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If there are twelve Americans reading this paper, members of the A P. A., Orangemen, or Protestants who any sect; but the Roman Catholic would like to associate with us in busi- church is, distinctively, historically, a ness, they should take advantage of political organization. Politics and this offer. It will be their last opportunity. If not sold by March 10, 1895, the offer will be withdrawn, and stock the governments as a political potensold to present members of the com- tate, having a voice in shaping the pany. Do you want to put \$100.00 of political destinies of European nations. your money into this fight for your lib- The papal organization itself is modeled erties and your country? Address

AMERICAN PUBLISHING Co., 1615 Howard Street.

and they should never quit fighting exercises control over the political rethey contribute their hard carned money they have a right to know where it goes. It is not their duty to work, pay and pray while allowing the bishops to handle the cash.

MEMBERS of the A. P. A., in fact all patriots, will be pleased to learn that Rev. Wm. P. Murray, will deliver a sermon Sunday evening, Feb., 24, 1895. on "Washington." His church-Hanscom Park M. E. church, cor. 29th and ing his own personal preference and Woolworth-should be filled to overflowing, as he is one of the ablest and in political matters, seeking to promote most elequent preachers in the city.

fail to hear Col. Henry S. Hilton, who under a compact organization, standing speaks in the First Baptist church, cor. together, voting together, seeking to H & south 16 h st, Sunday, morning secure advantages for the Roman Cath and evening. Col. Hill on was associated olic church out of the political condiwith Rev. J. Q. A. Henry in the fight tious in this country, they at once subfor Americanism in San Francisco last ject themselves to the challenge of year and comes to this county covered patriotism. with the laurels so honorably won in a When Roman Catholics, simply befight against municipal corruption. His cause they are Roman Catholics, and subject will be, "All things are yours." without regard for their fitness, are

from members of the A. P. A. asking the national, state and municipal offices us to withdraw Mr. Kelley from Chic- when it is understood that Roman against C. P. Johnson. As Mr. Kelley the disposal of those candidates for informs us that he is still an A. P. A., office wao, directly or indirectly, in and as he denies the charge that the money or in other ways, will pay the Loyal Patriotic League, of which he is highest price for them; when the Roalso a member, had denounced the A. man Catholic church boldly and openly P. A., we can see no good reason why and almost unanimously allies itself we should disturb him at this time. If with one political party, and seeks our friends feel that Kelley's connecthrough that party to gain for itself tion with the paper in Chicago will advantages at the expense of other deprevent their supporting THE AMERI- nominations; when the church identifies CAN, they can have their paper discon- itself with a disreputable political ring. tinued by paying all arrearages. We such as Tammany Hall, and fattens on are not rich, but no man or set of men the ill gotten gains of blackmail and can dictate either the policy or the corruption, as has been shown by the management of this paper. The only Lexow committee: when the church is thing they can do is to withdraw their able to secure for its schools and charpatronage, which those feeling dis- itable institutions millions of dollars tend it. His action in this matter gave editor of THE AMERICAN is an Americities and out of the state treasuries; can, and he asks nothing but fair treat- when the church is able, by its organ- tion, and attracted large public attenment, and that he is able to secure by ized lobby and its political influence, to tion. Among the reasons urged by manner, and the support of dishonor- millions of dollars for the carrying on by him were the following: able men he does not want.

of yours may be waiting for just such seriously, the welfare of the nation. tending to fit them for citizenship, were send the paper to an acquaintance.

United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs From 1889 to 1893,

Contributes This Very Interesting Article on "The Papacy and the Indians."

One of the greatest contests of the ievalism; between republicanism and despotism; between Americanism and to work among the Indians, and no fair is continental; the parties engaged in them whatever meed of praise may be it number more than seventy million our own nation, the republic of the United States, and its ultimate effects forever. The issues of civilization are involved. It is of the highest importance that every lover of truth, every every well-wisher of the race, should understand the significance of the contest, and be prepared to take his stand of the right.

THE PATRIOTIC ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE.

