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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

ONE of Omaha's bankers is the authority for the statement that W. A. L. Gibbons, S. J., will not bother the A. P. A. much hereafter.

We can conceive of nothing which be of more interest in this department than a letter from W. J. H. Traynor. It reads as follows:

The following is a proof of an open letter addressed to me by J. G. Burchfield, Esq., of Washington, D. C.:

Hon. W. J. H. Traynor—Sir: The recent victory won by our friends in the field of politics was such as to inspire confidence in the efficiency of the American Protective Association as a political agency for the control of elections, and hence there has been a very strong temptation in the minds of many public men to convert it into a party for the administration of government—a temptation which seems to have reached even yourself.

My great respect for your sagacity, as well as for your sincere devotion to the principles of our order has made me hesitate to enter into any controversy with you on this subject; but from mature reflection I am constrained at last to dissent from your opinion; for while I realize that our principles are just and imperishable, I also realize that, taken in their broadest sense, they are not sufficient to form the basis of a practical administrative agency, for the manifest reason that they do not cover the field of finance and taxation, and that whenever the tariff question or the silver question is taken up for the purpose of settlement, by our order, as it must be if we enter upon public administration, or seek to do so, strife and disruption will follow as surely and rapidly as thunder follows lightning.

Some of us are free traders and others protectionists, while others still favor the single tax theory of Mr. George. Some are advocates of bimetalism, and others of monometalism. Some favor the policy of internal improvements by the general government, and others oppose that policy. How, then, can we hope to formulate a scheme of political economy upon which all can agree? The followers of Mr. Wilson and those of Mr. McKinley are sure to come into conflict, not only with each other, but with those of Mr. George. Those who adhere to Mr. Sherman's views as to banking and currency, will fail to see any merit in the system advocated by Senator Jones. What magic, what alchemy, have we whereby to amalgamate these heterogeneous elements into a homogeneous body? Is it possible to reconcile them? What sort of economic platform, then, shall we adopt? Shall we ignore all the questions of practical government? 'Tis absurd to think of that. A political party is a positive force. It must forecast some definite plan for administering public business, some plan of dealing with money and trade, with production and consumption; and all of these lie entirely outside the limits of the policy prescribed by our order. Shall we extend those limits? I am opposed to any such proposition. By acting upon it we should not only lose one-half or two thirds of our membership, but would also alienate the Masons and the Protestant clergy, who are our ablest allies. The papists know this, and hence the shrewdest of their leaders, like Patrick Ford and Archbishop Ireland, have advised their friends to pursue a course calculated to bring about the very thing which you propose—a distinct American, anti-papist party. In the *Irish World* of the 10th inst., Mr. Ford, writing under the head, "Don't Play Into the Enemy's Hands," advises Catholics to pursue a policy which will tend to the segregation of our friends from the great political parties, and the retention of the papist hold upon both the Democratic and Republican organizations. He says:

"The proper way to have treated these A. P. A. pests would have been to have let them severally alone and so have compelled them to flock together. But, instead of adopting this course, politicians in both the great parties secretly sought A. P. A. alliance and support. This fact is well known. Religious bigotry and religious bigots are not confined to the Republican or Democratic ranks. The A. P. A. is perfectly aware of this fact, and, therefore, in politics is neither Republican or Democratic. It is either one or the other, as circumstances vary.

The Democrat and Republican parties never merge, because they are kept apart by policies radically different. The A. P. A. can merge with either of these parties, because it believes that its programme of making war on Catholics is the paramount issue, and that all others are of secondary importance. Hence its willingness to throw its strength in favor of free trade, or against free trade, according as it be-

lieves that its so doing will help on the the proscription policy it advocates.

While in Michigan it supported the Democratic candidate for governor, in other places it voted for Republican candidates. In Massachusetts the Democrats during the whole campaign tried to make it appear that the Republican party in that state had a monopoly of A. P. A. support. In an A. P. A. rally held at Lowell on the eve of the election, the principal speaker, Rev. C. Raboteau, took occasion to deny this Democratic statement about the A. P. A. bigots being grouped exclusively under the Republican standard. Here is the way in which he refuted the charge the un-American bigots had foisted into one political organization:

"Some of the Democratic papers say that the A. P. A. is an appendage of the Republican party. I do not know, then, where I come in, for I am a Democrat. They do not know how many good, staunch Democrats in Lowell belong to the order. They are cutting off their own heads while they are meeting in caucus and denouncing some of their own leaders."

