions in Italy at this time. These conditions were settled in 1929 by the signing of the Lateran Treaty. Ask your study club leader to discuss it.)
5. What was Pope Pius IX's attitude towards the Civil War? Did he favor the North or the South? Was he neutral? Discuss.

XXI
The Slave Question

That the Catholic Church in the United States should escape the fierce antagonisms created by the Abolition movement was hardly possible during those years of intense moral and political discussions on the slave question (1830-1861).

Societies for the purpose of abolishing slavery in this country existed from the beginning of the Republic. Benjamin Franklin was president of one founded in Philadelphia in 1775, and John Jay was president of another begun in New York in 1785. Other societies were organized in the different States and were to a slight degree instrumental in the abolition of the slave trade by the Federal government in 1808.

Eight years later the American Colonization Society was founded at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of securing a home for free Negroes, preferably in Africa. The hidden object of the Society was to free the South of those free Negroes who were a menace to white control over the slaves. In 1820, during the presidency of Charles Carrollton, the Society sent out its first colony to Africa, and two years later a permanent settlement was made at Cape Mesurado. For the next quarter century the Society managed the colony, but on July 26, 1847, it declared itself an independent republic consisting of four counties, one of which was called Maryland. The capital was called Monrovia after President Monore.

Catholic Liberians

Among the first colonists were Catholic Negroes from Maryland and Virginia, and their spiritual care was discussed at the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore (1833). While in Rome, in May, 1833, Bishop John England submitted to the Holy See a memorial regarding the establishment of a Catholic Mission in Liberia, and although his advice was not followed by the prelates of the Council, a decree was ordered stating that the care of the Catholic Liberians should be entrusted to the Society of Jesus. As a result nothing was done, and Bishop England

chafed under what he considered the culpable neglect of our hierarchy in not providing for the growing problems created by Abolitionism.

Bishop England was not unaware of the splendid pages that might be written on Catholic missionary activities among the colored people during the colonial and national periods of our country's history, but he believed that the whole force of Catholic doctrine should be brought to bear upon a question which was fast dividing the United States into two distinct territories. Personally he was opposed to slavery, but he knew that alone he could accomplish nothing. What he wished for was a restraining influence from Catholic leaders upon the radical demands of the Abolitionists and the infiltration, into this greatest problem the United States has had to solve, of the realization that only gradually might slavery be abolished. He knew American politics too well not to see that the Abolition movement was strongly bound to the anti-Catholic forces of the Nativists.

Probably, it was his regret over the silence of the Council of 1833 which induced him to open a school for free Negroes in Charleston, in 1835. The Negro insurrection of 1820, under Denmark Vesey, and in 1831, under Nat Turner, had been put down with a cruel hand, and Southerners generally saw in the fearful massacre of whites committed by Turner and his followers the direct result of Abolition literature upon the Negroes. In September, 1836, a mob broke into the postoffice at Charleston and destroyed all the Abolition literature in the mail which had arrived the day previous. The word got abroad that Bishop England had received and retained one of the anti-slavery tracts and for several days the Cathedral, Bishop's House, Seminary and Convent had to be guarded.

Dr. England at this time was America's foremost Catholic citizen, and Southerners in general knew that his influence on the slave question was the strongest in Catholic circles. He had won their approval by his published rebuke to his friend, Daniel O'Connell, some years before, in which he accused the Liberator of unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of the United States through his alliance with the Abolitionists.

Church's Dilemma Over Slave Problem

The Catholic Church here was in a sore dilemma over the slave problem. The Holy See had repeatedly condemned the slave-trade from 1482 to 1839, but had not condemned slavery itself as a social institution. The Apostolic Brief of Gregory XVI in 1839 made this distinction, and Bishop Kenrick in his "Moral Theology," which came out shortly afterwards, upheld slavery as permissible. The scholarly Bishop of Philadelphia regretted that so many Negroes should be held in bondage in the land of freedom, but he added that "nothing against the law should be attempted, done or said, which would make them (the slaves) bear their yoke unwillingly." This placed the Church on the side of the slave-owners and the reaction in Abolition circles was to increase the animosity then alive against American Catholics. This factor must be remembered in estimating the causes for the rapid spread of Native-Americanism and Know-Nothingism from 1840 to 1861.

After the appearance of Gregory XVI's letter on the slave-trade, it was immediately made use of as a party weapon by Forsyth, Van Buren's Secretary of State, in August, 1840, against General Harrison, the first presidential candidate put forward by the Whigs and the Anti-Slavery party. Bishop England immediately took up the issue in favor of domestic slavery and interpreted the Holy Father's letter as simply condemning the slave-trade. There is little doubt that the stand taken by Bishop England tended considerably to influence American Catholics in favor of domestic slavery. Dr. England's "Letters to Forsyth" are among the strongest from his pen, but the damage had already been done and Catholics were generally ranked with the slave-owners, as many contemporary letters and publications reveal.

Bishop England's Position

The silence of the other American prelates of the time gave strength to this belief and the election of William Henry Harrison as ninth President of the United States in 1840 was everywhere acclaimed as a victory over all slave-owning interests, the Catholic Church included. Bishop England was asked by many during the heat of

the campaign where he personally stood on the question, and he replied in the last of his letters to Forsyth (February 23, 1842):

> "I have been asked by many, a question which I may as well answer at once, namely: Whether I am friendly to the existence or continuation of slavery? I am not —but I see the impossibility of now abolishing it here. When it can and ought to be abolished, is a question for the legislature and not for me."

Pope Gregory's letter was read in the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840), but in spite of the widespread agitation it had caused, no action was taken by our prelates, and again their silence was misinterpreted by anti-Catholic Abolitionists who found it difficult to see how the Church could remain neutral on a question that was fast splitting the Union into two parts.

As a result of the presidential election of 1840, Catholics, who in the main had voted with the Democrats, were now regarded as traitors to that party; and the Republicans, many of whom had been instrumental in the formation of the Native-American party, felt no obligation towards them, although their vote had helped Harrison to win the election. The result was that Catholic influence with both parties was weakened during the very years when protection was badly needed for safeguarding their civic rights. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's decision in the Dred Scot case in 1857 added weight to the anti-Catholic attitude of the Abolitionists, since it clearly showed that America's first Catholic Chief Justice was a friend of the slave system.

It has been customary for Catholic writers to picture the Church here as entirely aloof from the intense agitation on the slave question during the score of years before the Civil War and "to have emerged from the gloom of civil strife presenting a united front to meet the new conditions that emancipation gave birth to." To accept this is to forget a famous passage at arms between Archbishop Hughes and Dr. Brownson in 1861.

Clash of Catholic Leaders

Dr. Brownson's article, "Slavery and the War," recommending the immediate emancipation of slaves as a war measure, contained the following paragraph:

"The Church is never content with simply disapproving of slavery. She regards it as a wrong and an outrage upon humanity . . . She requires each and every individual to do what he can as a member of the community to induce it to take action necessary for redressing it. This is a point which Catholics too often overlook. Because the Church does not make the immediate emancipation of the slaves a condition 'sine qua non' of abolition, they are apt to conclude that she does not oppose slavery and that they are not required by their religion to make active efforts for its abolition."

There were of course many Catholic Abolitionists in the North and South, and Brownson's utterances may be taken as the echo of their displeasure over the fact that the prelates of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1852) ignored the slave question. Archbishop Hughes lost no time in answering Dr. Brownson in his official organ, "The Metropolitan Record." As a young man at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, he had been an ardent Abolitionist—one of his poems contains the striking line:

"—chase foul bondage from her Southern plain,"

but later in life he came to believe that emancipation would be a fatal social blunder. His answer to Brownson is a severe arraignment of the great apologist's theological learning, and he went "to such lengths in the extenuation of slavery that he was accused of favoring the slave-trade."

The truth is that Catholics on both sides of the question were supporting their stand by an appeal to theological traditions and literature, and that the ranks of Catholic leaders were to all practical purposes, as divided as those of other Christian churches in the United States.

The action of our prelates in not facing the problem boldly and in not offering to a distracted country a plan of emancipation based upon the policy followed out by the Church in former ages for the gradual freedom of the slaves may have been prudent, but it was unfortunate that no great leader arose to win the attention of the protagonists on both sides of the problem. As a result the Church was alienated from the anti-slavery groups of the North and was not welcomed by the slave-owners of the

South where anti-Catholic prejudices were too strong to be overcome. The Church in the United States was not at the time a relatively large one in proportion to the whole population, but it was the largest Christian religious society in the land. That Catholicism emerged from the conflict united was due to the unity of the Faith and to Church administrative principles.

Second Plenary Council's Pronouncement

When the war was over, the problems connected with the emancipated slaves were freely discussed at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866), and in their Pastoral Letter to the Laity, the prelates said: "We could have wished that in accordance with the action of the Catholic Church in past ages, in regard to the serfs of Europe, a more gradual system of emancipation could have been adopted, so that they might have been in some measure prepared to make a better use of this freedom, than they are likely to do now." Had this message been given in the eight Councils preceding that of 1866, the Catholic Church would have found itself ranged alongside the best men of both parties; and with the Post-Civil War period in view, it is regrettable that our leaders did not analyze the slavery issue more adroitly.

Nor must it be forgotten that, in spite of its admirable record in certain localities for the amelioration of the social and moral conditions of the slaves, the first organized effort in the United States to win the souls of the colored people after the Civil War was carried out by the priests of Mill Hill who came here from England in 1871. It was twenty-one years later (1892), before the American Church accepted the whole burden of the spiritual care of our colored citizens through the establishment of the Society of St. Joseph. There are few Catholic notes in the Reconstruction of the South between 1866 and 1876.

Out of the difference of opinion on the slave question one effect which had already taken place was gradually made apparent in the field of politics, namely, the end of the identity between the Democratic party and Catholic voters, with the result that the "Catholic Question" in the United States was removed from politics for almost a generation.

Study Club Outline

1. Was there an official Catholic stand taken on the slave question? What was Bishop England's attitude?
2. What has been the stand of the Church through the centuries on freedom of all individuals? (See "Faith of Millions, O. S. V. Press, Huntington, Ind., $1.00.) How did Bishop Kenrick treat the slave question?
3. Who was Roger B. Taney? Can you tell how many Catholics have served on the U. S. Supreme Court to the present day? Name them. Is a Catholic now a Supreme Justice? Who?
4. How did the slave question affect the Church in the North? In the South? Discuss.
5. What brought about the removal of the "Catholic Question" from politics?

XXII
The Civil War

In a superb essay on "Obligations to America," Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University lays down a principle which cannot be too often repeated to Catholics in this country:

> "The loyalty of American Catholics to this country need not hang in the balance one instant, if they will take higher and firmer ground. Let them advance boldly and grasp the significant truth that America is the daughter of the Catholic Church . . . Turn wheresoever you will in these United States and study any institution or any ideal which has been commonly regarded as an aspect of true Americanism and you will discover that no matter who is immediately responsible for its erection or formulation, its embryo and antitype are to be found in Catholic theory and practice. This is what I mean by insisting that America is a daughter of the Catholic Church."

In a booklet on the subject, "American Democracy and Catholic Doctrine," Sylvester J. McNamara has summarized for us the immediate sources of our American free institutions and in particular the sources of the Declaration of Independence, and has shown conclusively that the political philosophy back of American freedom came to the Founders of the Republic straight from the heart of the Catholic Church.

This fact has not, however, been sufficiently emphasized by our Catholic American writers, and instead of finding Catholic political philosophy held in esteem by all who are enjoying the fruits of American liberty, the Catholic Church in this country has had to face a decennial madness composed of prejudice and ignorance in which her most sacred obligations to America are made the subject of vicious and unwarranted onslaught. None of these attacks strikes the Church more sensitively than the charge so often made against the loyalty of Catholic soldiers and sailors during our wars. Face to face with the glorious response of our Catholic citizens during the World War of 1914-1918, anti-Catholic antagonists dared

not impugn the loyalty of those of the Household of the Faith. But they were not to be silenced. Records were searched to find occasional lapses on the part of Catholic soldiers, and the honor of the Catholic priests and soldiers of this last world conflict was attacked indirectly through those forgotten pages of the past. Two of these falsehoods appear periodically in the anti-Catholic press —the desertion of Catholic soldiers in the Mexican War and the attempt to prove that seventy-two per cent of the deserters in the Civil War were Irish Catholics. Both charges have been answered by Mr. Thomas T. Meehan in the "Historical Records and Studies" of 1918-1919. But those who continue making these charges have no intention of learning the truth.

Bigotry During Mexican War

The recruiting for the Mexican War was made the avenue for an anti-Catholic campaign which had considerable effect upon the Mexicans once actual warfare began. Referring to this John Gilmary Shea wrote:

> "When volunteers were called for, the feeling of hostility to the Catholic Church was manifest, and boasts were loudly made that our soldiers were to enrich themselves with the spoils of the Catholic churches. The spirit even reached the regular army, and Catholic soldiers near the frontier were, in utter disregard of the Constitution of the United States and the spirit of our institutions, compelled, under threats of severe punishment, to attend the services of the Protestant religion, established in the United States Army, and to listen to violent denunciations of their own faith."

One good result of the bigotry, however, was the appointment of chaplains for the troops engaged in the War with Mexico, and two Jesuits, Father Anthony Rey, of Georgetown College, and Father John McElroy, of Frederick, were sent to the front.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, the first thought of those leading Catholic regiments, or regiments in which a large number of the soldiers was of the Faith, was to provide for their spiritual welfare. Among these Chaplains with the Union forces were Father John Ireland, the future Archbishop of St. Paul, who was with the Fifth Minnesota regiment; Father Louis A. Lambert, of

the Eighteenth Illinois regiment; Father Lawrence McMahon, later Bishop of Hartford; Father Bernard McQuade, later Bishop of Rochester; the Jesuit Fathers O'Reilly, Ouilette, O'Hagan, and Tissot, and the great chaplain of the battle of Gettysburg, Father Corby, of Notre Dame.

With the Confederate forces were Father Francis Leray, later Archbishop of New Orleans; Father Abram Ryan, the "Poet Priest of the South;" Father Hamilton, of whom it was said at the time that he was the only clergyman with sufficient heart and charity to visit the 33,000 prisoners in Andersonville prison of horrible fame; Father Peter Whelan, who was a chaplain-general of the Southern armies, and many others.

Participation of Catholics in Civil War

There is an excellent summary of participation of loyal Catholic Northerners and Southerners in the Civil War in an article by Dr. Henry Grattan Doyle in the "Catholic Builders of the Nation." The list of prominent officers in both armies who were members of the Catholic Church is a surprisingly large one, and some of these names should be made familiar to the boys and girls in our Catholic schools—General Thomas F. Meagher, Colonel James A. Mulligan, General Philip H. Sheridan of whom Grant said that he had "no superior as a general, either living or dead, and perhaps not an equal," General William Starke Rosecrans, one of the greatest soldiers the United States has ever had, and others in the Union Army.

On the Southern side we meet with General P. G. T. Beauregard, one of the most picturesque figures of the War; General James Longstreet, who became a Catholic after the War was over; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy in Jefferson Davis' cabinet, and Captain (later Admiral) Raphael Semmes, who commanded the "Alabama" from August, 1862, until she was sunk by the "Kearsarge" in June, 1864, but not before she had captured some sixty-five Northern warships and other vessels and had inflicted millions of dollars of damage on Northern commerce.

By far, however, the greater glory of Catholic parti-

cipation in the Civil War has gone to the nuns of the battlefield. The Red Cross was unknown at the time, but Catholic nursing Sisters for the wounded and dying performed so efficient a part in the struggle that there was erected some years ago by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in the city of Washington, a monument to the "Nuns of the Battlefield." Twelve different Sisterhoods are represented on the large bronze tablet on the front of the monument which bears the inscription: "Erected by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America to the memory, and the honor of, the members of the various Orders of Sisters who gave their services as nurses on battlefields, in hospitals, and on floating hospitals in the wars in which the United States has engaged." The monument faces the place where Rhode Island and Connecticut Avenues meet and is across from St. Matthew's Catholic Church, where for many years Monsignor Thomas Simms Lee was pastor.

Four Hundred Nuns Acted as War Nurses

On March 18, 1918, Hon. Ambrose Kennedy of Rhode Island, spoke at length upon the resolution for the erection of this memorial. Mr. Kennedy was able to show by documentary evidence that nearly four hundred Catholic Sisters acted as war nurses from 1861 to 1865. He described their work in these words:

> "They brought into the work a skill and discipline which had long been prominent features of their daily training and experience. Hence the unique character of the services they rendered during the entire period of the War. At the very moment of their enlistment they were admirably equipped for the task, and a hard and laborious task it was, but they met and discharged it as a duty of sacrifice every moment of the day and night, animated only by an undying love of country and the spirit of Christian charity and zeal."

The Sisters whom he eulogized that day were members of eight different religious congregations: Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Holy Cross, Daughters of Charity of New York and Cincinnati, Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, Sisters of St. Joseph, Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, and the Ursulines. "The records of the War,"

Mr. Kennedy says, "do not register a single instance of failure or shirking on the part of these Sisterhoods . . . No page in all our history can present nobler deeds of courage and devotion."

One of the factors of the post-Civil War period which was brought to light by the researches of Dr. Scannell O'Neill is the large number of converts among army men who first came in contact with the Catholic Faith through the nuns of the battlefield. A list of these converts reveals the names of twenty-nine officers of high rank in the Union Army and fourteen in the Confederate Army, who entered the Church during and after the Civil War.

The great assembly of Archbishops and Bishops at Baltimore in October, 1866, for the Second Plenary Council, was not unmindful of this aspect of the Sisters' presence at the front and in the hospitals, and in one of the most eloquent pages ever written to the laity, the prelates of the Council pay a tribute to the nuns which merits remembrance:

> "We discharge a grateful duty, in rendering a public testimony to the virtue and heroism of these Christian Virgins, whose lives shed the good odor of Christ in every place, and whose devotedness and self-sacrifice have, perhaps more than any other cause, contributed to effect a favorable change in the minds of thousands estranged from the Faith."

If ever the truest spirit of patriotic love of America and that great social force of Catholicism—love for one's neighbor—met to part no more in the history of our country, it was when Catholic nuns walked among the dead and dying of our battlefields. One who watched them the morning after quiet fell upon the terrible scenes at Gettysburg said of them:

> "After great difficulty they arrived. Never did human eyes behold such a spectacle! Soldiers slain or half dead lay before them groaning in ghastly heaps, some calling for aid and other gasping alongside hundreds of breathless steeds whose nostrils no longer scented the grimy smoke of battle. Here among these ruins of life thousands of guns, side arms, wheels, projectiles, and all sorts of military accoutrements were promiscu-

ously scattered. Into the midst of these grim ravages of war went these noble messengers of peace and charity, with hardly an inch of ground to step on, and helped to pick up the wounded and carry them to attending farm wagons which had been requisitioned as ambulances. From the labor of assisting on the battlefield, the Sisters proceeded to the town of Gettysburg, which had by this time become a hive of improvised hospitals."

Lincoln's Tribute to Nuns of the Battlefield

Many similar tributes might be recorded in memory of all that the Sisterhoods accomplished by their beautiful lives and character during this greatest of all our political crisis. There is one that every Catholic should know by heart, for it comes from the heart of our most beloved American, Abraham Lincoln:

"Of all the forms of charity and benevolence seen in the crowded wards of the hospitals, those of some Catholic Sisters were among the most efficient. I never knew whence they came or what was the name of their order. More lovely than anything I have ever seen in art, so long devoted to illustrations of love, mercy, and charity, are the pictures that remain of those modest Sisters going on their errands of mercy among the suffering and dying. Gentle and womanly, yet with the courage of soldiers, leading a forlorn hope, to sustain them in contact with such horrors. As they went from cot to cot, distributing the medicines prescribed, or administering the cooling, strengthening draughts as directed, they were veritable angels of mercy. Their words were suited to every sufferer. One they incited and encouraged, another they calmed and soothed. With every soldier they conversed about his home, his wife his children, all the loved ones he was soon to see again if he was obedient and patient. How many times have I seen them exorcise pain by their presence or their words! How often has the hot forehead of the soldier grown cool as one of these Sisters bathed it! How often has he been refreshed, encouraged, and assisted along the road to convalescence, when he would otherwise have fallen by the way, by the home memories with which these unpaid nurses filled his heart!"

We who are the heirs of the legacy of devotion she created, need no other proof of the intimate relationship that is always existent between the Catholic Church and

the American Republic. We need no other proof for the statement made a century ago by the eminent French scholar de Tocqueville, who wrote: "The Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers in God and the most zealous citizens of the Republic."