The object of this paper is to set forth clearly the patriotic aspects of this great contest. The Roman Catholie church as a religious institution, with its system of theology, its mode of worship, its discipline, its methods of any other religious organization possess in America, and so long as its friends and advocates confine themselves to the it will receive from the American public, rightly, the same treatment that is accorded the Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, or any other denomination. So long as the papal church appeals to reason it will be met by argument, and if it wins converts or makes conquests by its appeal to the intelligence of men, its triumphs will be honorable and undisputed. In a land of free discussion, such as ours, there should be no limit to debate, and no effort made to arrest by force or other foul means, any progress made by religion are inseparably blended. In Europe the pope is recognized by all after the Roman Empire, and is the most complete despotism ever fashioned. The pope claims to be a temporal ruler, subject to no rival power, equal in rank to the highest, entitled to be repre-OUR friends, the Poles, are right, sented at the courts of Europe, and he lations and actions of his subjects, not only in Europe, but in America. A sharper contrast could not exist than that which separates the ideal American Republic from the Roman Catholic despotism. (For a fuller elaboration of this thought, see my Essays on the Papacy and the Republic. 7 Bromfield street, Boston)

When Roman Catholics in America. acting, not as individuals, each express following the lead of his own judgment justice and to further the public welfare, as members of Protestant churches OUR South O naha friends should not generally do, but instead of this, united

thrust forward into public places and WE have received two or three letters fill an exceptionally large number of ago, because he had declared himself Catholic votes are in the market, at of its missions among the Indians, it behooves every lover of the republic Roman Catholics, and by other relig YOU may not be able to avail your and of republican institutions to array lous bodies, while indirectly promoting

sought to dissolve the Union.

A CONCRETE EXAMPLE. History is said to be philosophy by example. We have much to learn as to the aim, method, spirit and ultimate tendency of the Roman Catholic church ages is now in progress on the Ameri- in this country by studying the relacan continent. It is the struggle be- tion of the papacy to the Indians. No tween Protestantism and the papacy; one will deny that there have been between modern civilization and med- self-sacrificing Roman Catholic missionaries who have devoted themselves pense. foreignism. The theatre of the struggle minded man desires to withhold from due to their zeal, conscientiousness, people; the immediate results of the fidelity and efficiency. It is not easy, struggle will affect, for weal or woe, of course, to separate between the individuals who are involved in a system and the system itself. Many of the inwill be felt around the globe, and last dividuals may be honest and praiseworthy, while the system to which they belong, and for which they themselves are not responsible, may be friend of liberty, every true patriot, utterly vicious. It is fair to say that in relation to the Indians in this country the chief motive, the impelling cause, the one dominant force which, more intelligently and forcefully on the side than anything else, and all else combined, has urged forward the Roman Catholics in their endeavors, has been the desire to augment their own power, to extend the influence of the papacy, Indians, to secure whatever could be secured for the glory of the church. To this end they have pressed their claims as Catholics and have secured propagandism, has the same right that the largest possible share of appointments in the Indian service; have made the most preposterous claims as to their successes; have shown the utmost realms of strictly ecclesiastical affairs illiberality, and have shown intoler-

ance towards all other workers. CONTRACT SCHOOLS. The government of the United States has, since 1876, been devoting an increasing amount of money and care to the work of educating Indian youth, with the view of fitting them for American citizenship. Some years ago, in addition to public schools established and maintained by the government it self, the Indian office entered into contract with various religious bodies for the education of Indian children in mission or church schools. Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Friends, Lutherans, Mennonites, Unitarians and Roman Catholics participated in this form of government subsidy. Baptists are the only considerable body of christians that have had no share in it. They have refused to have anything to do with it, because of their well-known doctrines as to separation of church and

The following table, taken from the records of the Indian office, exhibits the amount of money paid out of the public treasury to the various religious of church and state. mission work among the Indians:

	1886	ISS	1888	1880	1880	1801	1862	1883	1801	Total 9 year
Roman Catholle. Presbyterian Congregational	\$ 118.343 20.946 16.121	444	36,500	\$ 347,672 \$ 41,835 59,310	28,459 28,459	8 201,340 8 204,136 8 44,550 44,310 27,171 25,146	394,236 44,310 29,146	25,25,85 20,036 25,236	8 355,845 30,040 8,450	22
Martinsburg, Pa. Alaska Training School Episcopal.	5,400		1,48	18,700	22.22	24,743	22 23 23 33 33 33	4,840	10,000	u×88
Mennanite Middletown, Cal Unitarian		1100	5,400		5,400	. i	5,400	3,730		B - B
Lutheran, Wittenberg, Wis- Methodist Mrs. L. H. Daggett. Miss Howard			1.00	27.73	9,940	6,700	13,990	6,480	15,120	8800
Appropriation for Lincoln Institution	321,400	33,400	333,400	33,400	33,400	38,400	33,400	33,400		9
Institute	30,040	30,040	30.040	20,040	20,040	00,040	20,040	20.046	90,640	180

