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GOD *and* CÆSAR



*“Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s and to God
the things that are God’s”*

By the REV. JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J.

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Is the Church in Politics?

LET it be understood from the first that we are not concerned with the actions of individual Catholics, who, like individual Protestants, may at times do what we cannot approve. The question is: "What is the attitude of the Catholic Church herself on the subject of politics?" This I shall answer briefly and with abundant documentary evidence.

Clearly and without hesitation the Catholic Church acknowledges the sovereignty of the State in temporal matters. For herself she claims only the spiritual sovereignty in things of the soul. To all the accusations brought against her she has but one answer to give, that which Christ gave when accused in precisely the same manner: "My kingdom is not of this world."

The mission conferred on the Church when Christ confided to Peter the keys of His spiritual kingdom and commissioned him to feed His lambs and His sheep, is nothing else than the continuation of His own to the end of time. It is this mission, and this alone, which the successors of Peter exercise in their function as "Vicar of Christ." Their added position, in certain periods, as temporal rulers over a limited territory bestowed on the Holy See, must not be confused with their authority as Sovereign Pontiffs.

In his Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, on the "Christian Constitution of States," Pope Leo XIII definitely and authoritatively states:

The Almighty has apportioned the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over Divine and the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits that are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, for each a fixed orbit, within which the action of each is brought into play by its own right.

What is contained within each of these two provinces

the Holy See defines no less accurately in the same Encyclical:

Whatever in things human is of sacred character, whatever belongs, either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls, or to the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and *political* order is rightly subject to civil authority.

The Church, therefore, according to the institution of her Divine Founder and the declaration of her Sovereign Pontiffs, is not concerned with purely civil and political matters, so long as there is no violation of the laws of God and no infringement of her own sacred rights.

Questions, however, arise which are neither purely spiritual nor purely civil. It is necessary here that State and Church should cooperate harmoniously, taking due account of the relative excellence and nobility of the respective ends of Church and State.

Thus for the Church matrimony is a sacrament; in many States it is regarded as a purely civil contract. The State may rightly make all *due* temporal provision; but the Church must no less clearly maintain her own spiritual jurisdiction. For the faithful exercise of this her clergy and hierarchy are responsible to Almighty God.

Education, in the same manner, may properly be insisted upon by the State to the extent required for good citizenship; but the Church may not in any way be hampered in the spiritual and moral training of her children, to fit them to become faithful citizens both of the State and of that spiritual Kingdom whose invisible head is Christ. It is her solemn duty to insist upon this right as it is the sacred duty of the State to aid and not to hinder her in its fulfilment. That is the reason the Church must insist on her God-given right and duty of the Catholic education of her Catholic children.

The State, therefore, clearly passes beyond the bonds of its authority, when it intrudes into the sanctuary to interfere with the due performance of the Sacrament of matrimony, instituted by Christ. Similarly the State exceeds its power when it would force the Catholic child

into a purely secular school. The duty and right of educating the child belongs by nature to the parents. The State may interfere only when parents neglect their responsibility. The reasonable requirements set by the State are of course to be met by the Catholic schools.

It is false to say that the Church has opposed the public schools in the United States. The Church has never attacked the public schools. She has merely declared them unavailable for her children. For these she demands not only Catholic instruction, but a Catholic atmosphere in all the classes, both of which are out of question in the public schools.

Catholic educational ideals are in perfect conformity with those of the Founders of the Republic who held that religious training was essential for public morality. Catholics have modelled their system of education most closely upon the requirements of these greatest of Americans for the production of the ideal type of American citizen. For the rest, the Church was centuries ago the founder and patron of public school education.

The fact that both powers, the secular and spiritual, have authority over the same citizen implies no conflict of rights, since all authority in State and Church is alike derived from God, who has coordinated these powers to work in harmony with one another. "For the powers that are, are ordained of God," St. Paul writes.

The Church on her part is ever careful to restrict to the utmost her demands. It but remains for the State equally to respect her rights in order that the two powers can work together as soul and body; the one securing the spiritual, the other the earthly welfare of the citizen. This, we know, can perfectly be realized among a Catholic people only, yet it is the ultimate perfection of governments. So individual, domestic and public rights alike are safeguarded and hedged about by natural and positive laws, by Divine and human ordinance.

In matters which are not purely political but which likewise touch upon spiritual interests the Church clearly must have a voice, yet she will not interfere in any such matters except insofar as the moral and religious inter-

ests of souls may require it. Then, however, it becomes her sacred duty to act within the limits of her possibility. The power which she thus exercises is not political, but spiritual. Victor Cathrein, S.J., in his "Moralphilosophie," briefly explains the important point at issue:

The Church can never for earthly ends ordain or prescribe anything in temporal matters. But she has the right to provide that her subjects be not seduced to commit sin or suffer detriment in their spiritual welfare through the ordinations of secular authority. It would be very wrong to call this indirect power over temporal matters a secular power. It is and remains a spiritual power, because it extends to temporal matters only insofar as spiritual interests are concerned. Its formal object is spiritual.

Should any political party, or should the State itself, propose what is unjust and sinful, it is evident that the voice of the Church must be heeded. It is the right of the Church to protest against crime, the great enemy at the same time of the State.

Of two things, however, both Catholics and non-Catholics may rest assured. The first is that the Church will never interfere with any man's economic or political views unless these views are spiritually pernicious or sinful. The second is that loyalty to the Church will never stand in the way of any genuinely patriotic interest.