Study Club Outline

1. Discuss together with what is contained in the Introduction of this book Professor Hayes' assertion that America is the daughter of the Catholic Church.
2. Have Catholics always evidenced loyalty to country in times of war? Has their loyalty been appreciated? Is it ever discounted? Name two falsehoods frequently asserted in this connection.
3. What future archbishop served as chaplain in the Civil War? What future Bishops? Can you recall an interesting event in the life of Father Corby? Whose statue is erected at Gettysburg?
4. What part did Catholic Sisters take in the war? Retell Ambrose Kennedy's, Lincoln's, and the Bishops appreciations of the work done by Sisters. What was the effect of their example on non-Catholics?
5. Discuss among yourselves the respective merits and courage evidenced by the soldier, the chaplain and the nurses on the battlefields. Is one deserving of more credit than the other?

XXIII
Charles O'Conor

The ten years following the Civil War were even more perilous to the nation's welfare than the conflict itself. Emerging from the greatest military struggle the modern world had seen, the United States was at the threshold of a reconstruction period which demanded the energies and talents of her best statesmen, and the hearty co-operation of all on both sides of the Mason and Dixon dividing line. The South was placed under martial rule, and slowly out of the estrangement and the bitterness caused by the war the eleven states of the old Confederacy struggled through unspeakable conditions back to normalcy. In the North, reconstruction was also necessary, but it was mainly financial and industrial, owing to the turning back of nearly a million soldiers to civilian life. The presidential election of 1868 centered around General Grant, the successful Republican candidate, and Horatio Seymour, who led the Democrats to defeat.

So far as the Catholic Church was concerned, these ten years (1865-1875) were a period of comparative quiet. The Northern dioceses, led by Archbishop Spalding, appealed to their priests and people for money to aid the stricken Southland, and to impartial historians of the United States—let us admit that in this respect it is hard to find one—there can be no more unique spectacle during the year after the war than the sight of seven archbishops and thirty-seven bishops of the Catholic Church from every part of the reunited Republic meeting at Baltimore in the Second Plenary Council (October, 1866) for the reconstruction of diocesan life and the revivifying of the Catholic piety and discipline.

The One Tangible Unity

Contemporary statesmen and political leaders looked on with amazement at this one tangible unity left after the war's wreckage. "The country had just come forth from a most terrible crisis in which many ancient landmarks had been effaced," we read in the "Life of Archbishop Spalding," and:

"The very ship of state had been wrenched from its

moorings. House had been divided against house, brother's hand had been raised against brother. The sects had been torn asunder and still lay in disorder and confusion, helping to widen the abyss which had threatened to engulf the nation's life. Half the country was waste and desolate; the people crushed, bowed beneath their double weight of the memory of the past, which could no more return, and of the thought of a future which seemed hopeless. On the other side, there were the weariness and exhaustion which follow a supreme effort and the longing for peace and happiness after so much bloodshed and misery. All were ready to applaud any power that had been able to live through that frightful struggle unhurt and unharmed; and when the Catholic Church walked forth before the eyes of the nation, clothed in the panoply of undiminished strength and of unbroken amity, thousands, who but a while ago would have witnessed this manifestation of her power with jealous concern, now hailed it with delight as a harbinger of good omen."

Midway in the reconstruction period came the presidential election of 1872. The widespread dissatisfaction among the Republicans over the political corruption which was vitiating the Grant administration led to a split in their ranks, and the Liberal Republican party nominated Horace Greeley as its candidate. Later in the year, the Democratic party met in convention at Baltimore and also nominated Greeley as its candidate. This alliance met with considerable opposition in Democratic ranks, and at a convention held in Louisville, Ky., in September, 1872, these so-called "Straight-Out" Democrats nominated the greatest legal light in the United States, Charles O'Conor, of New York City, as their candidate for President, and John Quincy Adams, the grandson of President John Quincy Adams, as Vice-President.

Charles O'Conor was in his sixty-eighth year at this time. His father, Thomas O'Conor, was one of the Irish rebels of '98, and came to the United States in 1801. Soon after his arrival he became associated with William Kernan in the foundation of a colony in what is now Steuben Co., N. Y. Early in 1803, he married the daughter of Hugh O'Connor, and on January 22, 1804, Charles, the eldest son, was born in New York City. When his colonization scheme failed, Thomas O'Conor returned to New

York, and in 1812, began a newspaper called "War," which lasted but ten issues. He then entered into partnership with Stephen Wall as editor of the "Military Monitor and American Register." In April, 1813, he severed his connection with this newspaper and spent a year writing his "History of the Revolutionary War in America," a small-sized volume of three hundred pages.

The leading Irish-American newspaper of New York from 1810 to 1813 was the "Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle," and was edited by Edward Gillespy. Reviving it in June, 1814, as the "Shamrock," Gillespy secured Thomas O'Conor's services as co-editor. In January, 1815, O'Conor became sole proprietor of the paper. In 1816, the "Shamrock" was the organ of those Irish exiles who thoroughly revenged themselves by defeating Rufus King for the governorship of New York, thus heading him effectively from the presidency of the nation.

Charles O'Conor's Rise to Eminence

During these years, when his father was prominent in politics, young Charles O'Conor laid the foundation of his future greatness by beginning the study of law. From the age of eleven until a few months after his twentieth birthday, when he was admitted to the New York bar, Charles O'Conor made use of every opportunity the city afforded to equip himself for his chosen profession. From the outset his practice was successful, and that success came, as Thomas F. Meehan has recently said, "from dogged persistent work, joined to great mental ability, the wide extent of which may be judged from the collection of cases and opinions, making more than one hundred volumes, that can be found in the library of the Law Institute of New York."

In 1843, his reputation for legal ability was enhanced by his brilliant defense of the invalidity of the Lispenard will. O'Conor took part in the New York State Constitutional Convention in 1846. In 1848, he was the Democratic candidate for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of New York and was defeated. Four years later he was one of the electors in the successful Democratic election of 1852 which gave the presidency to Franklin Pierce. He accepted unwillingly from Pierce the office of United States District Attorney for the southern district of New

York. In 1868, he was hailed in the Democratic newspapers as a logical candidate for the presidency of the United States, but he made it quite clear that, even were the nomination tendered to him unanimously, he would not accept. "My reasons," he wrote at the time, "are of no public importance, and consequently, they need not be stated."

O'Conor's Defense of Jefferson Davis

O'Conor's reputation was now of national proportions, since he had in 1867 successfully defended Jefferson Davis at Richmond against coming to trial on the charge of treason. O'Conor shares with Horace Greeley the honor of signing the bail bond for the Confederate President. In the autumn of 1871, Charles O'Conor joined Evarts, Peckham, and Samuel J. Tilden, as State counsel for the prosecution of the notorious Tweed Ring. Efforts were made to remove him from the case since it involved some Catholic politicians of the city, but O'Conor's integrity was so well known that he was retained. There is no doubt that the destruction of the Ring was mainly due to his legal ability.

His nomination for the Presidency of the United States in September, 1872, by the Democratic party was a recognition of his great prominence in the legal and political affairs of the nation. When he was notified by telegraph of the honor, he immediately declined, stating that he did not choose to run for this highest office in the gift of the people. The Louisville convention then nominated James Lyon of Virginia; he also declined. The delegates decided upon the former ticket of O'Conor and Adams, and in the campaign of 1872, the chief opponents to Grant were O'Conor and Greeley. Grant won the election with a majority of 700,000. Greeley carried seven states and Charles O'Conor received 30,000 votes from twenty-three states.

O'Conor's View of Convention System

The religious issue was not raised in the campaign of 1872, although no doubt could be cast upon the sterling loyalty of Charles O'Conor to the Catholic Faith. Nor did O'Conor decline the nomination because he feared that such an issue might be injected into pre-election

activities. He did not believe that the Louisville secessionists would succed in arousing sufficient influence to conquer those of the Democratic party who had agreed to the alliance with the Liberal Republicans. As he viewed the political situation, the Baltimore convention exhibited in their climax:

"The vices of the nomination system, with its pledges and platforms. Shocking to honest pride and sound morals is the career of bargaining which is now generally required to precede such nominations. The platform is a thing gotten up for the emergency. On it the candidate is made to sit as on a stool of repentance, or as one placed in the stocks by way of holding him to pledges now forced upon him . . . Whatever I might do in respect to any other office, I could neither accept a nomination nor become a candidate for the successorship to Washington."

Study Club Outline

1. What was the only organization which readily fell back into normal relations between North and South after the Civil War? Why were political leaders amazed at the unity? Discuss Catholic unity.
2. Did Catholics take an active part in the campaign of 1872? Who was Charles O'Conor? Give a brief summary of his life.
3. Why do you think O'Conor declined to run for the Presidency?
4. What do you think of O'Conor's criticism of the nomination system?
5. Up to the present time, how many Catholics have been candidates for the Presidency? Has there ever been a Catholic President?

XXIV
Orestes A. Brownson

Dr. Brownson's son divided the great American philosopher's biography into three parts—early, middle, and later years. It is his later years (1856-1876) which interest us most at this stage of our study of the Church in the United States.

Orestes A. Brownson was born in 1803 of strict Congregationalist parents, but before his early youth was over, he had joined the Presbyterian church, quitting its membership in 1824, at the age of twenty to become a Universalist. In June, 1826, he was ordained a minister of that denomination, but within three years, he had lost all hold on Christian belief, and for the next ten years he was an acknowledged leader among American free thinkers. In 1832 he accepted the pastorship of a Unitarian church in New Hampshire, leaving it two years afterwards to return to the faith of his parents. In 1828 he founded the "Boston Quarterly Review," a literary and philosophical journal which soon attracted nation-wide attention on account of the radicalness of its views and especially because of its attack upon Democracy as a system of government.

It is said that Van Buren blamed Brownson's article in the "Review" for July, 1840, on the Christian basis of the rights of property and on the necessity of abolishing all forms of Christianity, as a cause of his defeat for re-election. Meanwhile Brownson's extreme views were driving him nearer and nearer to the necessity of accepting some definite form of belief, and in October, 1844, after some time spent in study, he was received into the Catholic Church by Bishop John Bernard Fitzpatrick, of Boston.

Many Eminent Converts

The Oxford Movement was then at the height of its success in England—Newman was received into the Church on October 9, 1845, and the Church of England "reeled under the shock." The years of 1844-1860 have often been spoken of as the Oxford Movement in America,

but the conversions here during that period had causes different from those in England. Many eminent men entered the Faith during these years—Bishop Wadhams of Ogdensburg, Bishop Curtis of Wilmington, Dr. Levi S. Ives, Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina, Father Walworth, Monsignor Preston, Rev. Donald McLeod, James A. MacMaster, Editor of the "Freeman's Journal," and that historic group, Fathers Deshon, Hewit, Baker and Lyman, who later founded the Paulist Congregation. But in all these cases the influences making for conversion were individual.

Of all the converts of these years, Orestes Brownson was beyond doubt the greatest figure in a galaxy of the ablest defenders the Church has had in the United States. In January, 1844, he launched the "Brownson Quarterly Review," and after his conversion that same year, this magazine became the foremost Catholic periodical in the land. Brownson was a genius of the highest type. As a theologian, philosopher, literateur, and historian he had few equals in the Church. His profound grasp on the American character and mind made him a formidable foe of Puritan intolerance, ignorance, and prejudice on this side of the Atlantic. For the next twenty-two years, until his death in 1876, he was our leading Catholic apologist, and no other layman, with the sole exception of Dr. James J. Walsh, has approached him in intellectual power and versatility.

Brownson's Great Gifts

Great praise has been bestowed upon Brownson since his death. He has been called the "intellectual giant of his era," "Our most forceful writer of prose," and one who "has probably left a larger body of work than any other Catholic American." His conversion in 1844 had been styled "an epoch in the history of the Catholic Church in this country, just as that of Newman, which took place a year later, is a milestone in the history of English Catholicism. Of all the distinguished converts to Rome in this country, Brownson is easily the first. In him the submerged Catholics found a champion who in intellectual power was the superior of any publicist in the land." Even a higher encomium might be cited—"he seems to share the energy of a Tertullian, the power of a Cyprian,

the polemic ability of an Athanasius, and the eloquence of a Chrysostom."

Such is the man and the scholar upon whom many eyes were fixed during those anxious days before and during the Civil War. Brownson was America's foremost Catholic Abolitionist, and, as we have seen, his appeal for the immediate emancipation of the slaves in 1861 brought down upon his head the anathemas of Archbishop Hughes. Probably, in no aspect of his twenty volumes of published writings, does he stand forth so clearly as the champion of America's great future than in that dealing with our national ideals. Scattered throughout his works lie the gems of mighty sermons on the democracy for which the United States stands four-squared to the world. And yet, he was never deceived by the spacious republicanism of some of the statesmen contemporary to himself. Unless the nation, he writes, is made to feel that there is a higher power than itself, and that it may lawfully do nothing in violation of God's commands, it will not last. Boldly he told the intellectual world of his day that the only hope for the American Republic lay in the spread of Catholic principles:

> "We render solid and imperishable our free institutions," he wrote, "just in proportion as we extend the kingdom of God among our people and establish in their hearts the reign of justice and charity. And here is our answer to those who tell us Catholicity is incompatible with free institutions. We tell them that they cannot maintain free institutions without it."

To those who followed the leading principle of the Nativists or the Know-Nothings—that the triumph of the Catholic Church in the United States would mean the subversion of our political and civil Constitution—he said that the conversion of this country to the True Faith "would destroy, would change nothing in this admirable body, but would quicken it with the breath of the Almighty and secure its continuance and its beneficient and successful operation."

Our Democracy Needs Strong Defense

Americans then, as now, were not favorable to anyone who reminded them that our republican institutions were in their final analysis a political experiment, and it was

amazing to Brownson how feebly the American public grasped the significant fact that the American Constitution was beyond all others ever written, the one formula of government which imposed a powerful restraint upon the dangers inherent in democracy. This Brownson taught without equivocation, and for it was gravely misunderstood in his own day. It took the disillusionment which followed fast on the heels of the Peace of Versailles after the World War to bring the truth home to all of us. Only when scholars of unblemished patriotism, such as Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, give utterance to thoughts identical to those of Brownson in the last century, do we realize the constant peril a democratic form of government runs when religion is undermined by the periodic bursts of hatred which, although directed solely against the Catholic Church, cannot fail to lessen the religious basis of our national life. Dr. Cheyney writes:

> "That democracy is the best form of government is not a self-evident proposition. A form of government in which the learned and the ignorant, the thrifty and the unthrifty, the experienced and the inexperienced, may all, so far as their votes go, exercise the same influence over the course of political events seems to need especially strong defense."

What Brownson did for his generation was to emphasize with hammer-blows the all-pervading necessity of religion—and by religion he meant the principles of doctrine as taught and practised by the Catholic Church—for the perdurance of the American Republic. During the period of Nativism (1840-1861), he kept a course so straight in its principles that it is only now, more than a half-century after his death, that we are beginning to understand how logically he thought and wrote in defense of American freedom at the time when popular passions amongst Catholics and non-Catholics were clouding the issue created by the anti-Catholic movemnt of the day. In fact, for some years, while the movement was strongest, Dr. Brownson seems to have lost the confidence of Catholic leaders because his analysis of the Nativist principles seemed to be too highly tinged with his own untrammelled Americanism. From the outset, he had,

as a true American, no sympathy with Native-Americanism; but where he won hostility in Catholic circles was in his appeal to those who were being defamed by the Nativists, the Irish Catholics, to forget the wrongs of Ireland in order to give of their best to the land of their adoption. Brownson believed that some of the newspapers of the day being edited by Irish Catholics manifested an unnecessary forgetfulness of the fact that they were writing for American citizens and showed occasionally "an offensive want of respect for American feelings."

Became an Abolitionist

Know-Nothingism was stifled in the presidential election of 1856, and Brownson then threw himself into the question of Abolition. He recognized Chief Justice Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case the following year as the first act of the Southern Rebellion, and his "Review" became an ardent partisan of anti-slavery agitation. From 1856 to 1872, Brownson discontinued the "Review," devoting himself during these years to literary works, the chief of which is his "American Republic" and some noteworthy contributions to the "Catholic World." which was founded by the Paulists in 1865. In 1873, Brownson revived the "Review" and it met with immediate success, but two years later, he was obliged to discontinue it on account of his precarious state of health. His last published literary work, "The Philosophy of the Supernatural" appeared in the first number of the "American Quarterly Review" for January, 1876, in company with another by his intimate friend and neighbor, "The Catholic Church in the United States," by John Gilmary Shea.

Study Club Outline

1. Ask one of your number to give a brief appreciation of the life and work of Orestes Brownson.

2. Who was the outstanding convert of the past century in the U. S.? In England? In the world?

3. In what did Brownson hold lay the only hope for the American Republic? Why was he so gravely misunderstood? With what great Church leader did he engage in controversy? Concerning what question?

4. Why does a democracy need an especially strong defense? In what does it greatest defense lie? Discuss

5. Discuss among yourselves or ask your leader to review the persecution of religion in dictatorship countries today: Russia, Spain, Germany and Italy. What is the Church's attitude toward totalitarian States? Why? (Consult recent issues of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR.)

XXV
The Paulists

In the year 1858, the Church in the United States consisted of seven provinces, divided into forty-seven dioceses and vicariates. Our Archbishops at that time were: John Hughes (New York), Francis Patrick Kenrick, (Baltimore), John Baptist Purcell (Cincinnati), Peter Richard Kenrick (St. Louis), Anthony Blanc (New Orleans), Joseph Sadoc Alemany (San Francisco), and Francis Norbert Blanchet (Oregon). We had in that year seventeen Catholic weekly newspapers, three monthly magazines, and one quarterly review (Brownson's). The religious orders at work in the parishes of the country or in our educational institutions were: The Jesuits, Redemptorists, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Vincentians, Benedictines, Passionists, Precious Blood Fathers, Holy Cross Fathers, Premonstratensians, and Sulpicians. Only by a careful and laborious search in the pages of the 1858 "Catholic Directory" would it be possible to ascertain the proportion between the secular and regular clergy in the two thousand priests listed in that little volume.

These religious Orders had many American-born priests in their ranks and all were busily engaged in missionary and educational work in every section of the United States. They had adapted themselves to some extent to the particular religious needs of our country; and, while dependent upon superiors in Europe, their progress was in whole-hearted sympathy with American ideals and customs.

Founder of Paulists

No one had apparently conceived the plan of an American religious community, until Father Hecker and his little group began to organize such a plan. On December 22, 1857, Father Hecker had his first audience with Pius IX and laid before that august Pontiff a project which he proposed in his own name as well as in that of four of his close friends, who were like himself at the time members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

Father Isaac Hecker was then a man of about forty

years, having been born in New York City in 1819. In August, 1844, he entered the Catholic Church and was baptized by the future Cardinal McCloskey. The following year he joined the Redemptorists and was sent to their novitiate at St. Trond, in Belgium. He was ordained to the priesthood on October 23, 1849, by the future Cardinal Wiseman in London, and two years later began his ministry in New York City. With him were two other American converts, Father Hewit and Father Walworth, and later they were joined by Fathers Deshon and Baker. From 1852 to 1857 Father Hecker labored in the parochial work assigned to him in giving missions in various cities of the United States. It was while he was a Redemptorist that he published his "Questions of the Soul" in 1855, and two years later his "Aspirations of Nature." Both volumes were a restatement of Catholic doctrinal principles and were widely read at the time, owing to Father Hecker's participation in the celebrated Brook Farm movement.

In the spring of 1857, the Redemptorists were contemplating the foundation of a new house of the Order either in New York City or in Newark, and the wish was expressed that it should become the headquarters of the American members of the Order. Accordingly, to promote this plan, Father Hecker went to Rome in August, 1857, in order to lay the project before the General of the Order. "This journey," writes Sedgwick in his biographical sketch of Father Hecker, "was a turning point in Hecker's life, and was the cause of founding the Paulist community." Back of this great decision—one of the most important in the whole history of the Catholic Church in the United States—lies an intensely interesting page of American Catholic history. The result of the action of the Roman Congregations, was that Fathers Hecker, Walworth, Hewit, Deshon, and Baker were dispensed from their vows as Redemptorists and were left free to carry out their hearts' desires—to devote themselves to missionary work among non-Catholics.

Purposes of Paulists

Father Hecker reached New York in May, 1858, and within a short time had founded the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle, familiarly known to us as the

Paulists. Foremost among the purposes of the new religious Order thus created was the personal sanctification of its members: but where Father Hecker made a distinction that has since become historic, was in defining that perfection as being influenced by our national characteristics and by the type of civilization in the United States. It would be a mistake not to emphasize all that this meant in a country like ours where at the time of which we are writing, one of the chief quarrels with Catholicism was that it was a foreign religion, administered by foreigners, and where it was alleged unfairly that its adherents, with only a few notable exceptions, had not seemed anxious or willing to identify themselves with the inherent values of American life and customs.