In 1889 the commissioner of Indian Roman Catholic contract schools, deregarded the entire system as objectionable, and hence he was unwilling to ex-

First-The schools carried on by the

AMERICAN THOS. J. MORGAN, LL. D. patriotism, and is as urgent as was the the Indians to the peculiar form of re-Union. The assault made upon our in- tion carrying on its work among them. church is the Roman Catholic church," and that the pope is its infallible head, to whom absolute obedience is due. to propagate among the Indians, or elsewhere, their own peculiar dogmas, the commissioner insisted that they had no right to do this at public ex-

Second-The money paid for the support of these contract schools is public money, taken from the United States treasury, and belonging to the people of the United States, and raised by funds to appropriate it to private purposes. Public money should be used only for public purposes. The propagation of a sectarian tenet is not a mat er in which the public is interested.

Third-It is a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution of establishments of any religion. The United States does virtually establish executive officer, it takes public money support of a distinctively Roman Cath- tion. to make Roman Catholics out of the olic school which inculcates as a fundamental doctrine of its teaching the idea that it alone is the true church, and that there is no salvation out of its

Fourth-To take public money for the maintenance of sectarian schools is contrary to the doctrine which is now well nigh universal among An ericans, that the church and the state should be kept entirely separate and distinct. The state or the nation is a political institution, established for the preservation of order, the securing of justice, the promotion of the public welfare; the state has nothing to do with matters of conscience, and has no right whatever to meddle with religious affairs. The church, on the other hand, is distinctively a spiritual institution, designed to promote the religious welfare of its own subjects, and it has no rights or authority outside of its own domains; it can exercise discipline only over those who voluntarily, as members, submit themselves to its jurisdiction. The state has no right to interfere with the church or to control it so long as it keeps itself within its own spiritual domain; the church has no right to seek to impose its obligations upon any that are unwilling to accept them, nor to intrude itself into the sphere of politics, nor to attempt to secure an unfair advantage in the way of offices or public patronage. For the government to appropriate money to sectarian schools established doctrine of the separation affairs. They concentrated upon the

Fifth-To appropriate money for Roman Catholic schools is un American. The public schools of America are peculiar. They are the pride of the republic. They are a distinctive feature of our civilization. They embody more fully, perhaps, than any other one institution, a distinctive American idea. They seek to prepare the entire generation of children for their duties as American citizens; their aim is patriotic; their scope is universality; their spirit is equality. They seek by all legitimate means to break down all the barriers of race, nationality, religion, which separate the masses in American life, and to blend all the heterogeneous elements into one homogeneous people. They are the hope of the republic. They are the citidals of freedom. They are the training schools of American citizenship. For them the nation pours out its treasure like water, the annual cost of its public schools now exceeding \$100,000,000. They are public institutions, maintained for the public, for the promotion of the public weal, and are paid for out of the public treasury. To missions-to control legislation on In- vast body of voters, not actuated at all take public money and devote it to dian affairs in their own interests; and sectarian schools which are necessarily provincial, and which tend to separa. They secured the introduction into the science, not seeking at all to discharge tion, and which strive to keep alive the Indian bill to be supported by the gov- their civic obligations to the republic. animosities of race and religion, is ernment, special Roman Catholic but banded together, led. controlled thoroughty and wholly un-American.

Sixth-To appropriate public money for the support of Indian schools is unpatriotic. It violates a fundamental principle of Americanism; it creates a corruption fund dangerous to the peace of the community; it introduces into politics sectarian strife and bitterness; to prevent the renomination of Presiit tends to subordinate questions of dent Harrison, giving as a reason for affairs, when appealed to by the Roman public policy to sectarian interests: It their position their dissatisfaction with such a condition of things there is im-Catholics to increase the number of hinders the process of complete amai. him because of his "bigotry" in sustain- mineut perli to Republican institutions, gamation and assimilation of the var- ing the commissioner of Indian affiles and that there is need of some sort of a clined to do so, on the ground that he lous elements of our population; it in his opposition to the contract school tutions, the enemy of liberty, promotes the temporal prosperity of system. In this, too, they were unsue- thrusts itself into American politics one sect at the expense of others; it is cessful,

church and state. Roman Catholic church is the call of schools, designed chiefly to proselyte secular newspapers devoted leading voters might exert an abnormally the emblem of liberty.