A true Catholic must of necessity be a true patriot. If any should be inclined to doubt this fact let them recall for a moment the great battlefields of Europe and see how everywhere Catholics rallied to the colors of their country, the first to volunteer their services and their lives. Even priests and Religious whom persecution had driven from their native lands were beheld returning in undiminished numbers, ready for their ministries of mercy and religion, entirely forgetful of all past injustice, confiscation and banishment which they had suffered at the hands of unscrupulous politicians.

The Church, therefore, can have no desire to enter the field of politics. Such an action would be in open contradiction of all her high ideals and her Divine mission. But neither may Catholic voters permit her to be shorn of

her rights by political intriguers without exerting themselves in her defense. This is a duty not confined to Catholics but shared by every non-Catholic citizen, since all are pledged to defend the liberties guaranteed their fellow-citizens. By the natural law itself they must uphold justice within their commonwealth for all alike.

It is the clever ruse of anti-Catholic agitators to proclaim that the Church is moved by political ambition when in her defense against aggression she calls upon her children and upon all honest men to safeguard her religious liberties from the attacks of bigotry, political chicanery or violence. The accusations brought against her by professional anti-Catholic agitators are almost invariably based upon such instances of self-defense.

"Certainly," wrote Pope Pius X in his letter regarding the Sillonist movement in France, "it is not the Church which has descended into the political arena. She has been dragged down to it in order to be mutilated and despoiled. Is it not the duty, then, of every Catholic to use the political weapons which he has at hand to defend her and to force politicians to remain in their own domain?"

It is a peculiarity of those who accuse the Catholic Church of bringing politics into religion that they are themselves invariably the first to drag religion into politics. Possibly men of this type may at times be so busy seeking the mote in their neighbor's eye that they never advert to the substantial beam that is lodged in their own.

II

To Cæsar the Things of Cæsar

THE question of the union between Church and State has long been a storm-center of far more than ordinary disturbance. Few comprehend the right meaning of this term. Fewer still understand its practical application. Even intelligent and educated men, who are amused, if not positively angered, at the ludicrous panics to which this question has given rise, are often themselves misled by interpretations palpably false. It is necessary, therefore, to begin by setting aside the wrong notions which have gathered about this idea in the popular mind and which have led to the conclusion, possibly often heard by the reader, "I am opposed to Catholicism because it favors the union of Church and State."

To avoid at the outset all misapprehension it may be well to premise that this union, as understood by the Holy See, is not an issue agitated or promoted on the part of Catholics, whether clerical or lay, in the United States. As Cardinal Gibbons wrote in 1909:

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, through which they are brought into a closer communion with God, learn His revealed truth and His holy law, receive the help they need to lead Christian lives and are inspired with the hope of eternal happiness. 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 own form of government before any other. They admire its institutions and the spirit of 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.—*North American Review*, March, 1909.

Unfortunately in European countries separation of

Church and State usually does not imply what Americans, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, understand by it. Instead it is used to disguise what is in reality a persecution and oppression of the Church by the State. It does not mean non-interference of the State in the things of the Church but domination of the Church by the State to "mutilate and despoil" her. What the Church in too many instances is actually facing under such conditions is a State tyranny, an exploitation of her goods, and a war to death waged against her by Godless politicians seeking to force their atheistic rationalism upon an entire people.

Catholic ideals are said to be incompatible with democracy. History disproves this. But theoretically as well there is no preference expressed by the Church for one form of government over another. Empire, monarchy, or republic can all indifferently meet with her approval, insofar as they keep in view that common good for which social authority is constituted. In his letter, *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes*, Pope Leo XIII thus defined the attitude of the Church:

In this order of speculative ideas, Catholics, like all other citizens, are free to prefer one form of government to another, precisely because no one of these social forms is, in itself, opposed to the principles of sound reason or to the maxims of Christian doctrine. What amply justifies the wisdom of the Church is that in her relations with political powers she abstracts from the forms of government, which differentiate nations, and treats with them concerning religious interests. To undertake their instruction is her supreme duty in their regard.

So again in his Encyclical *Sapientiæ Christianæ*, "On the Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens," the same Pontiff writes:

The Church, the guardian always of her own rights and most observant of that of others, holds that it is not her province to decide what is the best amongst many diverse forms of government and the civil institutions of Christian States. Amid the various kinds of State-rule she does not disapprove of any, provided the respect due to religion and the observance of good morals be upheld.

Unfortunately the ideal cooperation surely desirable between the Catholic Church and civil society in a Catholic country is falsely and not seldom maliciously interpreted as a universal ambition for political power, in which the Catholics of every country are presumed to share. In the letter already quoted, *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes*, Pope Leo shows how even our just self-defense is misinterpreted:

It is maintained that the vigor of action which Catholics are taught to display in their defense of the Faith has for a secret motive much less the safeguarding of their religious interests than the ambition of securing to the Church *political domination over the State*. Truly this is the revival of a very ancient calumny, as its invention must be ascribed to the first enemies of Christianity. Was it not first formulated against the adorable person of the Redeemer?

Nothing could be further from the mind of the Church and more abhorrent to her than stirring up insurrection and revolution, or even lessening by a grain in the balance the loyalty due the State. Yet that is the crime of which she is accused, in spite of her constant insistence upon obedience to all lawfully constituted authority and her unvarying lesson of rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

From a thousand forums of public thought over the face of the earth there still rises that same cry which nineteen centuries ago was first heard in the court of Pilate: "We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar." And for those who would see that justice is done us, without favor or partiality, there comes the bitter warning: "If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend!"