In Father Hecker's diaries we learn the scope of the new plan he had evolved not only for bringing Catholic doctrines to the minds and hearts of his countrymen but also for infusing American life and progress with all the benefits of Catholic thought and action. He thoroughly accepted "American civilization with its usages and customs," because he believed that it was "the only way by which Catholicity can become the religion of our people." The character and spirit of our people and their institutions, he wrote, "must find themselves at home in our Church in the way those of other nations have done; and it is on this basis alone that the Catholic religion can make progress in our country."

Father Hecker's Americanism

Father Hecker contributed more in one short paragraph to the solution of the "Catholic Question" in the United States than all his contemporaries. He described the actual situation of his own day, as Bishop John England had done a score of years before, in the following words:

> "The form of government of the United States is preferable to Catholics above other forms. It is more favorable than others to the practice of those virtues which are the necessary conditions of the development of the religious life of man. This government leaves man a larger margin for liberty of action, and hence for cooperation with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, than any other government under the sun. With these popular institutions men enjoy greater liberty in work-

ing out their true destiny. The Catholic Church will, therefore, flourish all the more in this republican country in proportion as her representatives keep, in their civil life, to the lines of their republicanism."

This thesis on the splendid opportunity for Catholicism in the United States had been developed by Father Hecker in two articles which appeared in the Roman periodical "Civilta Cattolica" in 1857, and later in his "Church and the Age" (1867).

The argument in these writings may be given in his own words:

"During its three centuries of existence a republican form of government has nowhere under Protestant ascendancy made its appearance . . . if Protestants have contributed to human freedom, it was not as Protestants; the motives which prompted them did not spring from their religious creed, for that was a foe to human rights and the grave of liberty . . . in no place where Protestantism prevailed among a people as their religion, has it given birth to a republic, and nowhere in the nineteenth century does there exist a republic in a Protestant land . . . Calvinism excludes republicanism in politics . . . that the pages of history testify to the close relationship existing between popular governments and the Catholic faith is shown by the fact that all republics since the Christian era have sprung into existence under the influence of the Catholic Church . . . the doctrines of the Catholic Church alone give to popular rights, and governments founded thereupon, an intellectual basis, and furnish their vital principle. What a Catholic believes as a member of the Catholic Church, he believes as a citizen of the republic. His religion consecrates his political convictions."

This was a totally unexpected answer to those who had waged a violent warfare on the Church in the decade before the Civil War and to those who were waiting for normalcy after 1865 to renew the hostilities which had for sixty years injured America's good name abroad for religious equality and tolerance. To tell his generation, as Father Hecker did, that the relationship between Catholicism and our republican ideals was so intimate and vital "that no attack can be made against the Church which is not equally a blow against the republic," was not a welcome political philosophy to the Nativist groups.

The discerning mind on the contrary, Father Hecker stated,

> "will not fail to see that the republic and the Catholic Church are working together under the same divine guidance, forming the various races of men and nationalities into a homogeneous people, and by their united action giving a bright promise of a broader and higher development of man than has been heretofore accomplished."

Work of the Paulists

To bring this lesson, and warning, to the hearts of all Americans, the Paulists began their great work through three definite channels—parish work, missions to non-Catholics, and the apostolate of the press. In April, 1865, the first number of the "Catholic World" appeared. In 1866, Father Hecker organized the Catholic Publication Society for the distribution of tracts and books on Catholic doctrine, and so vital a want did this Society fill in American Catholic life that the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (October, 1866) ordered branches of the work to be established in all our diocesan centers and to be supported by an annual collection. In their Pastoral Letter, the prelates said:

> "We earnestly recommend to the faithful of our charge the Catholic Publication Society, lately established in the City of New York by a zealous and devoted clergyman."

They urged both the clergy and the laity to cooperate in the undertaking, "which is second to none in importance among the auxiliary aids which the inventions of modern times supply to our ministry for the diffusion of Catholic truth."

After Father Hecker's death in December, 1888, the work he inaugurated went on unabated in zeal and success. In 1894, the Paulists began the work of training members of the diocesan clergy to carry on locally missions to non-Catholics, and in 1903, they opened the Apostolic Mission House at the Catholic University of America as a normal school for those priests who were selected for these missions.

Study Club Outline

1. From your knowledge of the Church in the U. S. today, discuss its growth since 1858. (See the Catholic Directory. Your pastor will have a copy.)

2. Who was Father Isaac Hecker? What religious order did he found? Have any others been founded in the U. S.? Trace his life and works.

3. Who are the Paulist Fathers? What is their principal work? What is the full name of the order? How did Father Hecker believe the Church could best progress in this country? Discuss his intense patriotism.

4. Why did Father Hecker believe the U. S. form of government should be preferred by Catholics? From what you have read so far in this book, what do you think is the Church's attitude towards democracy?

5. Why do you think a loyal Catholic is bound to be a loyal citizen? Discuss this question not only in the light of what you have read here, but from your other readings and knowledge of the subject. Familiarize yourselves with "The Catholic World" and compare it with the best secular magazines available.

XXVI
"The Faith of Our Fathers"

When the future historian of the Catholic Church in the United States comes to write the general history of Catholic literature in this country, he will undoubtedly make the centennial year of 1876 the great dividing line of his subject. Such a complete sketch has not yet been undertaken, if one excepts an article by John Gilmary Shea in the "Metropolitan" of Baltimore in 1854, the short account in John O'Kane Murray's "Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States," which was published for the hundredth anniversary of American Independence in 1876, and the carefully written chapter "Catholic Contributions to American Prose" by Rev. James J. Daly, S. J., in the "Catholic Builders of the Nation." Father Daly well says that "there is room for a handbook of Catholic American literature."

The first century of Catholic American life (1776-1876) witnessed the publication of a very large number of Catholic books in this country on all important topics and in every part of the literary field. Many names might be cited of outstanding figures whose work still lives as an inspiration to this and succeeding generations.

Cardinal Gibbons' Great Book

The end of that first century saw the publication of the most remarkable book ever penned by an American Catholic—the "Faith of Our Fathers," by the late Cardinal Gibbons, the preface of which is dated Richmond, November 21, 1876, to which See he had been appointed in 1872.

No writer of the times acknowledged more readily his debt to those who had gone before him than James Gibbons. Back through the hundred years preceding the publication of this popular presentation of Catholic truth were many who had prepared the way for the hearty acceptance of such a book among thousands outside the Church seeking a more intimate knowledge of its doctrines.

Not to wander afield beyond the members of the

American episcopate, to Archbishop Carroll, the Father of the American Church, is due the honor of having written the first apologetic written by a Catholic and published here—his "Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States," issued at Annapolis in 1794. His successor in the work of making our doctrines known to those outside the Church was Bishop John England of Charleston, whose published writings were reprinted in seven volumes in 1908, by Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee.

The works of Bishop David of Bardstown (1819-1841) —the "Catechism of Christian Doctrine" (1825), "Vindication of Catholic Doctrine" (1827), "Spiritual Retreat" (1829), and other contributions, merit a place in the annals of the literary achievements of our bishops.

The most prominent Catholic writer of the middle years of the century is Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick, who occupied the See of Philadelphia and later that of Baltimore (1830-1863). Kenrick's Latin work in moral and dogmatic theology appeared during his years in Philadelphia and won the admiration of scholars here and abroad. Other volumes, "Commentary on the Book of Job," "The Primacy of Peter," and a translation of the New Testament, appeared from his pen and amazed all who knew how slight was the leisure at the disposal of an American bishop at the time.

Contemporary with Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore was the illustrious prelate of New York, Archbishop Hughes, whose "Works" were published in two volumes in New York in 1865. Among the many writings of Kenrick's successor, Archbishop Martin John Spalding, are "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," "The History of the Protestant Reformation," and a popular collection of essays and lectures, entitled "Miscellanea."

Archbishop Bayley, who succeeded to the See of Baltimore on the death of Spalding, in 1872, is best known for some excellent historical works, "History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York" and "Memoirs of Bishop Brute," which are exceptional volumes because based upon original sources.

Bishop McGill, who died at Richmond in 1872, published two brilliant apologies for Catholic doctrine, unfortunately forgotten now with the lapse of time,—"The True Church" and "Our Faith, the Victory." There is a resemblance between these two books and the "Faith of Our Fathers" which Cardinal Gibbons, then Bishop of Richmond and the successor of Bishop McGill, published in 1877.

Over Million Copies Sold

There is no need to describe the contents of "The Faith of Our Fathers." Before twenty-five years had passed, over a million and a quarter copies were sold, and it is fair to assume that the larger proportion of the buying public was of the Protestant and Jewish faiths. Editions were soon published in all foreign languages and the name of James Gibbons was spread far and wide over the world as one of the greatest defenders of the Faith in modern times.

Naturally, the chapter most non-Catholics turned to at once on securing the book, was that entitled "Civil and Religious Liberty." It may be of value to remark here that a comparison of the first edition in 1877 and the last Edition of recent years shows no change, even of a comma, of this remarkable exposition of the spiritual and civil allegiance of Catholics.

We needed guidance in the '70's. The promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility in 1870, while the most blessed boon in modern times to the Catholic mind and heart, had caused so much misunderstanding not to speak of schism and heresy within the Church itself. that any clear and well-defined exposition of the dual allegiance every Catholic holds towards the Spouse of Christ and to his own native land, came as a staff of steadfastness. This exposition James Gibbons gave, as no Catholic prelate in the United States before or since has given, to many of the faithful who needed it a perfect formula for their obedient attitude towards the Holy See.

It was a noble, and a courageous thing to say—not many months after the President of the United States had declared otherwise—that:

"The Catholic Church has always been the zealous

promoter of religious and civil liberty and that, whenever any encroachments on these sacred rights of man were perpetrated by professing members of the Catholic faith, these wrongs, far from being sanctioned by the Church, were committed in palpable violation of her authority."

Little wonder, then, that Archbishop Glennon, in his funeral oration over the great Cardinal, called the "Faith of Our Fathers"—our best "apologia" in the English language, "the best when written fifty years ago, the best now, and we have reason to believe that even later history will not record a better."

This first work from Gibbons' pen was to remain all through the fifty years of his leadership of the Church in the United States his greatest book. No historian of our Church can venture to neglect its place in the hidden springs of Catholic life and in the thousands of conversions to the Church since 1877. Never before, in so clear, and if the word is proper, in so American a way, was the truth of the Catholic Faith placed before the people of this country with so much sincerity and calmness.

The Cardinal's Arguments

The argument the great Cardinal handled in this chapter was a current problem of the day:

"Many Protestants seem to be very much disturbed by some such argument as this: Catholics are very ready now to proclaim freedom of conscience, because they are in the minority. When they once succeed in getting the upper hand in numbers and power they will destroy this freedom because their faith teaches them to tolerate no doctrine other than the Catholic. It is then a matter of absolute necessity for us that they should never be allowed to get this advantage."

This was a statement of the case in a language all could understand; and in answering it, there was a simplicity of style and a serenity of treatment which made the "Faith of Our Fathers" acceptable to all. No controversial treatise had been written up to that time in so broad and sympathetic a spirit. To the question of Catholic loyalty, or to use a much-abused phrase, "double-allegiance," Bishop Gibbons replied from an entirely new viewpoint:

"The Catholics of our generation have nobly emu-

lated the patriotism and the spirit of toleration exhibited by their ancestors. They can neither be accused of disloyalty nor of intolerance to their dissenting brethren. In more than one instance of our nation's history our churches have been desecrated and burned to the ground, destroyed; our clergy have been exposed to insult and violence. These injuries have been inflicted on us by incendiary mobs animated by hatred of Catholicism. Yet, in spite of these provocations, our Catholic citizens, though wielding an immense numerical influence in the localities where they suffered, have never retaliated. It is in a spirit of just pride that we can affirm that hitherto in the United States no Protestant house of worship or educational institution has been destroyed, nor violence offered to a Protestant minister by those who profess the Catholic faith. God grant that such may always be our record!"

His Love for His Country

After describing the persecution the Church was suffering in various parts of Europe, he contrasts with scenes of violence and injustice across the Atlantic the peace and security of the Catholic Faith under the American Flag. It is in these pages that the future Cardinal stated clearly and boldly for the first time his preference for the policy of a separation of Church and State.

"Thank God, we live in a country where liberty of conscience is respected, and where the civil institution holds over us the aegis of her protection, without intermeddling with ecclesiastical affairs. From my heart I say: America, with all her faults, I love thee still! Perhaps, at this moment there is no nation on the face of the earth where the Church is less trammelled, and where she has more liberty to carry out her sublime destiny than in these United States. For my part, I much prefer the system which prevails in this country where the temporal needs of the Church are supplied by voluntary contributions of the faithful, to the system which obtains in some Catholic countries of Europe, where the Church is supported by the government."

The "Faith of Our Fathers" brought into American Catholic apologetics a new note and a new method. Cardinal Gibbons' biographer has not exaggerated its value when he styles the volume "the most successful of all the formal statements of Catholic truth since the days of Canisius and the Council of Trent."

Study Club Outline

1. Review the progress made by Catholics in the literary field since Colonial days. Ask one of your number to discuss Catholic publications and books of today.

2. Obtain a copy of "Faith of Our Fathers" and examine and discuss it. (O. S. V. Press, 35c.) The latest and best successor is Father John A. O'Brien's "Faith of Millions." Get and review it also. (O. S. V. Press, $1.00.)

3. How was Cardinal Gibbons' book accepted by Catholics? By non-Catholics? What has been its circulation?

4. What does Papal Infallibility mean? (See either of the books mentioned above.) When was this dogma officially declared? Was it a new teaching of the Church?

5. Give an appreciation of the life and work of Cardinal Gibbons. How did he treat the subjects of "double allegiance"? What was his stand on the question of separation of Church and State?

XXVII
1876 A Critical Year

The Centennial Year (1876) of the American nation presents many confusing aspects of a social and political nature which continue to perplex our historians.

The older portrayal of its last decade (1866-1876) as a glorious climax to a century of magnificent success in the art of government is now abandoned. As one of our recent historians, Allan Nevins, has written in his "Emergence of Modern America (1865-1876)," Centennial Year came at the end of one of the most varied and complex periods in the whole history of America. It was, he says, a period of striking contrasts between vice and virtue in practically all walks of life, of contending political aspirations, of new views of life crowding out the old.

Probably the most striking anomaly in the curious paradoxes of that year was the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. The evils of Reconstruction, the wave of disorder and outrage following in the wake of the Ku Klux Klan, the unspeakable scenes in some of the Southern legislatures, the reeking exposures of graft and corruption in national and municipal politics, the moral disgrace which reached the presidential chair itself, the panic of 1873, the scandals of the Tweed Ring and the Credit Nobilier,—these are some of the social factors which made the better classes of our people "painfully aware that in many respects the year of 1876 was an infelicitous time for America to place herself on exhibition." Dr. Nevins, whom we are quoting, avers that it was a year to make America ashamed rather than proud. Indeed, instead of celebrating a great anniversary, it was a year when national humiliation seemed to reach its highest peak.

One salient aspect of American Protestantism at the time, apart from the pitiful moral collapse of its great leader Henry Ward Beecher—son of that Lyman Beecher whom we now know to be responsible for the outrage upon the Charlestown nuns in 1834—was secession in its

churches into sectional religious jurisdictions, thus carrying over to our own day an evil for the cessation of which politically we paid a fearful price during the Civil War. No stronger force was at work for the re-establishment of complete unity in the nation than the Catholic Church. The assembly of our prelates from North, South, East and West in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 was hailed with gladness by Catholic and non-Catholic as a sign of a better union to come. The Catholic Church had made a steady progress between the First and Second Plenary Councils of Baltimore (1852-1866), and its spiritual growth during the next decade was unprecedented in the annals of Catholicism.

Bigotry of Stanton

With the sole exception of the swift recrudescence of the anti-Catholic spirit through Secretary Stanton's unbridled bigotry—a history which stained the hands of the government with the blood of a possibly innocent woman —there was visible in the ten years following Appomattox a change in the general attitude of non-Catholics towards the Church. This change was revealed in a more subtle attack upon Catholic liberties.

The century which had passed had proven beyond all shadow of doubt that down in the average American's mind, planted there by centuries of Puritan animosity and fostered by a Protestant ministry and a Protestant press that literally teemed with diatribe and challenge, there was an instinct which told him that the most powerful incentive to religious solidarity within his own ranks was unremitting insolence to the Catholic Church. It was disconcerting, however, to find that violence and outrage had failed to create political cohesion in Protestant circles in the United States. Protestant leaders here began to realize that vulgar and un-American methods of arresting the progress of the Church had only added to her strength, and that whenever members of the Church became victims of anti-Catholic fraud or lawlessness, the sympathy of thousands of honest, God-fearing members of their own sects was given whole-heartedly to their Catholic fellow-citizens. By 1876 Protestant leaders had recognized the strategy of curbing the religious prejudices of the uneducated masses who had crowded the

lodges of the Know-Nothings, and of directing the attack upon Catholic citizens through measures of legislation.

President Grant's Bid to Bigotry

The prophet of this new hope was President Grant. Towards the close of his second term, some of the leaders of the Republican party urged him to run for a third term. Grant's immense popularity was considered a justifiable excuse for breaking with the two-term tradition. The curruption which had sullied the honor of the Republican party gave the Democrats a unique chance for victory at the polls under the leadership of the distinguished Governor of New York, Samuel J. Tilden. Largely identified with the democratic party as the successor of the anti-Federalists, Catholic American citizens quickly became the object of vile abuse in the national Congress and in the leading magazines and newspapers. Chief among these were "Harper's Weekly" and the "New York Times."

On September 20, 1876, at Des Moines, before the veterans of the Army of the Tennessee, President Grant practically made a bid for a third term by outlining to that branch of the Grand Army of the Republic (then strongly anti-Catholic in its views) an organized attack upon the Church in this country through amendments to the Federal Constitution. The legislation thus projected by the President was to follow closely the successful outlawing of the Catholic Faith in Germany through the May laws of 1873.

As the initial step in this programme, Grant urged in his Seventh Annual Message to Congress (Dec. 7, 1875) a constitutional amendment abolishing all religious teaching in the public schools and forbidding any public funds to be distributed to sectarian institutions. He recommended likewise a law compelling the States to tax church property. "The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to, without taxation," said Grant, "may lead to sequestration without constitutional authority and through blood." This, it need not be added, was the Kulturkampf method used in Germany during these years to crush the Catholic Church.

The word "sectarian" is used in this part of Grant's Annual Message, but everyone knew that the Catholic

Church was intended and was thus to be made to pay the penalty for its increase in numbers and in wealth.

Attack on Catholic Loyalty

The following year (1876) the Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., circulated far and wide a dastardly attack upon Catholic loyalty through a pamphlet entitled "Vaticanism in Germany and the United States." This was an imitation of the attack made by Gladstone, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in 1875, through his "Vaticanism in its hearing on Civil Allegiance," thereby giving new life to the oldest Protestant shibboleth—Double Allegiance. Cardinal Newman's answer, in what will ever be one of the greatest pamphlets in English literature—the "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk"—appeared also in 1875.

Not withstanding the fact that many American Protestants realized that this was a stale and senseless charge against their Catholic fellow-citizens, some of the Republican leaders planned the presidential campaign of 1876 upon this anti-Catholic platform.

In pursuance of this design, the Republican pamphlet mentioned above held up as a model the anti-Catholic and infidelistic policy of Bismarck and the leaders of the German Kulturkampf. "If knowledge of what has been done in Germany through priestism," we read, "will awaken our people to the depths of the same power in the United States, the firm stand of Bismarck has not been taken an hour too soon."

A contemporary French observer of our political maneuvers that year says:

> "Without any provocation on the part of Catholics, and in spite of the blood which many of them shed during the war for the profit of the North, a notable fraction of the Republican party has declared open war against Catholics and what they call its social and political influence . . . Two journals, which are the special organs of President Grant, 'Harper's Weekly' and the 'New York Times,' subordinating national to party and sectarian interest, distinguished themselves in this disloyal war, and secret anti-Catholic associations have been recently founded under the same influence."

That the constitutional guarantees which protect the

liberty and independence of the Catholic Church in the United States were in grave jeopardy during the memorable Centennial Year of 1876, no one who had read the newspapers and periodicals of that day may deny. Catholic leaders were not idle. There could be no question of forming here a Catholic Party for the protection of the Church, as Windthorst had then succeeded in accomplishing in Germany in the face of Bismarck's brutal attitude. Appeal could be made, however, to the saner element in Protestant circles by means of an objective, impartial presentation of Catholic doctrines.