call for troops in '61 to preserve the ligious faith held by each denomina communications regarding it; the deliberative assemblies of the various THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN stitutions is more subtile, veiled in The basis of instruction in the Roman Protestant churches considered it; it greater secrecy and more plausible, but Catholic schools is the Roman Catholic was a frequent theme of discussion in none the less hostile and deadly than catechism, which inculcates in the ministers' meetings, and in social church an opportunity that had never was the assault made by those who minds of the andian children-taught unions, and received careful considera- presented itself before in the United affairs, under the direction of the Sectem, and that he has already, wherever act of congress or by the act of any the interest of the Indians, withheld appropriations from contract schools. and uses it for the establishment and Thus the system is doomed to destruc-

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ASSAULT.

The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, sought to resist the force of the and to break down the commissioner who urged them. The methods adopted pondered by every patriotic American. by them are very significant and should be carefully considered.

1. They brought to bear upon President Harrison, through their ablest schools and was opposed on principle to men, Archbishop Ireland and others, the strongest influence they could use to induce him to remove the commissioner from his position. The presdent tion, that the victory was theirs, informed them that he sympathized brought about by them; and the church with the general attitude assumed by the commissioner; that he, himself, preferred the national schools for the land. The startling fact presents itself Indians, and that he was unwilling to thus, that the Roman Catholic church accede to their request.

credit him in the public mind as a of its champions—the balance of power, charges often re-act upon their authors. terest of the Roman Catholic church. This method of warfare is a modern form of the inquisition, the essence of of its ultimate object. It falled here, shake the very foundation of liberty.

3. Failing in this, the Roman Cathamong the Indians is a violation of this olics next attempted to defeat the con- man Catholics of America combined affairs. They concentrated upon the senate of the United States, either per ators were flooded with letters and pedone to secure a victory, and the men of any other man as president. who engineered the scheme felt absoattempt ever made in this country to combine for the control of a presidential its most repulsive form; it was suitably or for the erection and maintenance of high office.

lobbying machine in Washingtonknown as the bureau of Catholic Indian in this they were partially successful. schools which had been rejected by the senate in securing vicious legislation, and in protecting their interests.

gruntled can do at any time. The from the public funds in the great rise to a violent and bitter controversy of millions of people, who believe it to 1892, the two great parties, the Demo- in such manner that the repetition of which continued during his administra- be a public wrong; it threatens the in- cratic and Republican, entered the the disgraceful conduct of the Roman tegrity of the public school system of contest on pretty even terms; it was the country, and opens the door for the generally understood that the result of treating honorable men in the same take from the United States treasury the commissioner for the position taken countless abuses which history shows the election was very uncertain. The American patriots to the Roman Cathare inseparable from any union of Democrats had triumphed in '84 and olics in this country is tals: Hands off the Republicans in '88, and there was the Republicans in 85, and there was public treasury; hands off of the ballot box; no priestly interference with The discussion of the question of conself of our great offer, but some friend himself against an evil that menaces, the general welfare of the Indians, and tract Indian schools was taken up with battle, would be determined by a very zeal by the public at large; clergymen small plurality of votes. It was thought honored here as the symol of soveran opportunity. Mark our offer and Resistance to the encroachments of the nevertheless distinctively mission discussed in the pulpit; religious and that a comparatively small number of eignty, except the stars and stripes—

editorials to it, and published many effective influence in determining the result of the election.

This offered to the Roman Catholic

POLITICS.