We submit that this is pretty good evidence that, notwithstanding the Democratic assertions, the A. P. A. has made a lodgement in the Massachusetts Democracy. And so it is in other states. Take for instance Tennessee. In eastern Tennessee, where there is a Republican majority, the A. P. A. is attached itself to the Republican party; in western Tennessee, where there is a Democratic majority, it allied itself with the Democratic party.

Let us, then, view the A. P. A. as it really is. Denouncing it as an annex of this or that political party may serve the purpose of politicians whose main aim is to get votes, but such denunciations will serve no other purpose. Honest men want to have the truth about the A. P. A. Now, the naked truth about this organization is that it is non-partisan, so far as the Republican and Democrat parties are concerned. It is well to keep this fact in mind when the A. P. A. is in question.

We Catholics would be playing into the hands of the A. P. A., if, as a body, we antagonized either one or the other of the great political parties on the ground that it is co-operating with the bigots who are seeking to raise an issue which should never have any place in our politics. A Republican or Democrat who seeks to advance the aims and objects of A. P. A. by that fact proclaims himself recreant to the avowed principles of his own party, and should be regarded and treated as such, if he ever presents himself as a candidate for public office.

This will be an effective way of purging both parties of A. P. A. If treated in this manner, the anti-Catholic and un-American bigots will be forced to organize as a separate political party, and that will be the beginning of the end so far as A. P. A. is concerned. In the meantime, do not let us play into the hands of the enemy by proclaiming that he is the honored ally of any political organization."

This so-called church has won innumerable victories which it never could have won except by putting its men on guard in both the contending armies. Every Democratic victory in a national election since 1870, and almost every Republican victory has been as much victory for the papists, as the result of the last election was a victory for the A. P. A. We have so far simply adopted their system of conclaves and their system of distributing our forces; and we have beaten them with their own tactics and strategy. At the last election they lost their heads under the influence of Satolli and so they "flocked together" in one party and were overwhelmed. Archbishop Ireland had warned them against that course. Just before the election he said:

"I would have the church wrapped up in no one political party, whichever it be. She cannot afford to be put in political antagonism to another party. I would not have her exclusively Republican. I would not have it exclusively Democratic." And in the same vein Patrick Ford pleaded as follows:

"If we solidify ourselves in any one party, will not that very fact arouse suspicion in the minds of non-Catholics? If we were wise in this respect, no such movement as that of the A. P. A. could ever gain ground."

Now, sir, whenever the papists establish or adopt a separate party at which we can strike a definite blow, it will be time enough for us to establish or a lost a separate party. After the 4th of next March we shall have the balance of power in both branches of congress and that is all we need. We can secure what legislation we may demand, and we can also secure our due proportion of federal patronage.

But by flocking together in a new party, we should lose prestige entirely. We should forfeit that reputation for sagacity which was so well earned in

the late campaign. The fate of the Know-nothing party would overtake us. Let us go on in the path of virtue. *Macte Virtute, sic itur ad astra!* Let us crystallize into law the propositions on which we won the elections of November 6th. Let us expel Satolli and the Jesuits from our soil, and by such means, operating in the councils of the different parties, with one common purpose, diffuse and perpetuate through them all the jealous love of home and flag and native land. Respectfully,

J. G. BURCHFIELD.

President Advisory Board.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 19, 1894.

J. G. Burchfield, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir, Esteemed Friend and Patriot:—It would indeed be strange if among the large membership of the American Protective Association there should not be some disagreement as to methods, even though there be perfect unanimity as to the ends to be attained; it is therefore with more than ordinary respect for your sagacity and prudence, and respectful attention to the arguments which you advance in support of the position you have taken with reference to my public letter of the 13th inst. that I take up my pen to reply to you.