So, again and again, century after century, the sentence of Pilate is passed. Christ is crucified anew in His members. What happened of old in the court of the Roman Governor has at various times been repeated since, in Germany, France, Portugal and Mexico, as well as in several of the most newly founded republics of Europe, and will without question be repeated elsewhere tomorrow.

If Christ was condemned to death on that specious charge, it was inevitable that His followers would fare no better. "Dangerous citizens, factionists, enemies of the Empire and the Emperors" were the names given, we are told, to the early Christians by their pagan contemporaries, the Roman "Guardians of Liberty." They are literally repeated today.

All this is true; but it is likewise our greatest consolation and our glory. Let the enemies of Christ inscribe it at the head of their chapter of accusations against us: "The Catholics of the twentieth century are one with their brethren of the first." We are one with them in persecution as in faith.

Patriotism, it will be noted, is always made the plea of those who would give to Cæsar the things of God.

The Church, it is true, condemns the untenable proposition that: "The Church *must* be separated from the State, and the State from the Church." Because we heartily approve of such a separation in a country like the United States it does not follow that it would have been equally preferable in the purely Catholic countries of the Middle Ages, provided that both statesmen and churchmen strictly observed the limits of their respective authorities and cooperated for the common good.

But it is absurd to conclude from the above condemnation, as is constantly done without the slightest warrant, that this implies the desire of the Church for political domination. It is a pure nightmare to conclude, as malicious bigotry invariably does, that the Church would under any consideration—even if that were perfectly feasible—subject the nations to the political rule of Rome.

Union between the Church and State, where such may be possible in Catholic countries, merely simplifies and ensures the more perfect fulfilment of the task Christ conferred upon her. Her attitude of non-interference in purely civic matters, on the other hand, is clearly expressed in the Encyclical of the same Pontiff, on the "Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens":

It is plainly evident that the governing powers are wholly

free to carry out the business of the State; and this not only not against the wish of the Church, but manifestly with her cooperation, inasmuch as she strongly urges to the practice of piety, which implies right feeling toward God, and by that very fact inspires a right-mindedness toward the rulers of the State.

The moral and religious interests that may be involved in any issue are the only concern of the Catholic Church. It is because of the welfare of souls, as the ultimate reason, that she then speaks out, counsels and commands. Where souls are in danger there is question no longer of purely political or economic issues. Spiritual principles are at stake. In these she is the ultimate authority. For this purpose Christ has instituted her. "*It was not to Cæsar,*" as Pope Leo XII so conclusively says, "*but to Peter that Jesus Christ entrusted the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*"

One thing, therefore, has been made clear. It is that the accusations directed against Catholics because of the principles supposed to be involved in the union of Church and State are entirely unfounded, in fact and in theory. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's,"—such was the doctrine of Christ, and such is the doctrine of His Church for individuals and for society alike. That the things of God may be more completely given to God is the only reason why she has ever called upon the State for assistance. She in turn urges that the things of Cæsar should be given to Cæsar.

The Union of Church and State

IT has been shown in what the union of Church and States does not consist. It is equally important to make clear the true meaning of this union, according to the mind of the Church. Objections urged against Catholics on this score are invariably based upon a false understanding of this question. The union spoken of in this chapter must therefore be understood as that perfect and ideal union of Church and State which is conceivable in a Catholic civilization alone.

In substance it is based on the clear understanding of the division between the purely temporal and the purely spiritual, the former lying within the exclusive jurisdiction of the temporal rulers, the latter within the equally exclusive jurisdiction of the spiritual rulers, but both harmoniously cooperating with one another. In matters partly temporal and partly spiritual in their implications, the interests of the soul are given precedence, according to Our Lord's own teaching: "Seek ye therefore first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. vi, 33). That, in a nutshell, is the practical meaning of the Catholic union of Church and State, possible only in a Catholic country.

For a civilization largely non-Catholic and even non-Christian the true concept of the ideal union between Church and State has become almost unintelligible. Catholics themselves have often been imbued with false current notions concerning its scope and nature. It is looked upon as a condition violently imposed from without. Yet in reality it is something as obvious and natural in a truly Catholic country as it is unthought of and impossible today in lands like England or the United States.

Finally, it is not a contract of patches and compromises, such as the Concordats have usually been which men now have in mind. In its perfection it can best be compared to the intimate relation existing between soul and

body. It should function no less smoothly and harmoniously in a well-regulated Catholic State.

The intrinsic reason for the perfect union of Church and State in a "civil society of Catholics" arises from the fact that the same men are at the same time citizens of the State and members of God's visible Kingdom upon earth, the Catholic Church. Under such conditions they do not, as *citizens*, forfeit either their civic rights or the full, free and reasonable exercise of them. But as *subjects of Christ's Kingdom*, they must obviously likewise bear in mind the spiritual interests of the Church, the salvation and sanctification of souls. These, however, are not things foreign either to their own good or to the welfare of the State. Consequently there is no violence done to the most complete personal freedom in this union of a Catholic State and the Catholic Church.