Catholic Quarterly Review Started

This was done through the founding in January, 1876, of a new periodical, "The American Catholic Quarterly Review," by Monsignor Corcoran, Dr. James O'Connor and Mr. George Dering Wolff of Philadelphia. It is significant that the first article deals with "Anti-Catholic Prejudice," by Dr. O'Connor, who was consecrated that same year as Vicar-Apostolic of Nebraska. Bishop O'Connor has contributed what must ever be the initial chapter in the psychological explanation of anti-Catholicism in this country.

For over a decade of years, the "Catholic World" had been bearing single-handedly the burden of Catholic defense and had been sending out month after month its appeal for a saner and truer understanding of Catholic truth. There was room for a quarterly of a high-class literary kind in the land, and Catholic writers of excellent taste and culture were ready for the task.

American literature at that time was still decidedly anti-Catholic. It is true that the vulgar "No Popery" output of pamphlets and books had ceased to a large extent; but, as Bishop O'Connor said, there was hardly a standard work on history, or popular science, or general literature, known to American readers, which, where it touched on Catholic subjects, did not purposely or unintentionally misrepresent us.

Catholics were not blind to the crisis of 1876. They realized that their enemies in this country lacked only the power to do what Bismarck was accomplishing for the time in Germany—the enslavement of the Church for political purposes. "When a President of the United

States," writes Bishop O'Connor, "is not ashamed to hound on against us the veterans of the Army of the Tennessee, what may we not apprehend from the bad influences that can be brought to bear on men, who would themselves bring into their ranks the very passions it should be their duty to quell in others?"

Fairness of Millions of Protestants

Grant was eliminated from the third term by the action of the House of Representatives; and when the campaign of 1876 between Hayes and Tilden was launched, liberal Republicans found that a partisan attack upon the Catholic Church would not win the support of the better class of Americans of other faiths. "The people of the United States were not prepared to combine in a gratuitous assault upon the liberties of a large number of citizens, whose fidelity to our Constitution and laws have been attested and confirmed by their uniform loyalty ever since the first settlement of our country, and who, in every crisis and struggle through which as a people we have had to pass, have proved uniformly faithful, and have borne in every emergency their full share of burdens and sacrifices."

Again what threatened to be a national anti-Catholic crisis passed, owing to the noble American spirit of millions of sincere Protestants.

Study Club Outline

1. Discuss the year 1876 from the Catholic standpoint. Why was it a critical year? What was the condition of the Protestant Churches at that time? Do you think it changed today?
2. Discuss the progress of the Church between 1852-1866. How account for the change in the non-Catholic attitude at this time?
3. What did President Grant do to offend Catholics? What was his motive?
4. What European country was at this time persecuting the Church? Who was its leader? What two journals still published were anti-Catholic during the 1876 campaign?
5. How did Catholic leaders oppose their enemies? Were Catholics treated fairly in secular papers and magazines? Do you think they are today?

XXVIII
The Attack On Catholic Education

The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876 is one of the clearest dividing lines in our national history. Its unexpected success can hardly be exaggerated. The curtain rose that year upon a people badly disillusioned by political corruption and went down upon a scene unparalleled in our annals. The Hayes-Tilden contest for the presidency brought the nation to the sheer edge of civil war and bloodshed. But once safely emerged from that danger, our people awakened for the first time to the marvelous progress we had made in these hundred years. One evidence of this awakening was the large number of societies devoted to our national and local history which were founded in many parts of the country. Since 1876 these societies have multiplied until today there are more historical groups in the United States than in any other land in the world.

Modern Civilization's Debt to Church

No institution was to profit more from this renaissance of historical interest in our past than the Catholic Church, since all impartial investigation heightened in the minds of scholars the immense debt modern civilization and culture owe to the Church.

The hundred years that had run their course since the birth of the nation in 1776 had been an uneasy period for Catholics in the United States. We have several retrospects or balance sheets written at the time by scholars such as John Gilmary Shea and others, and these display the fact that Protestant-American suspicion of the Church had not been confined to any particular social or political group. Catholicism had been denounced in season and out of season by leaders of powerful Protestant sects as a danger to national unity on three counts—the old charge of divided allegiance, the separation of Catholics from the educational control of the States, and the dread of a tendency to social disunion as a result of the Catholic parochial school system.

The gallantry of Catholics on the battlefields and on

the sea, the noble courage of our priests and nuns, and the patriotic stand taken by Archbishop Hughes, our most prominent prelate at that time, as well as by all the prelates of the North and South during the Civil War, practically shattered for all time the charge of potential disloyalty to American ideals. Not that this charge would never be heard again, for nativism has never been honest in making it; but when the mighty conflict of the Civil War was over many of our sincere antagonists found to their surprise that of all the independently patriotic groups in the country, Catholics came first.

The other two charges were directed against Catholic independence in the matter of education, and with but few exceptions to the general rule, every attack upon the Church since 1876 has had this independence in view. The A. P. A. uprising in the nineties, like unto the Klan of our own day, disguised its real motive— a national drive on Catholic education—by a barrage of charges involving Catholic loyalty. The Spanish-American War (1898) silenced the first of these groups of bigots; the patriotism of Catholic soldiers, sailors, marines and chaplains in the World War (1917-1919) silenced, for a while, the second group.

Antagonism to Catholic Education

Where Catholic writers and publicists have failed to a considerable extent in their estimate of all these anti-Catholic movements has been in not recognizing the fact that behind all the illogical opposition to the Church on the score of patriotic Americanism lies the "No Popery" antagonism to Catholic independence in the field of education. The anti-Catholic agitation both before 1876 and since has followed a uniform strategy in order to hide the active trend of its nativist principles. That trend or tendency has been a constant and unwearied attempt to abridge religious and political liberty by acts of legislation which would prevent Catholics from educating their children in Catholic schools.

Persecution of Catholics for non-conformity to State religions was halted in the United States by the liberty enshrined in the federal Constitution; but persecution for non-conformity to that kind of political religionism whose chief fetish is the public school has never ceased.

It is still implied as legally possible and advisable in the various attempts with which we are familiar, either by outlawing the Catholic school as was recently tried in Oregon, or by so powerfully financing the public schools and by so regulating all educational advance that Catholics would soon be out-distanced by their enemies.

Here then is a "conflicting loyalty"—to use a phrase from Dr. John A. Ryan's, "The Catholic Church and the Citizen." Here is a difference of viewpoint on which the Church could not compromise. In fact, the Church must go down to utter defeat on the question of religious education, rather than compromise with the secular or non-religious system of training in our public schools. There have been partial compromises in the past, but all have proven to be impracticable. "The Church," Dr. Ryan writes, "insists and must insist that religious training is an essential and, in fact, the most necessary element of education. Therefore she builds and maintains her own schools wherever the state institutions do not provide instruction in religion. Consequently she opposes legislation which would give the state a monopoly of education."

Now, the important factor in the school question with which every American Catholic ought to be perfectly familiar is this: by an insight into the policy of these new "levellers," the Catholic bishops of the United States from Carroll's day to our own have sensed instinctively that back of the whole nativist movement was the design first to limit and then to abolish all Catholic education in the land.

Abolition of Catholic School Sought

Various stages may be discerned in the attack on the Catholic schools. During the early years of the nineteenth century, that is, up to the school controversy of 1840-42 in New York in which Archbishop Hughes figured so prominently, bishops and priests were mainly concerned about two things; the justice of their claim that our Catholic schools should be supported out of the public taxes gathered for educational purposes; and the risk Catholic children underwent in the public schools, owing to the reading of the Protestant Bible, the use of anti-Catholic text-books, and the undisguised Protestantism of these schools. Only occasionally, as can be seen in Dr.

James A. Burns' two volumes on Catholic education in the United States, were subsidies allowed from public funds. But to expect the mass of the American people, shot through as it was with the venom of nativism, to vote for the support of our Catholic schools was futile. The platform of the two largest nativist parties—the Native-Americans of the forties and the Know-Nothings of the 'fifties—made this quite clear. What both parties sought was the abolition of the Catholic school, the enforced presence of Catholic children in the public schools, the use of the Protestant Bible "as a reading book," and the refusal to consider any change in text-books that violated truth and instilled doubt about religious belief.

This was more menacing to the progress of the Church than the violences and outrages which marked the rise and decline of nativist hatreds. At no moment from the first meeting of Bishop Carroll with his priests in 1791 up to the present has the American hierarchy wavered on the necessity of Catholic education for Catholic children in Catholic schools. Ably have they been aided by Catholic educators, religious and lay, all through these years. Indeed, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the greater part of our Catholic literature during this time has been devoted to the meaning and necessity of Catholic education.

Hierarchy's Support of Religious Education

The first seven Provincial Councils of Baltimore (1829-1849) legislated for the Church in all the dioceses then suffragan to Baltimore; and it is highly significant to see how, with each assembly, especially when anti-Catholic fanaticism was at its peak, the realization grew that the essential point at issue in the "Catholic Question" in the United States was the protection of our Catholic children from the evils of a non-religious education.

The three Plenary Councils of 1852, 1866, and 1884, carried this legislation to its logical end. The Fathers of the Third Plenary Council—the last we have had in this country—sent out an eloquent plea to the faithful to realize the grave evils of so-called non-sectarian education.

"If in any age," we read in the decrees devoted to the education of youth, "surely in ours are the Church

of God and the Spirit of the Age locked in fearful and bitter combat over the education of youth. Men wholly inspired by a worldly spirit for many years have left not a single effort untried to usurp the Church's office of teaching Catholic youth received from Christ, and to deliver it into the hands of civil society or subject it to the power of secular government."

The Pastoral Letter of 1884 emphasized the same fact:

"Few, if any, will deny that a sound civilization must depend upon sound popular education—True civilization requires that not only the physical and intellecual but also the moral and religious well-being of the people should be promoted, and at least with equal care. Take away religion from a people, and morality would soon follow; morality gone, even their physical condition will ere long degenerate into corruption which breeds decrepitude, while their intellectual attainments would only serve as a light to guide them to deeper depths of vice and ruin. This has been so often demonstrated in the history of the past, and is, in fact, so self-evident, that one is amazed to find any difference of opinion about it. A civilization without religion would be a civilization of 'the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest,' in which cunning and strength would become the substitutes for principle, virtue, conscience and duty. As a matter of fact, there never has been a civilization worthy of the name without religion; and from the facts of history the laws of human nature can easily be inferred."

Catholic School Stronghold of Faith

The nursery of Christian life is the Catholic home; its stronghold is the Catholic school—in these words the American hierarchy in its Pastoral Letter of 1919 continued the challenge to the ever-growing forgetfulness of God in our public school educational system. The so-called "conflicting loyalties" which furnished a basis for so much of the anti-Catholic agitation of the past have lost their potency in the light of the magnificent loyalty of Catholics to the best ideals of our democratic system of government. But Catholics must ever be alert to the fact that with them, even more so than with others, eternal vigilance will be the price of their independence in educational affairs.

The drive on Catholicism has never faltered in its intent and purpose since the sixteenth century. This generation may not see a recrudescence of the prejudice latent in millions of Protestant hearts, but the will to block Catholic education never dies. When that prejudice does reveal itself again, it will be under a new guise, but its method and purpose will be as old as the anti-Catholic struggle itself; and it will undoubtedly center its entire attack upon the freedom of the Catholic Church in the United States to maintain its stand upon religious education.

Study Club Outline

1. What happening in and since 1876 brought to clearer light civilization's debt to the Catholic Church? What was revealed about the Church?
2. What group came first in the U. S. for its patriotism? What do you think was almost invariably behind anti-Catholic attacks?
3. Why do you think the Catholic system of education has been so frequently assailed? Why cannot the Church compromise on the question of parochial and secular education?
4. What has been one of the main ends of all anti-Catholic groups? What has always been the Hierarchy's attitude towards parochial schools?
5. Discuss the parochial school as the stronghold of the Catholic Faith. (See "Catholic Education" and "Christian Education," O. S. V. Press, 15 cents each.)

XXIX

The Plenary Councils of Baltimore

Three times during the latter half of the nineteenth century the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church in the United States met in a national plenary assembly at Baltimore.

The story of the "Catholic Question" as it was considered by these prelates is filled with significance.

It is natural to expect in periods of blatant nativism that a plenary council of our spiritual leaders would be led unavoidably to discuss the tantalizing problem of the persistence of anti-Catholicism in the nation. And yet, in all these solemn assemblies, in the private and public sessions of the prelates and theologians, no word of recrimination, no syllable which does not express the spirit of charity towards all who had outraged the Church, can be found.

Attractive Chapter in Catholic History

From the narrative of the deliberations at Baltimore, first in 1852, then fourteen years later in 1866, and eighteen years afterwards in 1884, readers of today may learn one of the most attractive chapters in Catholic history. It is a chapter suffused with Christian love for our enemies, of sincere faith in God's designs upon the land, and of sublime trust that through His grace, as the years would pass, non-Catholics in general would be brought to a realization of the providential part Catholicism has had in the nation's development.

The various problems discussed in the Council of 1852 need not detain us; what interests us most is the attitude of the prelates and their theologians towards the growing power of the anti-Catholic political movements of the day.

Eight years had passed since Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, who presided over the Council as Apostolic Delegate, had witnessed the reign of terror created by the Native-Americans in Philadelphia in 1844, when to escape maltreatment he was obliged to take refuge in the house of a friendly Protestant minister, Rev. Dr. Tyng, and

when the Blessed Sacrament was taken to friendly Protestant homes for safety.

Four years later (1848) when the anti-Catholic world sang a song of triumph over the capture of Rome by the Freemasons as well as over the flight of Pope Pius IX to Gaeta, Dr. Kenrick led his fellow-bishops in inviting the Sovereign Pontiff to come to the United States and make his temporary domicile with us.

Kenrick was not deceived over the apparent disavowal of nativist policies by political leaders, and his transfer to the Archbishopric of Baltimore in 1851 after Dr. Eccleston's death placed him at the helm of the Barque of Peter in this country—a fitting reward for the scholar whose "Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated"—holds today a high place in American Catholic apologetical literature.

Bishops' Plea for Patriotism

In 1852, some lingering echoes might still be heard of the anti-Catholic animosities which had crept into the war with Mexico (1846-1848). Nevertheless, the prelates of 1852 deemed silence the better weapon to use in thwarting the revival of "No Popery" in this day. They understood, however, that their people, scattered like the children of Israel all over the land and in daily conflict with those who considered their presence a menace to American institutions, would be heartened by a word of encouragement in the face of what they knew was a coming storm of opposition to Catholic progress. And so, in their Pastoral Letter of 1852, we find a restatement of the meaning of civil allegiance which reveals the minds of the bishops of the Council:

> "Obey the public authorities, not only for wrath but also for conscience's sake. Show your attachment to the institutions of our beloved country by prompt compliance with all their requirements, and by the cautious jealousy with which you guard against the least deviation from the rules which they prescribe for the maintenance of public order and private rights. Thus will you refute the idle babbling of foolish men, and will best approve yourselves worthy of the privileges which you enjoy, and overcome, by the sure test of practical patriotism, all the prejudices which a misapprehension of your principles but too often produces."

Fourteen years were to pass before the convocation of the Second Plenary Council in 1866—fourteen years crowded with the disheartening scenes of another outbreak against the Church as well as with the supreme tragedy of our history, the Civil War.

Outrages of Know-Nothing Mobs

The Bedini incident of 1853-54 had been used as a plausible excuse for the founding of the Know-Nothing Party, though the actual reason was the coming presidential election of 1856. Rioting was renewed, churches were sacked and burned. Priests and nuns were insulted and beaten, and a climax was reached in the unspeakable outrage committed by Protestant fanatics on Father John Bapst, S. J., of Ellsworth, Maine. Bills for the inspection of convents passed several legislatures and only the outbreak of the Civil War prevented the spread of further violence. After the Civil War was over, the country underwent another frenzy of anti-Catholic feeling in the trial of the conspirators who are alleged to have aided John Wilkes Booth.

These are but a few of the salient facts which might be offered to prove the strength of an ever-latent anti-Catholicism in the land between 1852 and 1866.

The Council of 1866 was opened under the presidency of Archbishop Martin John Spalding, in whose elevation to the See of Baltimore after Kenrick's death (July 8, 1863), the United States Government came dangerously near to unconstitutional interference in ecclesiastical affairs. There were present during its sessions (October 7-21, 1866) seven archbishops, thirty-nine bishops, and two mitred abbots, representing a Church composed of 2770 priests, 2030 churches, and a Catholic population of 3,842,000 souls. The Second Plenary Council has been called the largest assembly of its kind since the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. The racial composition of the hierarchy was significant. Sixteen of the prelates were American born; twelve hailed from France; nine were from Ireland; three from Spain; two from Germany; and one each from Austria, Switzerland and Belgium. Three were converts—Bishop Wood (Philadelphia), Bayley (Newark), and Rosecrans (Cincinnati).

An examination of all the private and public discussions during the fortnight the Council was in session displays nowhere any foreboding on the part of the prelates over the "Catholic Question" in the United States. The loyalty of Catholic soldiers during the Civil War was indeed too well known to need discussion. Even in the Pastoral Letter, issued on October 21, 1866, there is no direct reference to the violent outbreaks under Know-Nothing direction during the fourteen years which had passed since the assembly of 1852. The silence of the hierarchy is indeed significant. More significant still is the remarkable absence in the fourteen sermons delivered in the Cathedral of Baltimore of any reference to the abuse and villification which had signalized this period. There is but one interpretation of this silence—Christian charity and Christian prudence. It was a living potent example of the command of Christ—exemplified by these His apostles in the New World—to love their enemies, to do good to them with hate in their hearts, and to pray for them whose m ethods were persecution and calumniation.

The beneficent effect of this Christian forbearance was visible during the eighteen years which separated the Second and Third Plenary Councils (1866-1884). With the sole exception of the crisis which occurred in the Centennial Year (1876), these years were comparatively free from the anti-Catholic propaganda of former decades and they stand out as a period when a fairer and more liberal approach was made by non-Catholics towards an understanding of the Mother Church of the ages.

Third Plenary Council

When the Third Plenary Council opened its sessions on November 9, 1884, under the presidency of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore the progress revealed by that assembly was almost beyond belief. In eighteen years the number of our bishops had doubled. The American priesthood had increased from 2770 to 7043; the churches and missions had multiplied from 2030 to 6626, with an additional 1895 stations where Mass was said at regular intervals; and from a Catholic population of about four million souls, the Church in the

United States had grown to a mighty phalanx of nearly eight millions.

Unquestionably, the Council of 1884 was one of the most remarkable assemblies of its kind in modern times. A recent biographer of Cardinal Gibbons has summed up the Council in these words: "Many subjects were considered in the Council, including changes in the discipline and administration of the Church in this country. The country was making such tremendous strides forward, and Catholicity was keeping pace with it, that such changes were demanded. The debates of the sessions covered all phases of the various questions discussed. There was an Ireland in that Council, a Ryan, a Keane, a Spalding, men whose oratorical ability held the delegates spellbound by virtue of their eloquence and whose arguments provoked deep thought. With the greatest ecclesiastical minds of the United States there, all conscious of their responsibility before Almighty God, all loving the Church with a loyalty and devotion intense in quality, the Council reflected in all its proceedings the real spirit of the Church, and its work redounded to the greater honor and glory of God. So successful was it that it was taken as a model for similar Councils held in Ireland, Australia and other parts of the world."

We have here one of the great turning points in the history of the Church in this country. There has been no Plenary Council since 1884, and in the fifty-four years which have passed since its sessions closed, its decrees and enactments have been the motive force which has carried the American Church forward to a success unparalleled in Catholic history.

Study Club Outline

1. What was the Church's attitude toward the "Catholic Question" as expressed by the Bishops in their Plenary Councils? Discuss. Which of Christ's teachings does this charity remind you of?

2. Reread the Bishop's plea for patriotism and discuss it. Do you recall from a previous chapter what was the Bedini incident?

3. What prevented the spread of anti-Catholic violence at this time? When did Archbishop Kenrick die? Who succeeded him? Where? How many bishops were there in the U. S. in 1866? How many priests? How many laymen? How many of each are there today? (See last Chapter.)

4. What does the word "Catholic" mean? Do you think its meaning was exemplified in the Hierarchy in 1866? How many converts were there among the Bishops? Do you know how many converts have become bishops in this country?

5. What was the effect of the bishops' charity in relation to the "Catholic Question"? Review the Church's progress from 1866-1884.

XXX
The Voice of the Catholic Laity

Three rather diversified anniversaries were celebrated in the year 1889. The first was the centennial of the Constitution of the United States (April 30); the second was the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the French Revolution (May 5); and third was the jubilee of the foundation of our American Hierarchy (November 6, 1789), when Father John Carroll was appointed first Bishop of Baltimore.