It would seem, my dear friend, that what was discussed by me in a purely subjunctive mood, has been misconstrued indicatively. I have neither the right nor the power to convert the American Protective Association into "a party for the administration of government." My position can only be of an advisory nature in the matter, and executive only within the lines laid down by the Supreme Council at Des Moines. A re-reading of my communication of the 13th should convince you that the paragraphs to which you take particular exception are purely advisory and read thus:

Republicanism, Democracy, Populism and Prohibition played less a part in the issue than self-seeking professional politicians would have the world believe. While the papacy and party machines were looking for tools, Americans were looking for honest men. When they found them, they elected them, independent of party or personal friendship. And let the organization serve notice upon the Republican party, and, indeed, upon all political bodies, that unless, as parties, they abandon their present system of trucking to the papacy and corporaion cliques, as they have trucked in the past; unless they have the courage to openly meet the members of our order as such, they will be buried beneath an avalanche of American votes, wielded by a genuinely American party, composed of the honest, fearless men from all existing political bodies, who love their country first, and party last of all.

There is a clamor in this direction which will not be stilled or quieted, and only needs a spark, such as the injustice done by the Republican leaders of this state towards Mr. Crump, to fire the train which shall blow party rings and party leaders into everlasting obscurity.

That the admonition was warranted by facts, not even the most warm partisan will deny, and knowing the growing feeling of indignation that is taking possession of the patriotic organizations of this country over the treatment accorded them by party leaders and partisan politicians who have been elected chiefly by the patriotic vote. I should have been neglectful of that duty to which I have pledged myself had I halted for a moment in what was to me my plain path of duty, or expressed myself less forcibly upon the contemptuous, insulting and dishonest attitude assumed by partisan leaders, organs and machine politicians towards the organization to which you and I, sir, have the honor to be members. There was a time when I, like yourself, believed that the parties might be reformed and purged of the rottenness and corruption which pervaded them, but the experience of years in the ranks and as an officer of the A. P. A., and many more in other patriotic fields have largely modified that belief, and I am now well assured that such reforms as patriotism advocates must be wrung—not begged—from the party leaders.

Yet, even were it within my province to organize the American Protective Association into a distinctly political party, and were I inclined to do so, I must confess that the reasons which you oppose to such an end do not appear to me as conclusive as arguments must be to convince me that a purely American party is not a successful possibility.

I would impress upon you, first, that the principles of our grand organization cover the broadest of political territory and do not exclude from their scope one or more new political organizations, if the welfare of the nation demand them. A reference to the ritual of the order will, I believe, convince you of the fact that we are not hedged nor fenced in by an irremovable barrier to

progress. Another reference to the ritual will, I am convinced, show you that the noble founders of our order based their work upon the possibility of the existing parties becoming so corrupt as to be ultimately unendurable to honorable Americans.

That the Republican—like the Democratic party—has, as a party, formed most unpatriotic and un-American alliances with the heads of the papacy, and that they have been little less culpable than the leaders of Democracy and with far less reason, the records of the party prove beyond the shadow of a doubt. It is less than two years since the chairman of the Republican party was a papist in close communion with the leaders of the papacy, while the federal appointments of the last Republican party show a list of as unpatriotic and politically immoral appointees as ever disgraced the records of a nation, and it is not necessary to go farther than Pat Egan for an example of the Republican appointee.

When you assert that the principles of our organization are not sufficient to form the basis of a practical administrative agency, I am again forced to disagree with you. If your premises were logical there would today be no American republic, for when the American revolution was conceived in the minds of the immortal fathers of the republic, there was not at that time the vestige of a platform upon which to base the form of "a practical administrative agency, for the reason that they (did) not cover the field of finance and taxation."

The root and the leaves do not appear in the seed; they are not the development thereof.

Your remarks under this head would imply that the elements of statesmanship are lacking in the organization, a proposition with which I so far disagree as to maintain that within the order are more competent statesmen—taking integrity, patriotism and ability as a desideratum—than there are without. I could name prominent workers in the order in almost every state, who are fitted by birth, education, ability and integrity to fill the highest positions in the gift of the American people; men of entirely opposite political affiliations, who, if gathered into conference, would speedily reach a rational and wise conclusion upon all questions of national importance which at present agitate the public mind and oppress the business of the republic.

This assertion, though it may appear Utopian upon its surface, is, in reality, based upon practical grounds. It is less lack of ability than dishonesty that has prostituted the politics of the country for the past eighty years. Where patriotism is the sole stimulant, grave problems are speedily solved, even as they were in the first immortal congress. Questions equally as vital to the public weal as the Wilson bill, Mr. Sherman's money issue and the McKinley bill, were discussed and speedily disposed of then, because the motive power was loyalty—devotion—self-sacrifice.

A revolution no less real because it is moral rather than physical, is going on today, in which all loyal men are taking part.