Pope Leo XIII briefly expresses the ideal harmony thus effected both in regard to the individual and the State when there is question of complying with man's various duties:

The duties enjoined are incumbent on the same person, and between them there exists neither contradiction nor confusion; for some of these duties have relation to the prosperity of the State, others refer to the general good of the Church, and both have as their object to train men to perfection.—*Encyclical on the Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens.*

A civic society which regulates its civic actions and institutions in conformity with the teachings of Christ, authentically interpreted by the one Divinely commissioned authority upon earth, will have little need to fear for its temporal order and happiness. The splendid argument of St. Augustine, quoted by Pope Leo XIII, is in place here:

Let those who claim that the teaching of Christ is hurtful to the State, produce such armies as the maxims of Jesus have enjoined soldiers to bring into being, such governors of provinces, such husbands and wives, such parents and children, such masters and servants, such kings, such judges, and such payers and collectors of revenue, as the Christian teachers instruct them to become, and then let them dare say that

such teaching is hurtful to the State. Nay, rather let us ask, can they hesitate to own that such discipline if duly acted upon, is the very mainstay of the commonwealth?—*Epist. 138.*

True Christianity, therefore, as St. Augustine implies, must be interfused through our domestic, economic, social and civil life. It cannot be dispensed with even in our international relations without prejudice to the common welfare. What more startling lesson of this do we need than the World War and its deplorable sequels in every country, neutral or belligerent!

Apostrophizing that same great Catholic Church of the ages St. Augustine justly said of her:

Thou joinest together, not in society only, but in a sort of brotherhood, citizen with citizen, nation with nation, and the whole race of men, by reminding them of their common parentage.

The dream of international peace, of the universal brotherhood of man, of the golden millennium upon earth, so far as this is possible, can be realized only in the entirely voluntary return of the world to his solicitous care who is the Father of Christendom, the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, the one universal Pastor to whom alone Christ committed His lambs and His sheep, that there might be one Fold and one Shepherd: "Feed My lambs." "Feed My sheep."

That a perfect obedience to the Divine will can only be fruitful of a nation's highest good, even from a temporal point of view, all must admit, and history bears witness to the fact. It is no exaggeration to say that all we most highly prize today is in a manner to be accredited to the union of the Catholic State with the Catholic Church in an age when barbarism was still contending with civilization. In his Encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, the great Pope so frequently quoted here as the clear exponent of the Church's doctrine on this subject, says:

There was once a time when States were governed by the principles of the Gospel teaching. Then it was that the power and Divine virtue of Christian wisdom had diffused itself throughout the laws, institutions and morals of the people;

permeating all ranks and relations of society. Then, too, the religion instituted by Jesus Christ, established firmly in befitting dignity, flourished everywhere by the favor of princes and the legitimate protection of magistrates; and Church and State were happily united in concord and friendly interchange of good offices.

The blessings which in such an order accrued to the State surpass all estimation. The historic evidence of the services which the Church has rendered to human progress and civilization can never, as the illustrious Pontiff says, be blotted out, or even obscured, by the craft of her enemies:

Christian Europe has subdued barbarous nations, and changed them from a savage to a civilized condition, from superstition to true worship. It victoriously rolled back the tide of Mohammedan conquest; retained the headship of civilization; stood forth in the front rank as the leader and teacher of all, in every branch of national culture; bestowed on the world the gift of true and many-sided liberty; and most wisely founded everywhere numerous institutions for the solace of human suffering.

I have described the ideal of the perfect union of Church and State as it existed during certain periods of the Middle Ages, but is little understood today.

"It seems that there is a conception of the State which cannot be Catholic," said Pope Pius XI in an allocution given December, 1926. In this false view the State is made to "absorb and monopolize everything, making citizens believe that the State as an end is again being emphasized." The entire philosophy is crystallized in the phrase: "Everything and everybody for the State," the Church included.

Man is not for the State, but the State exists for man. Neither is man for the Church, but the Church, too, is for man, as Our Lord said of the Sabbath that it was intended for man and not man for the Sabbath. But State and Church together, neither interfering in the exclusive sphere of the other, are to aid men to attain their ultimate end, which is the glory of God and so their own salvation.

Is There a Dual Allegiance?

WHAT has been said in the preceding chapters is still more fully borne out by the more recent Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI on the Kingship of Christ over all mankind.

The dominion of our Divine King, as the Holy Father shows from the Sacred Scriptures, is not confined to the Church alone, but embraces the temporal realm as well. As God He is the universal Ruler of all things created, but even as Man He is sovereign Head of all nations and of every human organization, no less than of every individual soul. Church and State are societies each perfect and independent in its own sphere. But over both alike Christ is set as their common Head.

It follows, therefore, that to be loyal to Christ the Catholic must show equal loyalty to the authorities of both Church and State, since both receive their authority from Christ, who is King of the earth and all that it contains.

"It is a shameful error," writes Pope Pius XI, "to deny to Christ, as Man, empire over any civil thing whatsoever, since He has from His Father the most absolute right over all created things, as all things have been placed in His power." It is true, as the Holy Father continues, that while living here on earth Christ "refrained from exercising such dominion," but He possessed then as He still possesses that power and ownership over all material things.

Now the Church does not claim that the entire power of Christ, temporal and spiritual, was transferred to His Vice-gerent on earth, the successor of St. Peter. What Christ gave to St. Peter, and what must continue to reside in his successors to the end of time, was a spiritual power. He constituted him Pastor over His entire flock, no one excepted: "Feed My lambs," "Feed My sheep." He gave him the keys of His Kingdom of Heaven. He

made him the Rock on which He would build His Church, and promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18). That spiritual power given to Peter and his successors, since it was not derived from man, may not be touched by any political power on earth.

But on the other hand, the Holy Father in his Encyclical Letter makes no less plain that within their own sphere all legitimate temporal rulers and magistrates in turn represent Christ, so that obedience accorded to them is in reality given to the one Divine Ruler, who alone is over all. However derived through the people, the authority of temporal superiors must ultimately flow from Him on whom all power was bestowed by the Father in heaven and on earth. This is clearly implied in the following words of the Encyclical Letter :

Now if rulers and magistrates, legitimately chosen, be convinced that they rule *not by their own right, but by the mandate and in the place of the Divine King*, is it not clear how holily and wisely they would use their authority, and how reasonable they would be in making and in executing laws for the common good and conformably to the human dignity of their subjects. From this the tranquillity of order would surely spring up, and with every source of sedition removed, become permanent.