The Baltimore Centennial was hailed by Catholic Americans with an enthusiasm which stands apart in our history. The jubilee of Bishop Carroll's appointment was celebrated on November 10, 1889, and was followed by a Lay Congress in Baltimore, one of the unique events in American Catholic annals. The festivities closed with the solemn dedication of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C. Of these three celebrations, the Lay Congress of November 11-12, 1889, has a particularly important place in the history of the Church in the United States.

To Archbishop Ireland and Major Henry F. Brownson, the son of Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, credit is due for the organization and the successful assembly of lay delegates from all parts of the Union for a general meeting of the Catholic laity in this country. For the first time in our history the laity were given the opportunity of expressing their views collectively on subjects of prime importance to Catholic progress.

Keynote of Lay Congress

The keynote of the Congress was given by Cardinal Gibbons in his Pastoral Letter of October 8, 1889, announcing the celebration of the centennial of the American hierarchy:

"The calm judgment of posterity recognizes John Carroll as a providential agent in molding the diverse elements in the United States into an organized Church. He did not wish the Church to vegetate as a delicate exotic plant; he wished it to become a sturdy tree, deeprooted in the soil, to grow with the bloom and

the development of the country, inured to its climate, braving its storms and invigorated by them and yielding abundantly the fruits of sanctification. Knowing as he did, the mischief bred by national rivalries, his aim was that the clergy and people—no matter from what country they sprang, should be thoroughly identified with the land in which their lot is cast, they should study its laws and political constitution, and be in harmony with its spirit; in a word, that they should become as soon as possible assimilated to the social body in all things appertaining to the domain of civil life."

This note of true Americanism was not new in the utterances of Cardinal Gibbons. Twice before 1889 this greatest of our Catholic leaders had spoken in terms of the purest patriotism; once, in his gallant defense of the Knights of Labor, and again when he took possession of his titular Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome.

"For myself," he said on this latter occasion, "as a citizen of the United States, and without closing my eyes to our shortcomings as a nation, I say, with deep sense of pride and gratitude, that I belong to a country where the civil government holds over all of us the aegis of its protection without interfering with us in the legitimate exercises of our sublime mission as ministers of the Gospel of Christ. Our country has liberty without license and authority without despotism."

Much was made of these celebrated words at the time both in Rome and in the United States, and a wave of enthusiasm over his message sped across our country carrying all on its crest. On that day, Cardinal Gibbons won an affectionate place in the hearts of high-minded and patriotic Americans which he never lost.

Archbishop Ryan's Prediction

All who participated in the Baltimore Centennial during those four days of November, 1889, echoed the spirit of the Cardinal. Enthusiasm for the Faith and patriotism for our country throbbed in every Catholic heart. In spite of divisions—and there were many of a racial, political and industrial kind—Catholic laymen and women in every part of the land hailed with joy the opportunity of proclaiming publicly through a great national lay congress their allegiance to God and country. Even the con-

servative Patrick John Ryan, the Chrysostom of the American Church, the successor of bishops who had witnessed the sad results of lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs, said in his Centennial sermon:

> "It is now time that an active, educated laity should take and express interest in the great questions of the day affecting the Church and society. I believe that there is not in the world a more devoted laity than we have in the Church of these States. I find, too, that the best educated among them, and notably the converts, are sound on the great questions of the day and loyal to the Church . . . A magnificent future is before the Church in this country, if we are only true to her, to the country, and to ourselves."

There is no doubt that these sentiments struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the lay delegates who gathered for the Congress on November 11, 1889. They came away from the venerable Cathedral of Baltimore the evening before thrilled with the prophetic message of another great leader in the Church, Archbishop John Ireland.

Need of Lay Action Stressed

"The strength of the Church today in all countries," he told them, "particularly in America, is the people. This is essentially the age of democracy." In vibrant words he called the laymen present to Catholic Action:

> "Priests are officers. You are soldiers. The heaviest fighting is often done by the soldiers, and in the warfare against error and sin, the soldier is not always near the officer, and he must be ready to strike without waiting for the command. Laymen are not anointed in Confirmation to the end that they merely save their own souls and pay their pew rent. They must think, work, organize, read, speak, act, as circumstances demand, ever anxious to serve the Church and to do good to their fellow-men. There is on the part of Catholic laymen too much leaning upon priests. If priests work, laymen imagine they can rest . . . In America, in the present age, lay action is particularly needed for the Church. Laymen in this age have a special vocation."

It is not surprising then, to find in the various sessions of the Lay Congress during the two following days an amazing enthusiasm for the work of the second cen-

tury of our organized hierarchical life than at its dawn. Under the leadership of a former Governor of Maryland, John Lee Carroll, who was president of the Congress, the objects of this first Catholic national assembly of men were clearly outlined and strictly adhered to. To the astonishment of all the non-Catholic organizations, political and religious, in the country, it was demonstrated that Catholic men from every part of the United States could meet and discuss vital problems of the day without in any way encroaching upon political matters. Among the papers read were: "Catholic Congresses of Europe," by John Gilmary Shea; "Lay Action in the Church," by Henry Brownson; "The Independence of the Holy See," by Charles J. Bonaparte; "The New Social Order," by Peter L. Foy; "The Catholic Press," by George Dering Wolff; "Catholic Literature," by Conde B. Pallen; "Temperance," by John H. Campbell; "Education," by Judge Dunne; and "Church Music," by Herman Allen. Not all these papers were of equal worth, and though all had been seen and revised beforehand by a special committee of which Archbishop Ireland was chairman, they give expression here and there to sentiments, opinions, and bold judgments which show conclusively that a perfect freedom of speech was allowed to the speakers.

Daniel Dougherty's Address

The opening address of the Congress, by the most dramatic orator in America at the time, Daniel Dougherty, produced an indescribable effect upon the delegates. One passage merits repetition:

> "We assert that we are pre-eminently Americans, and had it not been for Catholics and the Catholic Church, there would have been no America; the continent would be unknown. It was to Catholics that that liberty which is the essence of all liberty—freedom to worship God—was established here by them, and by them alone. It was priests, aye, Jesuits, Dominican missionaries, who first sought and explored our land, penetrated into the wilderness, tracked the streams and gave sainted names to localities, bays, lakes and rivers. It was the holy sacrifice of the Mass that was the first offering to the true God upon this continent. It was Catholic nations that came first to the rescue of the revolutionary fathers in the war against the greatest of

the Protestant powers. A signer of the Declaration of Independence was a Catholic. The name of the first Archbishop of Baltimore is linked with Benjamin Franklin. The Catholic Church has given to the republic heroes in every war, and in every battle on field or flood Catholics have sealed their fidelity with their lives. We are here today, the Roman Catholic laity of the United States, to proclaim to all the world that our country is tied to every fibre of our hearts, and no human power can shake our fidelity."

Study Club Outline

1. What three important anniversaries were celebrated in 1889? What was the lay congress of that year? Who were principally responsible for it?
2. What was the keynote of the Congress? By whom was it sounded? Discuss it.
3. Do you think the remarkable future forecast for the Church in the U. S. by Archbishop Ryan has been or will be realized? On whom does the success of the Church depend?
4. Discuss Archbishop Ireland's call to Catholic Action? What is Catholic Action? Is it a new movement in the Church? Is your club doing a work of Catholic Action? (See "Catholic Action: What Is It?" O. S. V. Press, 10 cents.)
5. What are the leading Catholic lay organizations of the present day? Are you a member of any of them? What can you tell about the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Catholic Men?

XXXI
The American Protective Association

Two centennials had coincided in 1889. The one, the anniversary of Washington's assuming the presidency; the other, John Carroll's election as the first Bishop of Baltimore. The Baltimore Centennial had undoubtedly helped to create a more liberal understanding of the Catholic Church in the United States; but, in spite of the efforts made by Catholics and non-Catholics to lay forever the ghost of bigotry in the land, nativism was not dead. Indeed, all that was needed to fan again to vigorous life the flames of anti-Catholic prejudice was a pretext. Any pretext would do; and, as we shall see, the pretext chosen was the least expected of the many Catholic progress seemed to offer.

American Party's Platform

The year before the Baltimore Centennial was a presidential year, and in addition to the three major parties, (Republican, Democrats, and Prohibitionists), several new groups appeared, one of which, a recrudescence of the old Know-Nothing spirit, called itself the American Party. Its platform, while not mentioning Catholics, called for the repeal of the naturalization laws, the abolition of private schools, and the exclusion of all who could not read English from the exercise of the suffrage. The insignificant vote cast for its candidates indicated clearly that the voters could no longer be marshalled into a distinct anti-Catholic party. From that time to this a new policy has been followed, first by the American Protective Association in 1893, and latterly by the Ku Klux Klan; namely, not to announce candidates of its own, but to support those of either of the major parties who were in accord with anti-Catholic policies.

The Baltimore Centennial with the crowning glory of the establishment of the Catholic University of America and with the presence of a papal legate in the person of Archbishop Satolli aroused somewhat these latent animosities; but it was not until three years later (1892) when Satolli returned to the United States as the official

representative of the Holy See for the World's Fair at Chicago, that mutterings were heard about Roman encroachments in our public affairs. In January, 1893, Satolli was appointed Apostolic Delegate in the United States. Henry F. Bowers, founder of the American Protective Association, admitted that Satolli's presence was the cause of the rapid spread of this organization. "We looked upon Satolli," he writes, "as a representative of the Propaganda at Rome to direct and influence legislation in this country, more especially his settling down in the city of Washington, and several moves which were made, which I cannot just now call to mind, which gave rise to an opinion that he was interfering with the public institutions of this country."

Spread of the A. P. A.

The origin of the American Protective Association is traced to Clinton, Iowa, where a small group was organized as early as 1887. It had a lingering existence until 1893, when it began to spread. Humphrey J. Desmond, whose monograph on the A. P. A. is the only authoritative account we have of the movement, claims that among the factors in the anti-Catholic situation which gave the new organization such rapid strength the following can be considered as causes: (1) the hereditary Protestant antagonism and suspicion of the Catholic Church and Catholic citizenship; (2) the prejudice frequently engendered by the conduct of Irish American politicians; (3) the Catholic attitude on the school question; and (4) the occasional Catholic society parade or demonstration, which was calculated to alarm the bigots who witnessed it. To these might be added the Catholic celebrations held all over the country in October, 1892, in memory of Columbus, the Catholic Discoverer of the New World.

The American Protective Association began its active operations by a nation-wide distribution of two forged documents. One of these was an alleged papal encyclical, dated April, 1893, which contained explicit instructions to Catholics, absolving all members of the Church from their allegiance to the United States, and ordering the massacre of all Protestants "on or about the feast of St. Ignatius in the Year of our Lord, 1893." Every A. P. A.

paper in the country believed or pretended to believe that this forgery was genuine.

When July 31, 1893, came and went without the announced massacre, the scare was not over. Too many had prepared themselves with shot and shell and weapons to sell their lives dearly or be convinced that the massacre was a gigantic hoax. As a result, thousands poured into the American Protective Association until its membership in 1896 is said to have reached a total of over four millions.

The presidential campaign of 1896 gave the new nativist organization its chance to influence national politics. The old nativist groups, the Native-Americans and the Know-Nothings, had striven for supremacy with their own candidates. The A. P. A. method was to work in secret to obtain a dominating voice in one of the existing political parties. Many local elections were carried in this way between 1893 and 1896, and the stage was set for larger successes in State and federal campaigns.

The A. P. A. Oath

The oath taken by the members of the A. P. A. was a revamping of the older Know-Nothing pledge:

> "I will use my utmost power to strike the shackles and chains of blind obedience to the Roman Catholic Church from the hampered and bound consciences of a priest-ridden and church oppressed people. . . I furthermore promise and swear that I will not countenance the nomination in any caucus or convention of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the American people, and that I will not vote for, or counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic, but will vote only for a Protestant, so far as may lie in my power, that I will at all times endeavor to place the political positions of this government in the hands of Protestants to the entire exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church, of the members thereof, and the mandate of the Pope."

The public avowals of the A. P. A. leaders were of course a blind to the real purpose of the organization, although sufficient was made public to emphasize the social and political anti-Catholicism of the group. Unlike the earlier nativists, the members of the A. P. A. were not all "simon-pure Americans." The organization opened

its ranks to every species, of anti-Catholic bigot and fanatic, and all these radical groups had particular objects in using the ever-growing power of the Association. Pressure was brought to bear upon men of the professional classes to become members, and it goes without saying that in the ranks were to be found thousands of Protestant ministers who saw a chance for a little extra emolument in becoming the official voices of the anti-Catholicism the society had aroused.

"Ex-Priests and "Ex-Nuns" Exploited

With the A. P. A. movement originated many of the spectacular methods with which we have grown familiar in our days—lectures by "ex-priests" and "ex-nuns," bogus Jesuit oaths, church basements garrisoned with arms and ammunition, boycotting, sabotage, and the overshadowing spectre of the Pope directing our ballot-boxes.

"Very naturally," says Desmond, who has painstakingly gathered all these facts, "Catholic citizens made a vigorous opposition to the A. P. A. and almost everywhere they had the best of the battle in the open forum. Their press was unremitting in its assault upon the new movement. Large public meetings and anti-A. P. A. lectures and pamphlets were among the means employed. Here and there counter associations were formed for purposes of defense; and in many places the council meetings of the A. P. A. were systematically watched and lists of the members procured and circulated. The Catholic agitation against it had localized it by driving it wholly out of the democratic party and advertising it as a thing hated and despised by all Catholics."

Public opinion was decidedly against the secret methods of the new anti-Catholic organization, for it was felt that an oath-bound society could not be in strict conformity with the liberty, justice and equality of American institutions. "Birds of the night," wrote one Protestant critic, "are never birds of wisdom . . . They are for the most part birds of prey. The fate of the Republic is sealed when bats take the lead of the eagles." The padded membership lists of the American Protective Association were gradually exposed, and both the major political parties, while not averse to using A. P. A. influence to win elections, saw their own autonomy placed in jeopardy

should this latest anti-Catholic craze become so strong nationally as to dominate the presidential election in 1896. "The small and ridiculous figure it cut in the campaign," says Desmond, "was an eye-opener even to the most stupid politicians."

A. P. A. Attack on McKinley

In April, 1896, an attack was made in the A. P. A. press upon McKinley who was forced (through Mark Hanna), to deny that he was a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and that he was not connected with the Catholic Young Men's Institute, nor that he was ruled by Bishop Watterson of Columbus. Hanna himself did not escape the charge of being secretly a Roman Catholic. The national convention of the A. P. A. held in Washington, D. C., on May 12, 1896, scored McKinley and his leading supporters with Roman Catholic affiliations of some kind. All were swayed more or less, they said, by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, "the most Jesuitical and dangerous papal leader in this country." The tide of popular favor was, however, strongly set towards McKinley, and was not stemmed by his public disavowal of all sympathy with A. P. A. policies, and he was nominated by the Republican convention at St. Louis, in June, 1896.

All that was left to the discredited anti-Catholic bigots was the ludicrously unsuccessful attempt to have their principles embodied in the Republican platform. Failing at St. Louis, the A. P. A. lobbyists went to Chicago to the Democratic convention, but political leaders were too sagacious even to consider the request made to them. "In fact," as Desmond sagely says, "it seems probable that during the year 1895-1896, the A. P. A. was considerably more of a vexation to the leaders of the Republican party than to the prelates of the Catholic Church."

Deserted by thousands in the campaign which followed the summer conventions of the two major parties, the American Protective Association sank into the dismal swamp of its anti-Catholic forebears.

Study Club Outline

1. On what pretex was the American Protective Association formed? What new policy is here adopted by anti-Catholic political groups? Who was Archbishop Satolli?

2. What did Humphrey Desmond call the causes of the spread of the A. P. A.? Discuss them. What forged documents were used by the A. P. A.?

3. Discuss the A. P. A. oath? How does the Church view such oaths? Would she permit her sons to take a similar oath in defense of the Church?

4. How did Catholics oppose the A. P. A.? What does Desmond say about this? What was the general public opinion? Which do you think has hurt the Church more in the U. S.: Open controversy and discussion of Catholic questions or under cover attacks on her?

5. How did the political parties regard the A. P. A.? Did they oppose it or accept its support?

XXXII
Conversions

An impartial analysis of anti-Catholic prejudice in the United States during the nineteenth century discloses several factors which are seldom emphasized. One of these is the deadly monotony in the methods followed, in the purposes agreed upon, and in the general failure which attended these efforts to popularize religious bigotry.

Few Americans are familiar with the anti-Catholic history of our country from the days of John Jay to Thomas Heflin. Fewer still realize that in this curious phenomenon of American social life there has been little change in "No Popery's" long life from colonial times to our own. Various names are indeed given to the anti-Catholic groups—American Protestant Association, Native-Americans, Know-Nothings, American Protective Association, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Black Legion—but all have had practically identical aims and purposes. Whatever differences there have been are too slight to need special treatment. There is, however, one aspect of these anti-Catholic movements which should be mentioned, not indeed for the purpose of reviving scandals long since forgotten, but to bring out into clearer light an important consequence of anti-Catholicism in the United States, namely its tremendous influence in the work of conversions to the true Faith.

The following is an excellent summary of the causes of conversion in the United States:

> "The American Convert Movement"—Father Edward Mannix tells us "the strangest antithesis of all, and indicative of the lesson God would teach the subsequent generations, are the conversions occasioned by the example of bitter and public anti-Catholics. The history of the Faith in this country contains not a few relatives of such agitators—sometimes the agitators themselves. Anyone familiar with the events of the time, remembers the founder of the Native Americans, a proscriptive organization. Lewis C. Levin represented his party in Congress, defended it on the platform, and

led rioters under circumstances we do not care to describe. He was repaid by seeing his wife and her entire family embrace the Faith. The same return fell to General Humphrey Marshall, leader of Know-Nothingism in Kentucky, whose wife, Francis McAllister Marshall, and daughter made their open profession of Faith. Miss Emma Etheridge will go down in history as the convert daughter of Emerson Etheridge, and Mrs. Edgar P. Thompson, the convert daughter of Benjamin H. Hill, both Know-Nothing leaders in Congress. General William Russell Smith, whose bitter words are recorded in the 'Congressional Record' for January 15, 1855, lived to see the day when he himself, would, after the manner of Clovis, the proud King of the Franks, "burn what he had adored and adore what he had burned.' Rev. John J. Slocum was the one responsible for the publication of that unfortunate work known as 'Maria Monk's Revelations.' The baptismal records of Long Beach, New Jersey, contain the family name twice, Miss Susan Elizabeth Slocum and her sister, Mrs. Malvava Jemima Slocum Chamberlain, both nieces."

Work of Pioneer Priests

There are several high water marks in the history of conversions in the United States. We forget too easily that for two and a half centuries before the birth of our nation in 1776, the Catholic Church through its priests had been actively engaged upon the work of converting and civilizing the Indians in all parts of our country. That glorious epoch of apostolic labor and hardships for the cause of Christ was a fitting prelude to the almost unbelievable work of conversion which has gone on without a break ever since. By sacrifices unnumerable and by Martyrdoms for the Faith which literally baptized every section of the United States in blood, the harvest of conversions among the savages can only be justly likened to the great missionary labors among the barbarian tribes of the fifth and sixth centuries. With hearts ablaze for the Cross of Christ, these pioneer priests of America travelled the wilderness of the New World, preaching the gospel to the natives and winning a conquest for the Church and for civilization which has never been honestly appreciated by American historians. Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Sulpicians, Oblates and Secular priests have shared in the immortal record.

Some Notable Conversions

Not only among the Indians but among the white Protestant settlers as well was the work of conversion carried on. Maryland itself, the foundation of the convert son of a convert father, was the scene of our earliest conversions. In the other colonies, in spite of laws proscribing the Faith, there are records of conversions that have about them a veritable touch of the supernatural. The conversion of Colonel Lionel Brittin of Philadelphia, (1707), of the Congregational minister, the Rev. John Thayer of Boston (1783), of Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, the second priest to be ordained by Bishop Carroll (1795), of Governor Thomas Sim Lee of Maryland (1800), of Mother Seton (1805), and of the remarkable Barber family of New Hampshire (1817), are among the better known examples of the gift of Faith in these early times.

Everywhere in the young States where Protestant diatribe was voiced from non-Catholic pulpits, men and women of intelligence and of social standing were led to investigate the claims of Catholicism, and strangely enough, a great proportion of those who entered the Church in consequence were ministers of the Protestant churches. The Native-American movement (1837-44) aroused thousands to learn more about an institution which was being pilloried in hundreds of Protestant newspapers as a blight upon society and as thoroughly incompatible with American ideals, with the result that a wonderful harvest of conversions was reaped during these years.