That there is a McKinley bill and a Wilson bill; a Sherman issue and a Senator Jones issue; a Henry George propaganda and a Coxe movement, is due to the fact—not that they are necessary and must always be bowed to in their perpetuation, but rather that these issues represent the result of class legislation. All of them are founded more or less upon that dishonesty which is based upon selfishness—the desire of one class to enrich itself at the expense of other classes. This sentiment has been fostered by the partisan leaders until truth and honesty have been lost sight of in the deal.

To WIN, not to LEGISLATE, has been the spirit that has animated and still animates the machine politician until the interests of classes—of trusts and monopolies, have become so entangled in the political affairs of the parties that dismemberment would mean the death of the party attempting it.

"To the victor belongs the spoils" is the slogan of all parties to the exclusion of almost every other sentiment. The parties are responsible for the present condition of the country, and I have yet to satisfy myself wherein they merit either forbearance or respect at the hands of our order. While they break faith with us upon every hand and would crush us where they cannot rule it. I make this assertion in the full conviction of knowledge which my position in the American Protective Association affords me, and I am not prepared to chide or to endeavor to suppress the cry which greets me upon all hands from men who all their lives have been bound in the chains of partisanship to monstrous Jugernauts, and

now seek emancipation, with no better reason than POLICY to move me, and if I am correctly informed, those in our order who would sacrifice principle to policy are greatly in the minority.

You ask me, sir, "what magic, what alchemy," I propose to use to amalgamate the heterogeneous elements of the A. P. A. I reply, the magic of patriotism, of honor, of self-sacrifice—qualities almost entirely absent in the policy of existing parties; the patriotism which moved the fathers of the republic to place principle before policy in the face of almost sure destruction; that honor which made them choose death as a welcome alternative to disgrace; the self-sacrifice which prompted the mother and wife to send husband and son as a sacrifice to the Moloch of war. That we have such heroes today may be well exemplified by glancing over the list of those thousands of our membership who have ruined themselves and braved the papal boycott that the order might live and true Americanism prevail. The magic which places the Democrat shoulder to shoulder with the Republican, Populist and Prohibitionist in the council chamber in a common cause, will never be lacking when they meet in legislative halls. The alchemy of patriotism is the touchstone of their worth.

You quote a number of extracts from the public press, which prove nothing beyond the fact that newspapers frequently lie—as to the paragraph relating to the governor of Michigan—and make the inference that as papists have taken the initiative in intriguing with corrupt politicians of both parties, that it is an initiative which the American Protective Association is bound to follow if it would succeed, an inference with which I am far from being in accord, my friend. With me, it would rather have the effect of impelling me to an opposite course. Holding a candle to the devil is a timeworn axiom which does not enter into my philosophy, and I think the diplomacy unsafe which would bring our order into treaty relations with those political bodies which your quoted arguments prove are inextricably involved to a greater or less degree with the papacy and its servants.

You infer again the A. P. A. is an organization of purely negative effect. Herein I again differ with you, and send you to your ritual for proof. Find if you can, any declaration more positive than that which obligates you to use every factor within your power to the end that honest, clean principles and government shall prevail.

That those intelligent and patriotic members of the American public who are not members of patriotic orders and who now support the principles of the A. P. A. and cast their votes in accordance therewith, would assume an opposite position if the organization were a political party, is a deduction drawn, it seems to me, from anything but a consistent source. Those citizens, whose votes are worth having and who support us at present upon principle, are not liable to desert us because our principles are transplanted from the closed council chamber to the open arena of politics. I for one, am not ashamed of our platform, nor do I feel alarm that it will fail to meet the shock of political trial in the light of day equally as well as it has met it within its sacred birth-place, the council chamber. If our principles are just and patriotic, they will stand, no matter whether their abiding place be in the halls of congress or the darkest cavern in earth's center. If they are less than we claim for them, they will not survive though they be cushioned in cloth of gold and set with precious gems. I believe that I voice the sentiments of the vast majority of our noble order when I assert that I have no fear as to the result of the test; were it otherwise I should not now be a member of the American Protective Association.