For the citizen, who else would behold in his temporal rulers or magistrates merely men equal to himself by nature, and perhaps even in various ways "unworthy or censurable," will now, by the light of Faith, "perceive in them the image and authority of Christ, as God and Man."

So, therefore, the Church fully recognizes the Divine origin of the secular power in temporal and political matters, but she must equally insist on the full recognition of her divinely given rights within her own independent sphere. With apostolic freedom the Holy Father writes :

We must recall to mind that the Church, being constituted a perfect society by Christ, with a natural and unrelinquishable right of demanding full liberty and immunity from the civil powers in performing the duties divinely

committed to her, of teaching, ruling and leading to eternal happiness all those who are of Christ's Kingdom,—cannot be dependent on any foreign power.

From all that has been said one conclusion stands out plainly. It constitutes a perfect answer to the popular objection regarding the so called dual allegiance of Catholics. They owe a spiritual allegiance to the Pope, as Vicar of Christ, rendered to him in spiritual matters, and a temporal allegiance to their State, as delegated by Christ, and rendered to it in temporal matters. But no possible reason for any necessary conflict can exist here in these allegiances, since in each case the authority is derived from the same source, and in each case the obedience is ultimately given by the Catholic to the same universal Head, Christ the King.

The "dual allegiance" thus resolves itself into one single allegiance to Christ, whom the Catholic obeys in spiritual matters through submission to his spiritual authorities, and in temporal matters through submission to his temporal authorities. No other loyalty, civil or religious, can compare therefore with the exalted loyalty the Catholic is taught to practise towards State and Church alike, in his daily life.

The statement made from time to time that Catholics desire a union of Church and State in the United States themselves must in all reality seem to a Catholic too humorous for discussion. Catholics desire nothing more than the religious freedom guaranteed in the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Efforts for a union of Church and State are here purely on the Protestant and never on the Catholic side. What, for instance, except a union of Protestant Church and State, was the purpose of the Ku Klux Klan and of all similar societies that have constantly been springing up over the country, and in which unfortunately Protestant clergymen have often taken a leading part, however much the more liberal Protestants regretted this.

Nothing here is farther from my mind than to attack our Protestant fellow-citizens. I am merely forced to allude to these facts in rebutting the attack so absurdly

made against American Catholics. What, for instance, except a Protestant union of Church and State, is the following statement from the "Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," compiled by the Exalted Cyclops of Monroe Klan, No. 4, Realm of Louisiana, which may be taken as a model of all the religio-political aspirations of similar fellowships, past and present? The document reads:

We often boast that this is a Protestant nation. If this boast is to mean anything, the Protestant Christians of the United States must assert themselves. They must unite in one concerted effort to save America, or the time is rapidly approaching when we can no longer claim the United States as a Protestant nation. The Protestants must cooperate and coordinate their efforts not only along social and religious lines, *but in politics and business as well. . . . This Protestant nation must be preserved and it can be done only by seeing that none but Protestant Americans are on guard.*

This we know is no isolated example. Loads of literature with the same purport have been printed and scattered. They have but one significance, a Protestant union of Church and State in the United States.

I do not judge American Protestants by these un-American representatives. But we understand what efforts have been made by much more representative members to promote legislation of a strictly Protestant character, and to introduce the Protestant Bible into the public schools, while Protestant religious instruction itself has been urged and even introduced into such schools.

Again I repeat my purpose is not to attack anyone. I am merely answering the accusation that American Catholics are seeking for a union of Church and State, by showing that the only promoters of a union of Church and State in this country are all exclusively Protestant, and that not a few have centered all their efforts on this work, not in theory alone, but in cold practice. It matters not by what name they call it.

Priests and Religious, of course, do not forfeit any of their civic rights as citizens and voters. Yet the influence which they possess by reason of their religious

office may not be debased to promote the ends of party politics. Pointedly Archbishop Ireland remarked upon this subject :

I have no mission to give Catholics political counsel. In politics priests and laymen stand on the same ground as citizens and they vote as the judgment of each one dictates. I can only bid them to vote with intelligence, sincerity, honesty and fearlessness.

There may be times, however, when political issues trench upon the moral and religious field. It may then become necessary to do more than merely urge the regular and conscientious performance of civic duty at the ballot box. For this purpose, too, are priests set as pastors over their flocks that they may be as spiritual watchmen upon the towers of Sion. It is their duty to warn against whatever is noxious and perilous to religion and morality, whether in politics or elsewhere, and to rally the Faithful in defense against it. Such action is not to inject religion into politics, but to champion, as we are all bound to do, justice, charity and morality in public life.

Not merely priest and Religious, but the Catholic laity as well, will thus indirectly, through obedience to their conscience, exercise the influence of their Faith upon the political life of their day. It will be a chastening, elevating influence, lifting politics from the grime and dust into which party spoilsmen would drag it, into a serener atmosphere. The rule of Christ the King, let us remember, is not to be stayed by any political barriers.

Protestant clergymen are indeed the first to proclaim such motives for the freedom with which they enter upon political discussion or outright propaganda. Protestants, whether lay or clerical, are ceaselessly exercising what they themselves plainly describe as religious and moral influence upon the political life of their country.

We may at times have good reason for challenging the purity of such motives, but we cannot deny in the abstract the right of this indirect influence of conscience upon the legislative and executive bodies of the nation.