Some names should be mentioned, since their accession to Catholic ranks brought to the Church a new vitality which prepared her for the mad frenzy of know-nothing days. Chief among these converts were: Orestes A. Brownson, who was received into the Church by Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston in 1844; Bishop Levi Stillman Ives of the Protestant Episcopal church of North Carolina, who became a Catholic in 1852, and whose "Trials of the Mind" (Boston, 1854), was revived when the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Delaware, Dr. Frederick Joseph Kinsman, published the story of his conversion in that remarkable book "Salve Mater" (1920); and James

Roosevelt Bayley, the nephew of Mother Seton, who was received into the Church at Rome in 1842 and who became Archbishop of Baltimore in 1872.

About this time also (1844-46) occurred that series of remarkable conversions—Hecker, Hewit, Baker, Deshon, and Walworth, who founded the Congregation of St. Paul (Paulists) in 1858.

Vitality of the Faith

The trial-balance of the good and the evil which have come out of the anti-Catholic movements up to the present gives an overwhelming proof of the vitality of the Catholic Faith to attract all who are seeking the true Church of Christ. Not all those who became Catholics during these turbulent periods of the past are known to the historian; but anyone who will study the sources at his disposal will find that "the ranks of the converts have been marshalled from the morally and intellectually superior class of our American people." As a result of the social and literary activities of our converts, the Protestant anti-papal tradition has in course of time become greatly mitigated among the better educated classes of non-Catholics. Most Protestants today—to use a phrase from Chesterton's "Catholic Church and Conversions," are just sufficiently enlightened to be out of the reach of Maria Monk.

Study Club Outline

1. In what way did persecution of the Church redound to her benefit? Is this usually the case? Discuss this.
2. Together with what is contained in this Chapter and in the Introduction to this work review the zeal for souls evidenced by Catholic missionaries.
3. Name several notable converts of the latter part of the 19th century.
4. What do you think is responsible for the conversion of many of the leading intellectuals of both the U. S. and England to Catholicism? Discuss. (See "Faith of Millions," O. S. V. Press, $1.00.)
5. Is this statement true: "No sincere student of religion and history can refrain from adopting the Catholic Faith"? What part does the Church teach the grace of God plays in conversions to the true Faith?

XXXIII
Catholicism and Americanism

Under this title may justly be placed all the sermons and addresses delivered by Archbishop John Ireland during the thirty years he was one of the truly great figures in the American hierarchy.

From John Carroll to John England, from John Hughes to John Ireland, the span of Catholic life in the United States stretches like a great road with over one hundred and thirty years as milestones along the way. Carroll found his counterpart a half-century after his death when another great Marylander, James Gibbons, began his phenomenal career as a churchman. John England and John Hughes found their logical successor in the first Archbishop of St. Paul. In the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, John Ireland stands apart from all the leaders of his own day and from all who preceded him in the American hierarchy.

Tribute of Cardinal Gibbons

Whatever may be the characteristics which render him a difficult subject for the biographer, John Ireland's part in the gradual softening of the "No-Popery" spirit in the United States was as important in its own sphere as was that of his life-long friend, Cardinal Gibbons. Only two years after John Ireland became Archbishop of St. Paul (1888), the Cardinal wrote to Pope Leo XIII:

> "There is no prelate in the United States who has done more to elevate and advance the Catholic religion here than Archbishop Ireland. He is honored and admired by the whole community. Protestants regard him as a peerless and uncompromising advocate of the Catholic faith, and Catholics venerate him as a grand and eloquent exponent of their religion. They almost idolize him."

Archbishop Ireland published very few of his addresses and sermons during his lifetime, but in his "Church and Modern Society" his clean-cut Americanism will remain forever undimmed. He approached the "Catholic Question" with the same spirit but in a quite differ-

ent manner from Cardinal Gibbons. The Cardinal was not an eloquent orator as was his distinguished colleague.

His First Great Public Speech

His first great public speech was given in the Baltimore Cathedral at the opening of the Congress of Catholic Laymen at Baltimore in 1889. Every word of that remarkable discourse deserves to be known by those who are still blinded by the false light of the Puritan "No-Popery" sentiment. John Ireland swept aside the old moorings of the past in this most eloquent of all his discourses. It took sublime courage in that day to tell his hearers—and indeed all America was his audience—that "the great work which in God's providence the Catholics of the United States are called to do within the coming century" was "to make America Catholic and to solve for the Church Universal the all-absorbing problem with which the age confronts her."

To make America Catholic—because the Catholic Faith alone is the dispenser of the truths and graces of salvation; because the Church alone can pour upon the souls of our fellow-citizens the gifts of the Incarnate God; because the touch of her divine-made hand can strengthen the rich heritage of natural virtues in the hearts of the American people; because she can superadd to these the deifying treasures of supernatural life; because she can confirm and preserve, as no human church can, the liberties of the Republic.

This is the theme in his own words. The logic of his discourse is close and trenchant. There is no escaping his argument. "The centre of gravity for human action," he said nearly fifty years ago, "is rapidly shifting, and in the not distant future America will lead the world." With the Church triumphant in America, "Catholic truth will travel on the wings of American influence, and with it encircle the universe." He believed America to be at heart a Christian country.

> "As a religious system," he said, "Protestantism is in hopeless dissolution, utterly valueless as a doctrinal or moral power, and no longer to be considered a foe with which we must count . . . the American people need the Church for the preservation and complete development of their natural character and their social order

. . . the American people must look to her to maintain for them in the conscience of citizens the principles of natural equity and of law, without which a self-governing people will not exist, falling ultimately into chaotic anarchy, a prey to ambitious despotism."

Prospect of Conquest for Christ

Assuredly was this a new note in those days; new, not to Protestants only, but to Catholics also. Catholics had thought of little else but the defense of the Church from the potential, and sometimes actual, violence of the Nativistic groups. Here was a new vision—a vision which contrasted the Church with the dominant tendencies of the age and which held out to Catholic America a conquest for Christ that could be paralleled only in Apostolic times.

In the thirty years that remained to John Ireland after the Congress of 1889, these principles were ever stressed in his sermons and discourses. To him, the typical Catholic layman needed in the United States was one who, imbued with a lively faith in Christ and with a childlike obedience to the Church, measured his patriotism to our country by his efforts to make America the foremost Christian nation in the world. As Dr. Moynihan pointed out shortly after Ireland's death, the greatest task he set himself to accomplish was to "bring the Church and the country into close contact, to dissipate misconceptions, to make the Church understood by his fellow-countrymen."

John Ireland never wavered in his belief that the American people would never allow discrimination against any class of citizens on the ground of religion. Like Newman and Manning in England, Mercier in Belgium, and Von Ketteler in Germany, Ireland won the hearts of the nation he loved.

His Pledge of Patriotism

His best known address on the "Catholic Question" is one entitled "Catholicism and Americanism," given some six years before his death. It is in this famous speech that the oft-quoted paragraphs occur:

"My religious faith is that of the Catholic Church—Catholicism, integral and unalloyed—Catholicism, unswerving and soul-swaying—the Catholicism taught by the supreme chieftain of the Catholic Church, the Pope,

the Bishop of Rome. My civil and political faith is that of the republic of the United States of America—Americanism, purest and brightest, yielding in strength and loyalty to the Americanism of none other American, surpassed in spirit of obedience and sacrifice by that of none other citizen, none other soldier, sworn to uphold in peace and in war America's Star Spangled Banner!"

Between his religious faith and his civil and political faith, between his creed and his country, John Ireland could see no possible cause for discord or contradiction. "What is to be feared from the Catholic Church?" he asks. Unwillingly, he takes up the hypothesis that priest, bishop or Pope might attempt to rule in matters civil and political in the United States, or might attempt to influence Catholic citizens beyond the range of their own orbit of spiritual jurisdiction. "The answer is quickly made," he says, "back to your own sphere of rights and duties—back to the things of God!"

"They know the Catholic Church little," he adds, "who accuse us of coveting civil and political power that we may dim the splendor of Americanism. Our combats, if combats there be, are never against the liberties of America, but in defense of them; never against America, but against such of its sons whose souls never yet have thrilled in full response to its teachings and inspirations."

His Life-Long Message

To make America Catholic in order that the political ideals of the nation shall be ever safeguarded from the evils that throng in the wake of religious error—this was John Ireland's life-long message to his people. He was not so ignorant of history he avers, or of present conditions as to imagine that the goal was within reach. Meanwhile, the lesson he would teach was that "to the civil and political constitutions of America no harm can come from the spread of Catholicism. Yea—to those institutions Catholicism brings elements most vital to their life and growth—those of a positive, authoritative religion." With the voice of divine authority, he concluded, the Church teaches in season and out of season all those doctrines without which the United States as a nation will

one day inevitably decay and become a by-word among the peoples of the earth.

The central purpose of John Ireland's life was to emphasize the harmony and correlation between true Americanism and the doctrines of the Catholic Church. He succeeded far better than those of our generation realize. His influence was felt in intellectual and political circles where few of his colleagues in the American hierarchy were heard. His own American spirit was so unalloyed, so uncompromisingly whole-hearted that none who listened to his words could doubt the great sincerity of the man and the priest behind him. His life and work proved that the American national genius can find at all times in the Catholic spirit, those great civic assets—obedience to authority, respect for another's rights, and love for one's fellowman.

Study Club Outline

1. Who was Archbishop Ireland? Discuss his life and works? What did Cardinal Gibbons say about him?
2. Do you think America will ever become a truly Catholic nation? What in your opinion are the principal obstacles which would prevent widespread conversions among Americans?
3. Discuss Archbishop Ireland's belief that America is at heart a Christian country.
4. If all Catholics were of the kind Archbishop Ireland desired would it not be an easy task to convert America? Ask one of your number to discuss the effects of good and bad example given by Catholics?
5. Reread and discuss Archbishop Ireland's pledge of patriotism.

XXXIV
The Church and the Republic

From the death of John Carroll, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, to our own times, the individual who contributed most to the lessening of the asperity of anti-Catholic intolerance in the United States was Cardinal Gibbons.

The glamour of the Centennial celebration was still over the land in the autumn of 1877, when James Gibbons entered upon his long residence of forty-three years in Baltimore. His "Faith of our Fathers" was already carrying his name across the country into thousands of homes where few Catholic books had entered. During these years up to the last publication—an article on the "Constitution and George Washington," which appeared in the "Baltimore Catholic Review" in February, 1921—there runs in all his utterances and writings, like a thread of silk, one continuous strain—love of God and of Holy Church and love for the American nation. All this time he stood before the world, Catholic and non-Catholic, as America's foremost example in thought, word and action of that spirit of Christian equality and justice upon which the cherished institutions of our country are firmly based.

Cardinal Gibbons' Love of America

One phase of his life stands out today four-squared to the winds that sift so many careers after death—his honest, whole-hearted and judicious love for America. No man of his age proved so conclusively the harmony which exists between Catholic doctrine and discipline and the political idealism which made and has preserved the United States a nation. No man within or without the Catholic Church knew the pulse and temper of America as James Gibbons did. His keen sense of perception enabled him to realize that the most pressing social problem in Church progress was the alleged contradiction between Catholic doctrine on Church and State and the pragmatic political situation of the United States.

Until the "Catholic Question" of the United States was settled, the Cardinal knew that the century-old

charge of double allegiance and of political disloyalty would continue to be made by those who saw profit, political or financial, in its furtherance. He accepted every opportunity to present Catholic principles in their proper light to his fellow-citizens of other faiths on this much-abused question; and his whole life can easily be summed up in a phrase—he loved the Catholic Church and the American Republic with an affection that knew no dividing line.

His first important public utterance upon the mutual relations of Church and State in this country was made at the very peak of his ecclesiastical career on the day of his installation in his titular church in Rome, March 25, 1887. With Pope Leo's great encyclical on the Constitution of Christian States as his text, the Cardinal applied to conditions in the United States the principle that the Catholic Church is not committed to any form of civil government, that she adapts herself to all, and that where true liberty exists as in America, her great work of leavening society with the sacred leaven of the Gospel goes on unimpeded, strengthening the arm of legitimate authority and tightening the bonds of peace, happiness and mutual love between the citizens of the nation.

From this day forward the "Catholic Question" in the United States was to form the main theme of most of the Cardinal's public discourses, and many occasions were to arise in the thirty-four years that followed when his solution of the problem on Church and State effectually settled misunderstandings between the two great Christian groups in our country. With an insight into human life which ranked him above all our leaders during these years, Cardinal Gibbons never made the mistake of choosing the wrong moment to inculcate sound teaching on the "Catholic Question."

His Patriotic Appeal in Milwaukee

Toward the true concept of that Americanism which Pope Leo XIII praised in his celebrated letter of January 22, 1889, the Cardinal had more than once contributed by his remarkable power of political vision. About eight years before (August 20, 1891), in his address at Archbishop Katzer's reception of the pallium at Milwaukee, Cardinal Gibbons reviewed deftly and accurately certain

problems of a domestic nature then under discussion in ecclesiastical circles and stirred his audience with an eloquent plea for union in the face of the gigantic task the Catholic Church had to assume in the Americanization of the foreign-born:

"God and our country!—this our watchword. Loyalty to God's Church and to our country!—this our religious and political faith . . . Next to love for God should be our love for our country . . . Let us glory in the title of American citizen. We owe our allegiance to one country, and that country is America. We must be in harmony with our political institutions. It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or the land of our adoption. It is the land of our destiny. Here we intend to live and here we hope to die."

Checked Progress of A. P. A.

There is no doubt that the Cardinal's crystal clear patriotism did more to check the progress of the A. P. A. movement than any other influence in the land. The ignorant and intolerant, of course, could not be reached, even by his eloquent voice; and the massing of the lingering groups of "No-Popery" adherents went on until it became a menace to national peace. When the movement threatened to create the evil of Know-Nothing days, Cardinal Gibbons gave the nation a message which should be repeated:

"It is the duty of leaders of political parties to express themselves without any equivocation on the principles of religious freedom which underlie our Constitution . . . We are proud to say that in the United States the great Catholic Church has never used or perverted its acknowledged power by seeking to make politics subservient to its own advancement. Moreover, it is our proud boast that we have never interfered with the civil or political rights of any who may have differed from us in religion. We demand the same rights of any who may have differed from us in religion. We demand the same rights for ourselves and nothing more, and we will be content with nothing less."

The Church and the Republic

The great Cardinal's best known pronouncement on the "Catholic Question" in the United States is contained in an article entitled "The Church and the Republic"

which appeared in the "North American Review" for March, 1919. This article is the most searching analysis of the "Catholic Question" ever given by an American. All that every Catholic citizen should know upon the question which political Nativism attempted to answer by violence, intolerance and proscription, is explained in these limpid pages with complete frankness:

"Fifteen millions of Catholics live their lives in our land with undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief which all their experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country burn together in their hearts. They love their Church as the divine spiritual society set up by Jesus Christ . . . They love their country with the spontaneous and ardent love of all patriots, because it is their country and the source to them of untold blessings. They prefer its form of government before any other. They admire its laws. They accept the Constitution without reserve, with no desire, as Catholics, to see it changed in any feature. They can with a clear conscience swear to uphold it."

Answered Charges Against Church

One by one the Cardinal takes up all the charges against the Church made familiar by the "No-Popery" campaigns of the past. These charges were then being reiterated by two synods of Lutheran and Baptist ministers. Chief among the points of attack was one which these ministers deemed it just and wise to proclaim to the country:

"That Catholics cannot be trusted with political office; that they cannot sincerely subscribe to the Federal Constitution; that their loyalty is illogical, being contrary to the teaching of the Church; that their religion is opposed to American liberties; and that they themselves, kept in the dark by their religious guides, are ignorant of the true nature of their Church's doctrines. In sounding forth these charges to American Catholics and to the country in general, they declare themselves inspired, not by religious antagonism or the desire to profit by a good opportunity, but solely by patriotic solicitude for the permanence of American institutions."

The Cardinal assured his readers that the Catholic

Church had nothing to fear over the pretended collision between Catholicism and loyalty to the government. His confidence, he writes, had never wavered in the belief that,

> "God destines the Catholic Church in this country to be the bulwark of law and order, of liberty, of social justice and purity. I speak that I may put forth whatever strength I have to crush this detestable spirit of intolerance which, if it gained strength, would wreck the peace of the country and root out charity from the hearts of men."

That a "certain dread of Catholicism" existed in this country, in spite of the loyalty of Catholics, the Cardinal well recognized; and it was known among those with whom he was intimate that he had small hope of the reign of a more liberal spirit among certain non-Catholic groups in this generation. Certainly, if one can judge by the literature on the "Catholic Question" from Protestant writers during and since the year of 1928, the Cardinal's judgment holds good. He describes this element as follows:

> "They acknowledge that the Catholic Church in this country is an immense force for the public welfare, raising up native Catholics as patriotic Americans and moulding her foreign-born elements into a homogeneous people. The very sense of her strength, indeed, is in great part the cause of her dread; they fear the danger of a collision between the State and a Church whose head is a foreigner and believes himself the representative of God on earth. Catholic teaching, American principles of Government and the existing facts will show how baseless is this apprehension."

Discussed "Twilight Zone"

There follows in this remarkable essay one of the clearest expositions we possess in English on the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. No answer from any reputable source was made to this part of "The Church and the Republic," although the Cardinal's phrase, a "twilight zone"—he is said to have coined the phrase—was made the object of considerable speculation. The concept of a twilight zone wherein conflict might arise is a false one, the Cardinal asserts, since such a collision between the two powers will never arise so long

as our American liberties are preserved by the State in their fulness.

"The admission, however, of the merely theoretical possibility of such a collision," he writes, "keeps alive the apprehension of timid Protestants and is sufficient to determine some of them to deprive Catholics forever of the honor of the Presidency. But if no man were to be considered eligible for the Presidency unless we were certain that under no conceivable circumstances would his conscience come into conflict with any possible legislation, then the first consideration to qualify a man as candidate for the office would be that he should have no conscience at all."

Little wonder then, that at the time of the Smith-Marshall letters, the "Commonweal" should publish an editorial, "A Voice from the Grave," pointing out that "The Church and the Republic" was a most effective reply to Mr. Marshall's strictures. "Upon the day," the editor wrote, "which decides that a Catholic citizen of the United States, possessing all the qualifications which the Constitution lays down, and commanding the unlimited respect of his own commonwealth among free states, is ineligible for the highest federal office because he is a Catholic, the American Constitution may still remain the last imperfect instrument of government in an admittedly imperfect world. But it will not, for any practical purpose, be the Constitution that the old Maryland Cardinal who thought he knew it, died believing and loving."

Study Club Outline

1. Review Cardinal Gibbons' contribution to the lessening of anti-Catholic prejudice.
2. Is the Catholic Church officially committed to any particular form of government? What form is most favorable for her growth?
3. How did Cardinal Gibbons' patriotism affect the A. P. A.?
4. Discuss Cardinal Gibbons' treatment of the question of double allegiance? Discuss the Church as the bulwark of Americanism, of law and order, of civilization.
5. Distinguish between civil and ecclesiastical powers. What did Cardinal Gibbons mean by "the twilight zone"?

XXXV
The Ku Klux Klan

It has become the fashion to speak of the Klan in the past tense. Since the Klan's entrance into national politics fourteen years ago, it has undoubtedly suffered the fate of those other anti-Catholic movements which preceded its rise in 1915. Its anti-Catholic programme, however, has not been the sole cause of the Klan's eclipse, but also popular indignation over the social evils with which the organization is charged.

There are several aspects of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan that contain a lesson for the readers of this book.

When Colonel William Joseph Simmons stood in the midst of his well-chosen group of thirty-four friends on the top of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, on the night of that day we Americans have set aside to thank Almighty God for those precious blessings of life, liberty, happiness and prosperity, it is a question whether he foresaw in his financial dreams the future development of his design. "Bathed," he said, "in the sacred glow of the fiery cross, the Invisible Empire was called back from its slumber of a half century to take up a new task and fulfill a new mission for humanity's good and to call back to mortal habitation the good angel of practical fraternity among men.". During the next five years (1915-1920), however, the Klan appears to have slumbered on, although occasionally local Klansmen directed their activities against so-called alien enemies, slackers, draft-dodgers, strike-leaders, and unfortunate women, especially the last. For a time, it looked to the outsider as if the new society would disappear, but the ferment was not idle. Many curious reasons have been given for the gradual spread of Klan sympathizers. The gamut has been struck from "inferiority complex" which is said to thrive in certain rural sections of the country, to salacious interpretations of social life based upon Freudian ethics.