In conclusion let me repeat what I asserted in the opening of this letter; my argument is hypothetical merely; I have not publicly urged the formation of a new party, whatever my private sentiments upon the subject may be, nor have I permitted my private sentiments to enter into the discharge of my functions as supreme president of the order. From my present position I am able to feel the public pulse, and more especially the pulse of the patriotic organizations. It is within the scope of my duty to relate to my constituents the results of my observations, and I repeat to the leaders of the parties that their duplicity and dishonesty are arousing a spirit in the American people at large which, if persisted in, will sweep from politics the old parties, even as George Washington and his brother patriots drove back to Europe King George and his armies. To the supreme council at Milwaukee will belong the right to determine what relationship, if any, the A. P. A. shall bear to existing parties and whether or

not a new party is desirable. It is mine only to steer by the chart and record the result of my observations, and at the same time secure a consensus of opinion from all parts of the United States as to the spirit which animates the order throughout the country. By those means only can we arrive at the conclusions of the majority, and to these conclusions I presume that you, my dear friend, like myself, will bow.

This controversy, begun in so gentle and amicable a manner by yourself, will not, I trust, end here, but will be taken up in a manner equally as well timed and judiciously by the patriotic press throughout the country, to the end that public sentiment be probed to the bottom. Yours faithfully,

W. J. H. TRAYNOR.

DETROIT, November 24th.

The Missionary Post Preacher's Experience With The N. P. R. R. Officials.

Rev. G. W. Bemis sends us an item clipped from the *Oakdale, Neb., Sentinel*. He accompanies it with the statement that the Northern Pacific makes a practice of boycotting Protestant ministers. This is not to be wondered at as the greatest Roman of them all, Jim Hill, is at the head of the system, unless we are wrongly informed. The item reads as follows:

I appeared in person at the general office, St. Paul, for a half fare permit. Was informed after showing my permits over eight or ten different R. R.'s that I would have to show some other credentials. I went to the depot and got my appointment as helper in the mission work by Hickerson, D. D., LL.D. Seattle, Wash. The substitute for an agent took it and went into another room and pretended to show it to Fee. Came out and said he would give me a half fare ticket to Verdale where I have a brother-in-law who is a banker and where I had got the permit for 1893 that the agent at St. Paul saw and took up. I went to Verdale; the agent there sent for a permit as usual, and in four days said that Fee wanted to know what church I belonged to, after he was supposed to have read my appointment and the M. Protestant church printed in full. Agent at Verdale wrote back; I started west and the permit overlooked me at Mapleton, Minn. I got a ticket to Dady, Minn., and the agent there said he had orders to take up my ticket and send it back to Fee. He took up the ticket and wrote, or pretended to write back to Fee, and said he would see if the ticket could not be sent to me at Jamestown, N. Dakota. The agent at Jamestown said Fee telegraphed to him to have me give him recommends in St. Paul. I told agent to tell Fee to keep his permits as there are other railroads in the United States. It seems that the officials and most of the agents of the Northern Pacific railroad are Roman Catholics and are opposed to giving Protestant preachers half fare permits.

N. B.—The thirty pieces of silver perished with Judas. Silver and gold will cause many railroad men to lose their souls. My STATEMENT: I was appointed four years ago as helper in the mission work. Have my will made at Dayton, Washington, in favor of the missionary work of Japan to the ministerial department. I pay my own expenses teaching painting on silk, and all I do for the missionary work is gratis. I fill appointments where there is a vacancy and preach for different denominations as I believe in the Union of all christians and take up a collection for the church I preach for, to be put in the missionary fund.

REV. G. W. BEMIS.

No Use for Rome.

LAKE LEWEN, Mich. Nov. 19, 1894—You will find an order for one dollar for your paper for six months. Send one or two of your old papers with election news in if you can. We have not got any A. P. A. councils around here, but we need them all right. I think the A. P. A. a grand order. I almost got myself into trouble in this Catholic town standing up for the order. The sample copies you sent me some time ago were given away. I have no earthly use for the Catholic church. What we want to do as Protestants is, stand like the brave with our face to the foe and we will come out all right. I believe in free schools and a compulsory education where only the English language is taught, and the freedom which every American citizen should have, and that is what I am going to stand up for and fight for, and die for if it need be. Yours for the good of the grand cause you are fighting. * * *

The Patriotic Daughters of America will give a Progressive High Five Party, at the G. A. R. hall, 118 North 15th street, Wednesday evening, Dec. 5th, 1894, to which all friends of the order are cordially invited to attend. Refreshments will be served, and a good time is anticipated. Admission 20 cents.