It is not merely a right, but a duty for Catholics to insist on the observance of high Christian principles in public and political as well as in private life.

As for direct influence, the Church herself seeks to keep apart even her works of charity and social justice from every least suspicion of political motives. I can cite no better example than that afforded by the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Christian Democracy.

The Catholic citizen engaged in the great social mission of the Church, conducted in the aid of the poor and of the working classes, is here regarded not in his civic capacity, as a voter or an office-holder, but purely as a member of the universal Church, helping in the performance of her Christ-like function of securing justice and charity for those in need of assistance. He comes as an agent of Christ's spiritual Kingdom.

Christian Democracy, we must explain, is a term employed in two important Papal documents to designate the Catholic social movement, or, as it has often been called, Christian popular action. One of the main questions touched upon in each instance is the relation of this movement to political activities in any country. In the first of the two documents in question, Pope Leo's Encyclical on "Christian Democracy," the great Pope of the workmen says:

It would be a crime to distort this name of Christian Democracy to politics. In its present application it is so to be employed that, removing from it all political significance, it is to mean nothing else than a benevolent Christian movement in behalf of the people. For the laws of nature and of the Gospel, which by right are superior to all human contingencies, are necessarily independent of all modifications of civic government, while at the same time they are in concord with everything, that is not repugnant to morality and justice. They are, therefore, and they must remain absolutely free from all political parties.

Such we are told has always been the disciple of the Church. To the same effect Pope Pius X wrote in his *Motu Proprio* on "Christian Popular Action," dealing with the same subject:

Christian Democracy ought never to mix in politics, and ought never to be made use of for party purposes, or political objects; that is not its province; but it should be a beneficent activity in favor of the people, founded on the natural laws, and the precepts of the Gospel.

This does not of course imply that the ballot is not to be used to bring about just and desirable social reforms. The very contrary is the fact. It is the obvious duty of every Christian to promote legislation that will reasonably advance the well-being of the great masses of the people. But such legislation, when promoted by Catholic organizations, must not be made subservient to political ends. That is the meaning of the Papal monition.

These clear statements, which are directive for all Catholic popular action, should be sufficient to silence the enemies of the Church who accuse her of political aspirations or intrigues. They show how even in the one work which brings the Church into closest contact not only with the spiritual but likewise with the social life of the masses, no slightest taint of suspicion can be cast upon the purity of her motives. It is all done, purely and solely in the service of Christ the King.

To guard, however, against the final misconception that Catholics, as individuals, are hampered in the exercise of full political liberty, let me give my final consideration to a practical exposition of the political duties of Catholics as citizens.

Catholics at the Ballot Box

NO subject calls for more earnest and serious consideration at the present day than the civic duties of Catholics. Not bullets but ballots are the determining force in a democracy. The first duty of every citizen is to learn the intelligent use of the great power of the vote entrusted to him or her. It is not a mere privilege, but a solemn obligation, entailing at times the most momentous consequences. It is, therefore, to be fulfilled religiously as well as prudently.

In the waiting line, drawn up before the closed booth where the destinies of a nation may often be decided, woman takes her place on equal terms with man. If once she had longed for this opportunity and perhaps fought for it as a sacred right, her desire has been achieved. If, on the contrary, she preferred to leave this responsibility to husband, son and brother, rather than directly take it upon her own conscience as well, then the vote has in all truth been thrust upon her. In either case there can now be but one attitude towards the ballot on the part of all Catholic women as of Catholic men, and that is to use it with the utmost intelligence, integrity and effectiveness for the promotion of the common good.

Men and women with false, immoral and socially pernicious principles to advocate will never miss an opportunity to enact them into laws by the election of their own representatives. Their opening battle is fought at the polls, and is followed up by a ceaseless bombardment of letters, warnings and threats to public officials until, finally, their end has been attained. Christian men and women, on the contrary, too often neglect their great and sacred duty to city, State and nation, or perform it with but little political knowledge, earnestness and conviction. When, then, they suddenly awake to find their rights and liberties trampled under

foot, they may cry aloud, but their remonstrance comes too late. They have been unfaithful stewards of a mighty trust that was confided to them for the welfare of Church and State, and by their negligence they have betrayed them both alike.

The only object Catholics are to have in view is the selection of the candidate best fitted for any given office. If Catholic voters have a duty to avert any injustice that might be done to rightful Catholic interests, they are here making no exception in favor of their Church, since they have precisely the same duty towards every other institution within the State. Nor is this obligation peculiar to them. Exactly the same obligation of safeguarding all rightful Catholic interests, together with those of every other organization, devolves upon the non-Catholic voter. But the point is that if Catholics will permit the just rights of their own Church to be flouted, how can they expect non-Catholics to rise up in the defense of them?

Catholic voters who tolerate such things may often be Catholic in name only. The net of the Church, Christ tells us, is filled with good fish and bad alike, and in the wheat-field of God the weeds grow up with the grain. On the last day only will the Angels sort the good from the bad, the thistle from the golden harvest yield. The unworthy, time-serving Catholic we shall always have with us, a stumbling-block in our way.

But, if we charitably consider the number of Catholics in our midst who are truly evil as small, we cannot deny that the number of those who are lax and indifferent is often very great. They blindly follow in the trodden path and do not look forward to see the consequences of their action. They insist on their own private differences rather than unite for the common good. They fail entirely to acquaint themselves with the Catholic attitude towards the vital problems and questions of the day.