Genesis of the Klan

If one agrees with such careful studies of the Klan as that published in 1924 by Professor Mecklin of Dart-

mouth, it is clear that the Klan was the logical outcome of one and only one cause—the continuance of anti-Catholic fears, hatreds and prejudices which had not died with the death of the A. P. A. in the 'nineties. The score of years that followed this event was not a closed season to the anti-Catholic mind. Many societies of this nature sprang up in various parts of the country, and some succeeded in gaining national attention for a time. Among these were the Guardians of Liberty, the Knights of Luther, the Stonemen, the Covenanters, and the American Pathfinders. These anti-Catholic groups bridged over the period between the A. P. A. and the reorganized Klan of 1920. The effect of these intermediate societies was seen in the number of newspapers founded or subsidized for the purpose of attacking the Catholic Church. In a pamphlet entitled "Defamers of the Church," issued by OUR SUNDAY VISITOR, there is a list of over 130 of these periodicals. It was to meet this growing evil that the Knights of Columbus created in 1914 its Commission on Religious Prejudices.

This first official effort to make a trial balance of the conflict is now twenty-three years old; and if it be measured by the anti-Catholicism which the nation has witnessed since 1915, there is a salutary lesson to all of us who deplore the continuance of the Puritan blight in the land.

Benedict Elder has written for the "Catholic Builders of the Nation" an excellent account of the Commission on Religious Prejudices which he styles, and rightly so, one of the most notable contributions to the cause of religious liberty since Lord Baltimore's Act of Toleration.

Object of the Inquiry

The object of the Commission's inquiry was not to catalogue all the objections against Catholicism nor was it the selection of some of the more virulent charges for rebuttal. The object was principally to awaken American citizens everywhere "to the sinister evil of organized bigotry, which divides the people into warring groups and classes and destroys all prospect, all hope, of preserving the mutuality of good will which has been the triumph of American democracy."

The appeal of the Commission was not to Catholics

alone, but to the entire country to unite in putting an end forever to religious intolerance.

The work of the Commission grew to such an unexpected volume that the final Report was not ready until August, 1917. Meetings were held in many cities. Men and women of standing in the various professions and in business were interviewed. Letters were sent out by the thousands, and millions of pamphlets and books were distributed; newspapers were enlisted in the cause, and "only the professional bigot, the paid propagandist, the unscrupulous politician, and those of like kidney who were in some way reaping profit or position by the agitation of hatred among men," were found missing among groups that lent cheerful assistance to this patriotic enterprise of the Knights of Columbus.

The Commission found in its investigations that the "No-Popery" spirit was supported by three classes of Americans—those whose patriotism stops short of the constitutional provision regarding freedom of religious worship; those whose purpose is to destroy not only the Catholic religion, but all religion and all duly constituted government; and those who "despite their expressed motives of higher purpose, are actuated solely by sordid mercenary considerations."

The guiding principles of the Commission were those which patriotic Americans of all classes might adopt, and in the general conclusion reached by the Commission all might well concur, namely, that an intolerant movement "can do no harm to the Catholic Church and no good to any other religion; while it is the very ruin of peaceful life in communities."

The entrance of the United States into the World War in April, 1917, scattered for a time the gathering storm-clouds of anti-Catholicism in the land. As Maury says in his recent satirical book "The Wars of the Godly," the Kaiser usurped "the place of the Pope as Antichrist in American demonology, and reigned in his stead for nigh four years, or until Edward Young Clarke pulmotored the Klan out of bankruptcy." When this occurred the promoters of the Guardians, the Pathfinders and other groups yielded the anti-Catholic field to the better organized Klansmen.

This organization which for public consumption was to be based upon a threefold prejudice—the Catholic, the Jew, and the Negro—had in decency to wait until the war was over. There were too many gallant Catholics, Jews, and Negroes falling upon the field of battle across the seas to capitalize upon a large scale the prejudices linked with these sections of our people. Not that complete silence reigned. By no means. For, out from Aurora, Missouri, there were sent broadcast each week millions of copies of a disreputable newspaper whose sole purpose was the vilification of the Catholic faith and the besmirching of Catholic loyalty. In all truth it may be held that between 1911 and 1919 this most vicious anti-Catholic paper ever published in the United States sowed the seeds of hatred and violence which were to be reaped later by the Klan in a whirlwind of atrocities that blackened the fair name of American justice.

The Colossal Campaign of Hate

By the time demobilization was completed, the new leaders of the Klan—Edward Y. Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler—were ready to begin their colossal campaign of hate. The rest of the Klan's history need not be retold. In spite of the famous exposure of its aims and activities by the New York World in 1921 and in spite of all that State and Federal investigators revealed of the Klan's palpable treason to American ideals, the society grew until it became a menace to national peace and security. In the autumn of 1922, its founder, Simmons, was retired with the title of Emperor For Life and was succeeded by Hiram Wesley Evans of Dallas, Texas, as Imperial Wizard.

Maury's book is not worth quoting a second time, but the following description of the Klan's progress may be given:

"Under Evans' leadership the Klan entered into the third, and at this writing apparently the last, phase of its earthly career. Simmons dreamed of leading a band of twentieth-century American Knights, without fear and without reproach. Clarke rounded up a crew of Negro-haters, harlot-floggers, Methodist and Baptist pastors, anti-Catholic monomaniacs, bootleggers, peanut politicians, dry agents and an indeterminate number of honest people. Evans, dentist, thirty-third de-

gree Mason, he-man, go-getter, dealer in polysyllabic English, led the order into state and national politics."

Klan's Platform in Campaign

The part taken under cover by the Klan in the 1924 presidential campaign brought the purpose of the organization before the country, and all keen observers knew then that by the law of politics its career would be brief and end in disintegration. The issues, writes Mecklin, that gave the Klan its temporary vitality did not lend themselves to political success "as is amply shown in the history of the Know-Nothings and the A. P. A. movement." The Klan renewed activity during the presidential campaign of 1928. Mr. Evans, the Imperial Wizard, declared, in an article entitled "The Ballots Behind the Ku Klux Klan," that "our work in the coming campaign will be like that of an evangelist; to spread the truth. We shall try to make the issue so clear that no one may mistake it. We shall show how Smith is inextricably allied with bossism, with nullification, with alienism, with priest-rule. We shall show what all these mean, what danger they carry—the year 1928 will see the greatest campaign for Americanization in our history."

What part the Klan actually took in the organized bigotry of the 1928 campaign is set out in a subsequent chapter on that subject.

The Klan occupied a large amount of space from 1920-1928 in our Catholic press and in current literature, and there can be no doubt whatsoever, that the splendid defense of Catholic loyalty and tradition by the editors of our Catholic newspapers and periodicals, as well as the excellent writings of many priests, laymen and laywomen, did much to arouse non-Catholic Americans to the growing danger in this anti-Catholic movement. Little by little the truth about Catholic doctrines penetrated minds that had been closed to all Catholic influence; for. the attack made by the Klan organs, whether against our loyalty to American political and social ideals, was so thoroughly at variance with Catholic life and action that many were led, as in all past anti-Catholic movements, to inquire into the history and organization of an institution so bitterly assailed.

There is a fundamental spirit of fair play in the

average American's heart which can always be counted upon to withhold judgment until both sides of an argument are heard. One of the surest proofs of this mental factor in our American life was seen at the time of Governor Al Smith's reply to Mr. Marshall. Practically all our leading newspapers rejoiced in that declaration of principles, not only because it was taken to be a complete answer to current anti-Catholic thought, but especially because it gave hope that at last the end of political controversy on religious matters was near.

That both these opinions were too optimistic, all now know. The anti-Catholic appeal made by the Klan and by those who adhered to its tenets, as undoubtedly in his more dignified way Mr. Marshall did, tapped sources of religious bigotry which can never be dried up, as long as ignorance of Catholicism reigns in a single American heart. The revival of Klan principles in the Black Legion in 1936, and of the Klan itself following the appointment of one of its former members, Hugo L. Black, to the Supreme Court in 1937, are proof of this. But far outweighing the approval of these measures among the bigoted and ill-informed, was the wide and spontaneous resentment so vividly shown by the vast majority of American citizens.

Intellectual Mediocrity of Klansmen

Mecklin writes in his history of the Klan:

> "If there is one outstanding fact to be noted of the majority of the Klan members, it is their intellectual mediocrity. Neither the intellectual leaders of the community nor the men of ability in the professions or business tend to identify themselves with the Klan—the Klan is conspicuously lacking in that refinement of sentiment and critical independence of thought which must be possessed by an individual or class that undertakes to shape public opinion in a democracy."

If the Klan did nothing else, its animosity to the Catholic Church—and impartial writers on the subject admit that all other motives for its prejudicial cast of mind were but subterfuges for the same—created considerable interest in Catholic doctrines and practices. The output of books on Catholicism in its relation to American ideals has increased considerably since the de-

cline of the Klan. No single aspect of the Klan attack was new to a generation that witnessed the A. P. A. movement or its forbears, the Know-Nothings and the Native-Americans. All that was brought forth by the Klan press and the Klan speechmakers was as old as the oldest "No-Popery" tracts of Elizabeth's day. The use of forgeries, the stirring up of plots against the government, the charge of double allegiance, the cry that the land must be saved for Protestantism—all these are now close to the hoary old age of four hundred years.

It is not a clash of ideals we are facing in such anti-Catholic movements as the Ku Klux Klan. It is not as if Catholicism means one thing and Americanism quite the opposite. It is the crude though shrewd capitalization of the "No-Popery" prejudice which apparently no amount of public education can fully eradicate.

Flourished on Falsity

The Klan or the Black Legion will not be the last of these anti-Catholic movements in the United States. Citations from books on the subject of non-Catholics might be given to show that the Klan never had any real justification for its existence, that it flourished by creating false issues, by magnifying hatred and prejudice, or by exploiting an exaggerated sense of patriotic duty, and that its leaders can point to no single constructive movement which came from its ranks.

But with these admissions the case is not closed. There will be other organizations of a similar nature in the future. There will be then, as too often in the past, only one weakness in our Catholic defense during these periods of what John Gilmary Shea called the "decennial madness" of the United States—a lack of knowledge on the part of our people, first, of what the Church teaches on all points at issue in the controversy, and secondly, of the close connection between all such movements and the inner history of Puritan life and progress.

Study Club Outline

1. When was the Ku Klux Klan revived? Why? Of what was it the outcome? What societies "bridged the gap" between the A. P. A. and the K. K. K.?
2. What paper paved the way for the Klan's campaign of hate? Who were its leaders?
3. What act of the Klan forecast its eventual downfall? Why? Discuss.
4. Do you think it natural that the membership of the Klan should have been comprised of men of low and mediocre intelligence? Why? Do you think there will occur in the future organized campaigns against the Church? Why? Where will such campaigns most likely be successful in spreading hatred of the Church? Why?
5. What was the K. of C. Committee on Religious Prejudice? What were its findings?

XXXVI
Our Sunday Visitor

No discussion of the Catholic Church in America would be complete if mention of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR and its founder and editor, the Most Rev. John F. Noll, Bishop of Fort Wayne, were omitted.

Most of the older readers of this book will recall the genesis of what within a year came to be the most widely circulated Catholic paper in the country, and the conditions of the times which brought it into being. A vehement anti-Catholic campaign was inaugurated in 1910, and it was not successfully checked until our country entered the World War. The Socialist Party polled the heaviest vote of its history in 1908, and thus encouraged became even more active during the congressional elections of 1910, at which time it held a convention in Toledo, where its anti-Christian animus, which its leading promoters in this country had striven to hide, was disclosed by several speakers. The growth of Socialism was due mainly to its official organ, "The Appeal to Reason," which had considerably more than a million circulation per week. The party also published "The Melting Pot," edited by Tichenor and Eugene Debs, and "The American Socialist," published in Chicago. Because Catholic workmen in large numbers were included in its ranks these papers insisted that American Socialism had no more than a "bread and butter" program, although in their advertising columns, they strove to sell the works of Karl Marx, of Hegel and Liebknecht.

Naturally the Catholic Press fought Socialism, and Socialism fought back through "The Appeal to Reason," until it discovered that it was alienating most of its Catholic readers. Its leading promoters decided to discontinue its attacks on the Church in the "Appeal" and to found another paper which would be professedly anti-Catholic. Marvin Brown, who had been connected with the "Appeal" in Girard, Kansas, moved to Aurora, Missouri, and founded "The Menace," which grew swiftly and stole most of the circulation of the "Appeal," because not only did the radicals among the Socialists begin to

propagandize for "The Menace," but bigoted preachers all over the land got behind it and in a brief time there were more than one hundred men and women on the lecture platform capitalizing the wonderful opportunity which organized prejudice against the Church offered. Soon sister sheets of "The Menace" sprang up everywhere, notably "The Peril" in North Carolina, "Watson's Magazine" in Georgia, "The Guardian of Liberty" in Chicago, "The Sentinel of Liberty" in Texas, "The Yellow Jacket" in North Carolina and "The Christian Standard" in Cincinnati.

The Catholic laity were much embarrassed by these papers and the wicked charges which they leveled against their Church, and clamored for a periodical of their own which might answer these charges and serve as an antidote. The answer to this demand was the founding of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR in 1912 by the Rev. John F. Noll, then pastor of St. Mary's Church in Huntington, Indiana, in which city the paper is still published.

Father Noll reproduced the first two pages of an April, 1912 issue of "The Menace" and sent them to all Bishops and Catholic pastors in the United States, and told them that he was prepared to publish a paper of equal size, at a lower price, and suggested that it be ordered in bundle lots for distribution in the churches. The suggestion was eagerly welcomed and on the first Sunday of May, 1912 OUR SUNDAY VISITOR sent out its first issue, for which it had orders aggregating 35,000 copies.

OUR SUNDAY VISITOR carried from its very first issue the subtitle "The Harmonizer" and was a paper which was modeled in many respects after Bishop England's "Miscellany," which we have previously referred to as the first distinctively religious weekly in the United States. As was "The Miscellany," OUR SUNDAY VISITOR was immediately understood as a courageous effort to place before the reading public answers to the charges against the Church and to place in Catholic and non-Catholic homes the true facts about Catholics and their Faith. The National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service had not yet been organized, and Father Noll's paper was

the only organ in the United States which was capable of successfully combating the anti-Catholic movement.

Practically all of the Bishops in the country wrote to Father Noll and encouraged their priests to aid in the circulation of the paper. The result was that before the end of the first year more than 200,000 copies of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR were being distributed each week, and the circulation mounted steadily until it reached the half-million mark.

While Father Noll did not dignify "The Menace" and the other anti-Catholic papers by mentioning them by name in his columns, he was, through OUR SUNDAY VISITOR, able to put most of them out of existence by exposing the character of the men who published them, and by offering a money reward for proof of any one of the following seventeen stock charges against Catholics and their Church:

1. Catholics cannot be loyal to the United States government, for they owe temporal allegiance to the Pope;
2. The Pope seeks to control American politics;
3. The Catholic Hierarchy controls a political machine;
4. Catholics adore images and statues;
5. Catholics are forbidden to read the Bible;
6. Immorality is common in monasteries or convents;
7. The Jesuits teach "The end justifies the means";
8. The Knights of Columbus take the so-called "K. of C. Oath";
9. The Jesuits take the "Jesuit Oath" circulated by their enemies;
10. Girls are forced into the Sisterhoods or retained in them against their will;
11. Catholics seek to destroy the public schools;
12. The Catholic Church refuses to acknowledge as valid the marriages of Protestants;
13. Catholics are given undue government patronage;
14. Our country would be benefitted by closing the parochial schools;
15. The assassins of Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley were Catholic;

16. Lincoln's "Dark Cloud" utterance is genuine;
17. Catholics believe that the Pope should rule in a temporal way over the world.

The anti-Catholic campaign, which extended from the year 1908 and culminated in the Ku Klux Klan movement in 1922, afforded an opportunity to hundreds of men and women to take to the lecture platform and make an easy living by tirading against the Catholic Church. Many of these paraded falsely as "ex-priests" and "ex-nuns", and as fast as their names were presented to OUR SUNDAY VISITOR, as being booked in this or that city or town, circulars calling attention to the money reward offered by Father Noll—and very frequently containing a character sketch of the one who was to speak—were sent to the pastor of the church or to some layman in the congregation for the nullification of the mountebank's record. Soon OUR SUNDAY VISITOR published in book form under the title "Defamers of the Church" a character sketch of almost one hundred of these unsavory "Saviors of our country from Rome." One of their chief topics was, of course, the "Catholic Question," and particularly during the anti-Catholic campaign of 1928 did they aver that Catholics owed civil allegiance to Rome, and then was revived more strongly than at any time in the past century the claim that a Catholic cannot be a good citizen and that no Catholic can safely be entrusted with a responsible governmental office.

During this campaign OUR SUNDAY VISITOR took the lead in answering all anti-Catholic tirades, but it steadfastly held itself aloof from politics, and, guided by its editor—then Bishop Noll—, won thousands of non-Catholics to a better understanding of the Church by its simple and concise explanations of Catholic doctrine and practice.

Termed "The Harmonizer," OUR SUNDAY VISITOR has always sought to reach non-Catholics as well as Catholics, and in 1920 began the publication of a special month-end edition intended primarily for the former. This edition was well received and was soon sent by direct mail to more than 50,000 non-Catholic homes. Today OUR SUNDAY VISITOR probably reaches more non-Catholics than

does any one Protestant publication, for thousands of its readers pass it on after reading it.

Bishop Noll, through his thousands of articles in OUR SUNDAY VISITOR has undoubtedly done more to dispel anti-Catholic bigotry than has any other one individual in the history of our country. As staunchly patriotic as were Bishops England and Ireland and Cardinal Gibbons, his writings have reached a far wider audience than did theirs and, like theirs, his have consistently carried a message of love of God and country. If the "Catholic Question" is little heard of today, much credit is due to Bishop Noll and OUR SUNDAY VISITOR.

Study Club Outline

1. Review the events leading to the founding of OUR SUNDAY VISITOR. How was it received?
2. Assign to each of your members one or more of the 17 charges for proof of which O. S. V. offered a reward, and let them disprove them. (See "The Question Box" O. S. V. Press, 60 cents, and "The Faith of Millions".)
3. Plan to bring a copy of O. S. V. to your next meeting and review the articles in it.
4. Discuss O. S. V.'s plan of reaching non-Catholics with Catholic papers.
5. What in your opinion has been the greatest good wrought through the publication of this popular Catholic weekly?

XXXVII
Bigotry In 1928

The bitter waters of bigotry were not long permitted to lie stagnant. True to their threat of 1924 the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan—sensing the nomination of Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency of the United States on the Democratic ticket—made ready to be "the traitor to Democracy who will insure his defeat." The Klan had repeatedly boasted—and rightfully so—that it had prevented Smith's nomination in 1924, and now they marshalled all their forces to defeat him by appealing to latent anti-Catholic prejudice which still rankled in the hearts of the uninformed.

Alone, it is not likely that the Klan would have been able to arouse the people of the nation against Smith, but early in that year there occurred an incident which proved that anti-Catholic animosity was not entertained only by Klansmen and that even among the well educated there existed a fear that a Catholic President could not conscientiously uphold the American principles of religious and civil liberty. It was a recurrence of the "Catholic Question," and this time was brought to the attention of the public through the publication in the April, 1928 edition of "The Atlantic Monthly" of an article by Charles C. Marshall, a lawyer and Episcopalian in New York. Mr. Marshall asked Smith to explain away, if he could, the question of double allegiance. In the following (May) issue of the same magazine appeared Governor Smith's reply, which bore the editorial heading, "Catholic and Patriot: Governor Smith replies."

Smith's reply to Marshall need not be treated here. In it he clearly outlined the Church's teaching on religious and temporal allegiance, as had been done previously by Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops England, Ireland and many others. Smith undoubtedly triumphed in the controversy, as was evidenced by the comments in the daily papers, but he failed to convince Marshall and with him many others. Again it was the old question of a "man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still." But such men were comparatively few. In the

South, where anti-Catholic prejudice was most easily aroused because of the few Catholics who resided there and the almost universal lack of knowledge of Catholic teachings, not more than two or three percent of the daily papers deemed Smith's answer insincere or false. And, as the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia revealed after an extensive survey, those papers which sided with Marshall were consistently anti-Catholic in character. What was true of the South was generally true of the nation.

But though Marshall's article did not greatly impress it did have a decided effect. Failing to bring the controversy out into the open, it added strength to the whispering and clandestine anti-Catholic activities of the Klan.

Among the worst of the bigots in the Klan was Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat of Alabama. Opposed to the Smith candidacy in 1924, he resented his inevitable nomination in 1928. Repeatedly attacking Smith in the Senate, he assailed him as "the Roman candidate," selected by the "Roman Catholic political machine to be the Roman candidate for President of the United States." He consistently employed every argument used by anti-Catholic antagonists since colonial days, and late in October bolted the Democratic party, declaring: "So help me God, I will vote against Al Smith if they read me out of the Democratic party and drive me from every Senate committee." His bolt barred him from the 1930 Alabama primaries and eventually led to his downfall. In 1937 he was again a candidate for the Senate to fill the seat vacated by Hugo L. Black when he, a former Klansman, was named to the Supreme Court, but was overwhelmingly defeated.