To not a few of these Catholic literature is practically unknown. The Catholic press remains unread

by them or perhaps is dropped at the slightest provocation because of an article or editorial crossing their private, nationalistic or political views, while these same people will permit their secular paper to insult their Faith at will. We all know these Catholics. Telling action at the ballot box for right and justice, where most sacred interests are concerned, need hardly be looked for from them.

There is still a third class of Catholics, good and devout people, who love their Church, but who have never been properly instructed to realize the significance of the vote. It is purely a question of ignorance, for which, however, there should no longer be any excuse.

Catholic teachers and religious leaders have a sacred obligation to impress upon Catholic men and women alike the supreme importance of the ballot. They should be taught to cast their vote, not merely when great issues seem to be at stake, but always, and with the same regularity with which they attend to their religious and domestic duties. Issues of sufficient importance are at stake in every election. Men who neglect their civic obligations in little things cannot be counted upon to fulfil them in great things.

How much of the persecution and pillage of the Church in the world today is due to the negligence of indifferent Catholics or the ignorance of perhaps good Catholics!

The defense of the just rights of the Church is, of course, but one of many civic duties incumbent upon Catholics. The Catholic Faith is a social Faith, in the sense that it teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves. Our first duty, indeed, is the salvation and sanctification, by the grace of God, of our own individual souls. But the important lesson taught us by Our Lord is to remember also and at all times our fellow-man. "*Our Father,*" we are taught to pray.

How little even the best of men penetrate into the full significance of their relations towards their fellow-men seems to be indicated by Our Lord when He pictures the bewilderment of the just themselves at the

Judgment Day when He bids them come with Him into the Kingdom prepared for them, since, when He was hungry they gave Him to eat, when He was thirsty they gave Him to drink, when a stranger they took Him into their homes, when naked they clothed Him, and when sick or in prison they visited Him. "Amen, I say to you," He graciously explains to them, "as long as you did it to one of these My least brethren, you did it to Me."

But, if we have such imperative duties towards our fellow-man when he is in actual want and affliction, can we fail to comprehend the duties we have to prevent these evils from coming upon him, so far as that is possible? The greater charity is not in giving clothing, food and medicine to those in suffering, necessary and meritorious as such actions will always be, but in helping to bring about conditions which will remove, to the utmost extent, the causes of this suffering. The physical evils in this world, let us well understand, are largely such as might easily have been avoided.

Was the great World War necessary? Were its dire consequences necessary, when the war itself had been fought? Are all the poverty, misery and starvation, due to strikes, lock-outs, unemployment and foreseen financial crises necessary? Are the labor of children, the unnatural strain placed upon women in many employments, the long hours, the under-nourishment, the occupational diseases, the tens of thousands of industrial accidents all necessary? Most surely not!

Why, then, do all these things come about? There may be many reasons, but not the least of them may be because men and women neglect their civic obligations. Social studies do not interest them. Politics they leave to the politicians. So it comes about that no remedy is found for insufferable economic and political conditions.

Catholics, as a body, are still far too negligent fully, or even indifferently, to acquaint themselves with the momentous social, political and industrial problems facing us. For the majority, it would seem that even

such questions as protective legislation for women, minimum-wage laws, unemployment, Government ownership and control, and similar topics, are of interest only when directly touching their own personal welfare. On all these questions the Catholic view-point should be familiar. But how are they to acquire this except by their familiarity with Catholic literature and the best Catholic journals treating the problems of the day?

Then, there are all the questions of civic morality, of marriage and birth-control, and the dangers to the virtue of the homeless girl and the working girl, all of which may, in one way or another, be involved in the vote, not to mention the two extremes: special privilege and Socialism. Even to attempt to enumerate the variety and multiplicity of subjects that may in turn be proposed for our consideration and action as citizens of a democracy would lead us far afield.

Then, too, the character and quality of political candidates for office must be taken into account. If we are betrayed by politicians, if economic conditions are not improved where this would be possible, if, with their connivance or through their inactivity, capitalistic employers and corporations continue without impediment to skim the cream of our national prosperity at the expense of the public, we ourselves are to blame for having put these men into office. They have promised well in their preelection speeches, but all politicians are sure to do this. The question was to decide upon the character of these prospective servants of the people before committing our welfare and that of the commonwealth into their hands.

It is not easy, I fully admit, to make the proper selection of men, as it is not easy to determine which measures, social, economic, financial, commercial, or industrial will promote the best interests of the city or the State. The wisest may be deceived. We can but do our own humble best, according to each one's limited time and opportunity. Nothing more is required of us. But the danger, already pointed out by me, is precisely that while fanatics will canvass the country for votes

and will flood the offices of Senators and Congressmen, with letters, appeals, threats and formidable lists of signatures in favor of their noxious laws and measures, good people are apt to go on quietly, looking to their personal affairs, until suddenly, like a cataclysm, they find the unexpected has come to pass and they are hopelessly subject to a legislation perhaps equally un-Christian and undemocratic. A competent Catholic leadership is, of course, required to give a timely warning.

Let me conclude with the words of Pope Pius X describing, in his Encyclical on "Catholic Social Action," our social and civic duties. Catholic social action, he says, ought not only to be adapted to actual social needs, but "invigorated by all the practical methods furnished at the present day by progress in social and economic studies, by experience already gained elsewhere, by the condition of civil society, and even by the public life of States."

If methods are not brought up to the very best and recent knowledge of the day, he continues, they may often be wasteful of energy or unsuited to the times, "or finally there will be the danger of stopping half-way by not using, in the measure in which they are granted, those rights of citizenship which modern constitutions offer to all." And speaking of the public opportunities afforded us he says most pertinently:

It is certain that the present constitution of States offers to all without distinction the power of influencing public opinion, and Catholics, while recognizing the obligations imposed by the law of God and the precepts of the Church, may with safe conscience enjoy this liberty, and prove themselves capable, as much, and even more than others, of cooperating in the material and civil well-being of the people, thus acquiring that authority and respect which may make it even possible for them to defend and promote a higher good, namely, that of the soul. These civil rights are many and various, going so far as directly to share in the political life of the country by representing the people in the legislature.—*Encyclical on Christian Social Action.*

The Pope therefore desires that Catholics, like other

citizens, should "prudently and seriously" prepare themselves for their electoral duties wherever such are incumbent upon them, in order that so they may contribute their own share to the common good and aid to lift up civic and national morality to the high plane of Gospel principles. For this great and unselfish work no one is better prepared than the men and women trained in religious schools to know and observe in all perfection the duties they owe to God, their neighbor and themselves. Such was the ideal of the founders of the American Republic.

But of the Catholic who actually occupies public position the Holy Father adds that he must show his true Catholicism by the conscientious fulfilment of all his political duties, and the faithful advancement of the common good in every action.

He should remember above all things to be and to show himself, in all circumstances, a true Catholic, undertaking and fulfilling public duties with the firm and constant intention of promoting as much as he can the social and economic welfare of his country, especially of the people, according to the maxims of a distinctly Christian civilization, at the same time defending the supreme interests of the Church, which are those of religion and justice.

Such Catholics in public office will be a glory to their country and a credit to their Church. They will be a mighty power for good, the fearless champions of the poor and the oppressed, and the saviors of Christian civilization in an age that needs such men. But men and women, rich and poor, we must all seek to perform to the best of our power the civic duties that rest upon us, to promote the welfare of our country and defend against all dangers and attacks the just and inviolable rights of the Church.

VI

Testimony of Great Americans

Washington

Words addressed by him "To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America":

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 your Government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed. . . . May the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.—*George Washington, March 12, 1790.*

Words from "Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States":

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.

The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked: where is the security, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?

And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

Golden words of gratitude to the Catholics of the United States from the Father of their country:

Instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our (Catholic' brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy.—*George Washington, November 5, 1775.*

Lincoln

When the Know-Nothing movement set its un-American example for all the later organizations of bigotry in the United States, Abraham Lincoln thus wrote to Joshua F. Speed:

I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone 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, 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.—"*Complete Works of Lincoln*," Nicolay and Hay, II, 1.287.

Regarding the bogus quotation ascribed to Lincoln and taken from a forged anti-Catholic letter in which he is made to speak of a "dark cloud" coming from Rome, Ida Tarbell wrote in the *N. Y. American*, December 12, 1922: "I searched the records in Washington and elsewhere for everything possible that could bear on the life of Lincoln, and know of no such narrow utterance ever made by him." Here is the letter Robert Lincoln, son of Abraham Lincoln, wrote to Anthony Matre, then Secretary of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, under date of November 4, 1912:

Dear sir: In reply to your inquiry respecting the authenticity of an *alleged quotation* of my father in an anti-Catholic circular enclosed by you, I never before heard of it or anything like it. An examination of indexes to his papers and letters discloses no authority for it, and I have no doubt that it is a simple invention from beginning to end.—*Robert Lincoln*.

The reckless effort to resuscitate this horrid forgery was a new attempt to assassinate Lincoln, not now in the flesh, but in his honor.

Webster

Words taken from a speech by Daniel Webster, at the New England Society's Dinner, December, 1854:

We are Protestants, generally speaking, but we all know that the gentleman who presides at the head of the Supreme Judicature of the United States is a Roman Catholic. No man supposes that the judicature of the country is less safe or that justice is dispensed with less certainty and purity because the chief justice is a sincere and ardent adherent of the Catholic religion. And so in every department of society. In both Houses of Congress, in all departments of the Government, Catholics and Protestants of all denominations take part on equal terms.

Still other notable documents might be added but these will suffice to make plain the attitude of great Americans towards their Catholic fellow-citizens.



“Flag of My Native Land”

(Written by Father Constantine Pise, who died in 1866)

They say I do not love thee,
Flag of my native land,
Whose meteor-folds above me
To the free breeze expand;
Thy broad stripes proudly streaming,
And thy stars so brightly beaming.

They say I would forsake thee,
Should some dark crisis lower;
That, recreant, I should make thee
Crouch to a foreign power;
Seduced by license ample,
On thee, blest flag, to trample.

False are the words they utter,
 Ungenerous their brand,
And rash the oaths they mutter,
 Flag of my native land;
While still, in hope, above me
Thou wavest—and I love thee.

They say that bolts of thunder,
 Hurl'd by the Pontiff's hand,
May rive and bring thee under,
 Flag of my native land,
And with one blow dissever
My heart from thee forever.

God's is my love's first duty,
 To whose eternal name
Be praise for all thy beauty,
 Thy grandeur and thy fame;
But ever have I reckoned
Thine, native Flag, it's second.

Woe to the foe or stranger
 Whose sacrilegious hand
Would touch thee or endanger,
 Flag of my native land!
Though some would fain discard thee,
Mine should be raised to guard thee.

Then wave, thou first of banners,
 And in thy genial shade
Let creeds, opinions, manners,
 In love and peace be laid;
And there, all discord ended,
Our hearts and souls be blended.

Stream on, stream on before us,
 Thou labarum of light,
While in one general chorus
 Our vows to thee we plight;
Unfaithful to thee, Never!
My country's Flag forever!

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