In the Senate Heflin's oratory was tolerated in amusement and scorn, but it undoubtedly had a great effect on those among the American citizens who were prone to believe all that was said against the Catholic Church.

Important, however, in another respect were his anti-Catholic outbursts. On January 18, Heflin in one of his typical harangues charged that the Catholic Church had inspired the publication in the Hearst papers of a set of forged documents in which he was named as the recipient of $350,000 from the Mexican treasury for

conducting pro-Mexican activities in the United States. Disgusted by Heflin's tirade, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Democratic party leader, denounced him as a purveyor of religious bigotry. This passage from Robinson's address is worth recalling here:

"I have heard the Senator from Alabama a dozen times during the last year make what he calls his anti-Catholic speech. I have heard him denounce the Catholic Church and the Pope of Rome and the cardinal and the bishop and the priest and the nun until I am sick and tired of it, as a Democrat . . . The Senator from Alabama has said that Al Smith, because he is a Catholic, can not be nominated for President by the Democrats. He said that every Democrat ought to hang his head in shame when the name of Al Smith is mentioned. I have never been classed as an Al Smith supporter, but I have not been one of that class which believed that Governor Smith should be excluded from the list of candidates because he is a Catholic. I do not believe in excluding a candidate on account of his religion, nor do I believe in nominating a candidate on account of his religion. I believe, Mr. President, that one who is a Catholic has just as much right to apply for the favor of his party as one who is a Methodist or a Baptist, and I believe that when you deny that right, you deny a fundamental principle of this government . . ."

Heflin replied to Robinson by denouncing him as one who "fought the battle of the Roman Catholics everytime it is raised," and demanded his resignation as floor leader. With but one dissenting vote, the Democratic Senators approved Robinson, but they failed to rebuke Heflin. That same afternoon he made another speech against the Pope. Robinson's address proved to be one of the principal contributing reasons for his selection as running mate with Smith when they were chosen as standard bearers by their party at the Houston convention.

Smith Wins Nomination

Alfred E. Smith had risen quickly in the ranks of the Democratic party and it was almost impossible to deprive him of the honor of the nomination for the Presidency. Born in New York City on December 30, 1873, the son of Alfgred E. and Catherine Mulvehill Smith, he was educated in the parochial schools and early began his busi-

ness life, being first employed at the Fulton Street Fish Market. Later he was clerk in the office of the Commissioners of Jurors, a member of the New York Assembly from 1903-15; party leader in 1913; speaker in 1915, and sheriff of New York County from 1915-17, when he was elected president of the board of aldermen. He was four times Governor of New York, having been elected first in 1919, and holding that office at the time of the 1928 campaign.

With the withdrawal of William Gibbs McAdoo, who was deadlocked with Smith in 1924, it was apparent that the latter would win the nomination. He was accordingly chosen by a wide majority on the first ballot of the 1928 convention. While it had been anticipated that there would result an anti-Catholic campaign of hate, it is doubtful that even the leaders of the Klan and other bigoted groups entertained hopes of spreading their nefarious poison so widely. Never before in the history of the country was so bitter an attack waged against the Church.

Immediately after Smith's nomination his choice of John J. Raskob, a Catholic and previously a Republican, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, led to a revolt by the prohibition element within the party. An anti-Smith dry party within the Democratic forces was formed, but it became immediately evident that there were within its ranks a majority of workers who opposed Smith on religious grounds. It began its destructive propaganda work at once, and throughout the campaign was in direct contact with the Republican headquarters in Washington.

Space does not permit a detailed treatment of the anti-Catholic animosity aroused during the campaign. At most we can list a few of the outstanding offenders. Four bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church were early found among the leaders. They were Bishops Edward Mouzan of Charlotte, North Carolina; John W. Moore of Dallas, Texas; Horace du Bose of Nashville, Tennessee; and, the most notorious of all, James Cannon, Jr., of Richmond, Virginia.

Offending papers and other periodicals were legion and among them were found both religious and secular

journals. The following from the "Wesleyan Christian Advocate" of Atlanta is typical of the more moderate assertions made against Smith and the Church:

> "Governor Smith has a constitutional right to run for President, even though a Catholic. This we confess. And we have a constitutional right to vote against him because he is a Catholic. This we assert . . . We are strongly persuaded that Catholicism is a degenerate type of Christianity, which ought everywhere to be displaced with a pure type of Christianity."

But the leader among the bitterest publications was the "Fellowship Forum," published in Washington, D. C. In "The Shadow of the Pope" by Michael Williams and in a "Book of Horrors" compiled by OUR SUNDAY VISITOR are reproduced some of the bitter and grossly libelous cartoons published in this notorious sheet and elsewhere used during the campaign. They portray in a vivid and unmistakable manner the extent to which the anti-Catholics among Smith's enemies went in their effort to bring about his defeat. The editorial policy of the "Fellowship Forum," under the direction of James E. Vance, like many of its smaller imitators, was bitterly anti-Catholic. All such publications were enthusiastically supported by the Klan, and the "Forum" in its earlier days had established itself in the South as a Masonic organ. During the campaign its editors claimed a normal circulation of approximately 360,000 per week, but millions of copies of its worst issues were circulated throughout the nation.

Ministers by the hundreds expressed their fear—real or feigned—of Smith as President because, as the Rev. T. F. Calloway, Baptist, expressed it, "we are afraid of the political purposes of the hierarchy to which he owes his religious affiliation. We know that the Catholic Church is as much a political party as it is a religious body."

Although Smith was badly defeated by the foes of "Rum, Romanism and Tammany," and despite the fact that he lost thousands of votes, particularly in the Southern States which had previously always voted Democratic, because of the religious prejudice aroused, he never permitted himself during the entire campaign to fight hate with hate. He referred to the religious question only twice, at Oklahoma City, where intolerance was

probably more intense than anywhere else in the nation, and at the end of the campaign in Baltimore. On the former occasion he pointed out that the anti-Catholic animosity being so needlessly aroused constituted a threat to the future life of our Republic, and emphasized the necessity of killing it. "The best way to kill anything un-American," he said, "is to drag it out in the open, because anything un-American cannot live in the sunlight." He continued:

". . . Let me make myself perfectly clear. I do not want any Catholic in the United States of America to vote for me on the sixth of November simply because I am a Catholic. Any Catholic in this country who believes that the welfare, the well-being, the prosperity, the growth and the expansion of the United States is best conserved and best promoted by the election of Hoover, I want him to vote for Hoover and not for me.

"But, on the other hand, I have the right to say that if there is any citizen in this country who believes that I can promote its welfare, that I am capable of steering the ship of state safely through the next four years and then votes against me because of my religion, he is not a real, pure, genuine American."

As in all other instances the anti-Catholic attitude so bitterly evidenced in this campaign eventually redounded to the benefit of the Church. Thousands of sincere and fair-minded non-Catholics, disgusted with the treatment accorded Catholics even by their own ministers, sought a better and truer understanding of her, and many of them later found their way into the true fold.

Study Club Outline

1. What important happening early in 1928 brought the "Catholic Question" to the attention of the public? What controversy resulted?
2. Who was the victor, Smith or Marshall? How did Smith answer Marshall's charges?
3. Who was Thomas Heflin? How did a fellow Senator answer his anti-Catholic attacks? Who was this Senator?
4. What do you think was most damaging to Smith in the 1928 campaign? Where did the anti-Catholic propaganda prove most effective?
5. How did Smith fight against the campaign of hate? Discuss his talk at Oklahoma City. Who in your opinion is America's outstanding Catholic layman?

XXXVIII
The Church in the U. S. Today

In these chapters an attempt has been made to make more clear the great progress which the Catholic Church has achieved in America. It has not been possible to treat our topic fully and there have, therefore, been many notable gaps in the events discussed; but they were unavoidable. The main purpose of our book has been to stir both Catholics and non-Catholics to a more thorough study of the many triumphs of the Church despite the fact that she was impeded at every turn by societies and individuals whose main purpose it was to create prejudice against her.

Many important personages, ecclesiastical and lay, have had to be passed over. Space has not permitted an appreciation of the work of great leaders like Bishop Fenwick of Boston, Judge Gaston of North Carolina, Doctor John McLoughlin, John Boyle O'Reilly, Charles B. Hebermann, William Burke Cockran and many others now dead whose contribution to the success of the Church and the breaking down of prejudice deserve a place in any extended history of the Church in the United States. Among those yet living mention should also be made of our four Cardinals, O'Connell, Dougherty, Mundelein and Hayes, Archbishops McNicholas, Mitty, Curley, and many other members of the hierarchy whose love of country is only exceeded by their love of God.

To conclude this work without first pondering at least briefly on the question of how far we have travelled from our small beginnings and the bitter intolerance of colonial days, would leave our study of Catholic progress in the Republic unfinished. We have seen in our early chapters how few were our numbers and how difficult were the conditions under which they lived. Today the Church is by far the largest religious or lay organization in the country. Comprising it are some 23,000,000 members, who constitute one-sixth of the population of the nation. Serving the laity are 130 members of the hierarchy, among them four Cardinals, 20 Archbishops and 106

Bishops. Working with them are 31,650 priests, 9,000 of whom are members of religious orders and 21,650 members of the secular clergy. There are in the nation more than 18,500 churches which have been erected at the sacrifice of and for the convenience of the laity.

Great progress has also been made in the field of education. "We judge it absolutely necessary that schools should be established, in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality, while being instructed in letters." Thus declared the members of the newly formed American hierarchy, meeting in the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829. The Bishops had taken cognizance of the fact that the children of many Catholic parents, particularly the poor, were exposed to the danger of loss of faith and corruption of morals by reason of the fact that there was a dearth of Catholic educational facilities. The faithful were increasing in numbers. Immigrants from distant lands were coming to these shores to enjoy the freedom and security that America symbolized. For their children and their children's children they set forth to conquer the wilderness. Theirs was the vision of a new world, of a new social order, of a new civilization, in which fundamental human rights would be held sacred and the dignity of the human personality would be respected. Deeply religious people, they loved their Church. They were taking part in the building of a new nation. But they were wise builders, who knew that they must build with God and that the foundation stone must be Jesus Christ. Whatever the cost, they must pass on to posterity, the sacred heritage of their faith.

The foundations of Catholic education in the United States had been laid in the early part of the seventeenth century. It was the Franciscan missionaries laboring in Florida and New Mexico who established the first schools within the present limits of the United States. Down in Saint Augustine as far back as 1606 there were a classical school and a preparatory seminary. The Catholic sisterhoods (now numbering more than 100,000 members in the U. S.) made the beginning of their magnificent contribution to American education when the Ursulines came to New Orleans in 1727. We remember grate-

fully the arrival of the Jesuits 304 years ago in Maryland. It was this great teaching order that laid the foundation for the present parish school system in the United States, for it was their plan to establish a school wherever they established a church. They began the tradition of making the maintenance of a school a primary responsibility of the parish.

Thus it was that long before the meeting of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829 Catholic education had sent its roots deep into American soil. It was with the spread of Catholic education that the Council was concerned, as well as with its organization and direction. When the bishops insisted "that schools be established, in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality, while being instructed in letters," they were emphasizing fundamental Catholic educational philosophy.

More than fifty years passed—years of growth and development for Catholic education—years of multiplication of Catholic schools—years which saw the ranks of devoted men and women who had consecrated their lives to the mission of teaching constantly swelling—years that saw the Catholic schools in one diocese after another being organized for more effective work—years that bore witness to the zeal, not only of Bishops and pastors, but of the faithful as well, for the promotion of Catholic education.

In 1884 the American Hierarchy came together in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. One fourth of all the decrees adopted by the Council had to do with education. "Two objects," the Bishops declared, "we have in view, namely, to multiply our schools, and to perfect them. We must multiply them, till every Catholic child in the land shall have the means of education within its reach. . . We must also perfect our schools. We repudiate the idea that the Catholic school need be in any respect inferior to any other school whatsoever."

The effectiveness of the legislation of this Third Plenary Council of Baltimore is amply demonstrated by the history of Catholic education from that day to this. Fifty-four years have passed, and every year has signalized progress and given evidence of greater vitality. Two

million, two hundred thousand children are now enrolled in more than eight thousand Catholic elementary schools. Twenty-two hundred high schools are taking care of three hundred thousand students. There are seventy-five Catholic colleges for men and ninety-seven Catholic colleges for women. The former enroll eighty-six thousand students, the latter twenty-seven thousand students, a grand total of more than one hundred thousand young men and women pursuing higher studies under Catholic auspices. There are twenty-two Catholic universities offering graduate work and affording preparation for the various professions. In one hundred and seventy-eight major and preparatory seminaries twenty thousand young men are being prepared for the sacred responsibilities of the priesthood. Teachers' colleges have multiplied, some under the auspices of individual religious communities, others under the direction of the diocese. In them, four thousand students, mostly members of religious orders, are equipping themselves in accordance with the best contemporary standards for effective work in the classroom.

One of the most important decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore is that which embodied the decision on the part of the Bishops to found in the City of Washington a Catholic University. The University began its existence in 1889. In an Apostolic Letter Pope Leo XIII approved its constitution and statutes and defined its scope "to provide instruction in every department of learning to the end that the clergy and laity alike might have an opportunity to satisfy fully their laudable desire for knowledge."

The Catholic University of America occupies a unique position among the Catholic schools of the country. It is under the direct control of the hierarchy and its support comes in large measure from the Catholic people of the United States. It is a pontifical university and as such its constitution and statutes must have the approval of the Holy See. Since its foundation each succeeding Pope, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and the now gloriously reigning Pontiff, Pius XI, has given it special interest and fatherly concern.

A feature that differentiates Catholic schools in the

United States from Catholic schools in other parts of the world is the fact that the teaching is almost exclusively in the hands of members of religious orders. In other countries, where Catholic schools are supported by public funds, the rank and file of the teachers are laymen and laywomen, the religious orders for the most part confining their activity to what might be called private schools. But here in the United States, where the Church has been denied any share in the public funds, the religious orders stepped into the breach and with a view only to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, with no thought of personal pecuniary reward, they have made the existence and expansion of Catholic education possible. All the while they have added something very special and precious to our education, for they are what they teach and their consecrated lives serve to dramatize the ideals and attitudes they strive to inculcate.

The record of the patriotic contribution of the Catholic schools is an open book that he who runs may read. To begin with, the Catholics of the United States by building, equipping, and maintaining so many schools for their children, are relieving the American tax-payer of a considerable financial burden. Speaking in round numbers, there are two and one-half million children in our Catholic elementary and secondary schools. If these children were not in Catholic schools, the government would have to take care of them. Most of our public schools are over-crowded now and consequently additional buildings would have to be provided. Assuming that its costs $300 to house each school child, and this figure is low according to the computations of the United States Office of Education, 750 million dollars would have to be expended on new school buildings. In addition, there would be an annual increase of 300 million dollars in instructional and maintenance cost throughout the country.

In the end, however, the greatest service that the Catholic school is doing for the country, consists in the fact that it is giving a religious education. By so doing it is keeping within the American tradition and carrying on in the spirit of those who laid the foundations of our national life. Religion was the dominant element in the Colonial schools. After the Revolution, the earliest pro-

nouncement of the new government on education is found in the third article of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which insisted that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged", because "religion, morality, and knowledge" are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. No thought here of separating religion from either morality or knowledge. Against a tide of secularism that rose in the middle of the last century and which has steadily increased in power and sweep, the Catholic school has stood like a rock. It gives testimony of the eternal values, apart from which temporal values lose their substance and their power to compel. It proclaims the testimony of history that no nation has long escaped disintegration and ultimate ruin that wandered far from God. It appeals to the religious sense of the American people, a sense which though weakened still has strength to assert itself, to repair the harm before it is too late and restore to American children their right to know their Creator and their obligations to Him.

Catholic Population an Urban One

Nowhere in the world can Tertullian's famous plea for toleration be made with more appositeness than in the United States: "We are but yesterday; yet we fill your cities." The Catholic population of the United States is centered in what may be called the nerve centers of the nation, the large cities. While Catholics constitute but one-sixth of the population of the nation, they comprise from one-third to one-half of the populations of our largest cities. Accordingly the inquiring non-Catholic cannot escape—except in some of the smallest towns and agricultural districts—Catholics in this land of freedom and equality. The daily lives of Catholics are an open book wherein can be read all that the Church teaches. It is largely because of this fact that we can claim a real advance in the non-Catholic estimate of the Church, although it is true that the advance has been slow and too frequently retarded by waves of bigotry such as that experienced as recently as 1928.

Encouragement is also had in the greatly increased patronage of an improved Catholic press. The Church in the United States has at the present time a host of well

trained writers and scholars who are helping to bring about a better understanding of her position on all important questions. While their principal work is usually confined to Catholic educational institutions and the Catholic press, they frequently are called upon to refute in the secular publications libels against the Church which are even yet voiced by supposedly responsible publications.

Through the press and radio the Church is today reaching millions who never before in the history of our nation were given an opportunity to readily learn and understand her teachings. Cooperating with the press are many Catholic radio lecturers whose messages are carried across the continent each week. Outstanding among them are the many scholars, particularly the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, Ph. D. and the Rev. James M. Gillis, C. S. P., who lecture on the Catholic Hour sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Men, and the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, founder of the Radio League of the Little Flower, whose messages are heard regularly by millions of non-Catholics.

The Church in the United States is also strengthened by an intense loyalty on the part of the vast majority of her people. Unlike many other countries, Catholic leaders here are not troubled by dissension among the laity and there is no evidence of an anti-clerical attitude.

The combination of all these things gives to the Church in the United States an exceptional opportunity. It has grown up largely with additions to its numbers through immigration from Catholic countries in Europe, but it is in no sense racial. There was a time, as we have seen, when it was criticised as being predominantly Irish, but the merging of new arrivals into the general mass of the people continually broadened and softened racial outlines. Since the flow of immigrants has been stopped, the younger generations have become far more American than Irish, Italian, Polish, etc., and this has added to the strength of the Church.

In general it may be said that the Catholic body, well organized and strong, also through conviction and practice, has come to stand for something special in American life; but not something segregated. This situation

especially appealed to the noted English historian, Hilaire Belloc, who said that it was not paralleled in any other nation. The Church derives additional strength, too, because—as elsewhere in the world today—she alone answers with certitude the great questions of the modern age. She teaches human equality, the sanctity of contract, the right of property, the claim of every man to a sufficient livelihood, the mutual relations of man and the necessity of justice, as no other organization can teach them, for she makes of them a consistent whole. "And those whom she addresses," says Belloc, "know well that her definitions and assertions will not change," when all else is changing in a changing world. Even those who are reluctant to accept the authority of the Church feel that she speaks from the foundation of truth.

But it is also due to the lack of certitude among non-Catholic groups that the Church is opposed and misunderstood today. Unlike a century ago, she is now attacked not so much on the question of double allegiance as on her teachings on social and economic subjects. As elsewhere in the world Communists and Communistic organizations are endeavoring to spread their propaganda and make converts in the United States. And here, as elsewhere, they attack the Church because they find that she is their strongest opponent. The Church condemns Communism because it is in its very essence anti-religious and atheistic. Its sworn purpose is to do away with all belief in God, although in every nation save Russia it hides that aim in order to more successfully play upon the inequalities of the economic system and win adherents to its cause.

The Church is also accused by enemies of Fascism of being the friend of that system of totalitarian government. Of course, she is not. She equally condemns with Communism the usurpation of all power by any dictator. The Church is the protector of the individual and the family, and she will never approve a system of government which takes away all individual and family rights.

In the field of morals the Church demands the respect of millions of non-Catholics for her unswerving opposition to divorce, birth prevention and indecency in literature, motion pictures and other forms of entertainment.

At the same time she is opposed by the organizations and individuals advocating the wide dissemination of birth control information, easy divorce laws and a complete "freedom" of expression in all the arts.

The Church will always be persecuted, and the Church in the United States will not prove an exception; but here she has a great opportunity for success in reaching non-Catholics despite many obstacles which seem insuperable. Whether or not she will be able to take full advantage of that opportunity depends upon the Catholic laity.

Study Club Outline

1. Review the progress which the Church in the U. S. has made during the past 150 years.
2. Discuss the Catholic teaching on education. Why does she maintain her own schools? Review progress made during past 100 years.
3. In what ways do Catholic schools serve the State? How much money does the Church save for the U. S. by maintaining her own schools?
4. Why is the Church in an excellent position in the U. S.? Where are her members centered? Should this be benficial or detrimental?
5. Discuss the opportunity afforded the Church by the press and radio. What is her attitude towards Communism? Fascism? On whom does the success of the Church ultimately depend?