at public expense—that "the only true tion by the Mohunk conference, the States, when it might show its power Indian Rights Association, the National as a political machine. Roman Catho-League for the Protection of American lic newspapers boldly announced that Institutions, and was a favorite theme they cared nothing for the great ques-While no one disputes the rights of the in the various patriotic associations. tions at issue between the two parties; Roman Catholics, at their own charges, The result of the discussion has been a that they had a grievance against the great change in public sentiment, Republican party because of the Indian which amounts to practical unanimity, policy of the Ladian commissioner; outside of the Roman Catholic church. that by united effort on the part of the The Presbyterians, Methodists, Con- Roman Catholics they might defeat the gregationalists, Episcopalians and Uni- Republican party, insure the election tarians, who had shared in the public of Cleveland, and thus punish their money in support of their mission enemies and gain an advantage for the schools, one by one gave up their con- church. A secret pamphlet, full of nection with the system and pronounced misstatements, falsehoods, slanders, against it, so that at present (1895) the charging President Harrison with public taxation. It is a misuse of public Roman Catholic church stands almost "bigotry," and asserting that he was alone in receiving government aid for using the powers of his great office to its missionary work among the Indians. the injury of the Roman Catholic So overwhelming has been the tide of church, were circulated freely all over public sentiment against the system the country, among priests, bishops that the present commissioner of Indian and others. Urgent appeals were made privately, and from the pulpit, to Roretary of the Interior, has announced man Catholies to stand together for the United States, which prohibits the that it is his present purpose to entirely the overthrow of the administration as do away with the contract school sys- a matter of revenge, and for the election of Cleveland for the sake of the ecclesthe Roman Catholic religion when, by it could be done without prejudice to lastical advantage that they might gain from it. Harrison was defeated; Cleveland was e'ected. How far the attitude of the Roman Catholic church contributed

> known; it is probably true tha their attitude was not the determining factor; many causes combined to bring about a change of administration. Neverthearguments urged against the system, less it is true, and a truth of great significance, and needs to be carefully viz, that the Roman Catholic church threw itself almost solidly into the presidential struggle of 1892, and sought to bring about the defeat of Harrison, because he sympathized with the public appropriating public money for the support of Roman Catholic schools among the Indians. The Roman Catholic newspapers boasted, after the elechad sought to secure from the then incoming Democratic administration the reward of its labors in behalf of Clevein this country, which claims a follow-ing of ten millions, with a voting popu-2. They attempted to destroy the lation probably of a million and a half commissioner's reputation. False and or more, can be used as a machine for libelous articles, seeking utterly to dis- determining presidential elections; that trusted and competent official, were which it is prepared at any time to use printed and extensively circulated. For for its own advantage. The Roman months, and even for years, the Catho- Catholic church thus enters the lists, lie newspapers were burdened with in the interest of patriotism, but to prothese accusations; but slander and false mote its own advantage and in the in-In this fact there is great peril to Republican institutions; it is full of Republican institutions; it is ominous threatenings, which indicate refined, cruel persecution; but while it a storm that may at any time burst may inflict pain and suffering, it falls upon this country with such fury as to Admitting what is claimed by intelligent Roman Catholics, that the Ro-

to this result probably never will be

what follows? Evidently if they can sonally or by letter, the whole force of combine for the defeat of President the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Sen- Harrison, they can combine for the defeat of any other president. If they can conspire together for the election titions, and remonstrances and threats; of Grover Cleveland as president, they nothing was left undone that could be can conspire together for the election can combine to control a presidential election because of their dissatisfaction lutely confident of success up to the with the administration of the Indian hour when the vote was taken; but this office, they can combine to control a scheme also failed. It was the most presidential election because of the disbraz n, bold, unjustifiable, un-American any other great office. If they can satisfaction with the administration of dictate to the United States senate its election to punish one administration action regarding the confirmation of a for being unfriendly to their securing high official, on purely sectarian or re- Indian schools, they can combine for ligious grounds. It injected into the the overthrow of another administrasecret deliberations of the United tion because of its unfriendliness, or States senate the odium theologicum in supposed unfriendliness, to their securing public money for parochial schools, rebuked by the action of the senate in cathedrals, for the establishment and confirming the commissioner in his maintenance of nunneries, monasteries or theological seminaries. If Roman Catholic priests can control the votes 4. Foiled again, the Roman Catho- of the members of their churches, and lies next attempted, through their lead them to do violence to their own political convictions in one instance, they can in other instances. Thus we are confronted with the specter of by individual judgment, not influenced to any degree by patriotic considerations, not following their own conand guided by a priesthood seeking to use their votes wholly in the interest commissioner. Senator Vest, of Mis- of the Roman Catholic church, and souri, was one of their principal cham- who hold up before the community this pions on the floor of the United States vast political power as an ensign at any time ready to be used to strike down any man or party that is not willing to bow meekly to their command and con-5. The Roman Catholics attempted cede all that they see fit to ask. It does not require the intelligence of a statesman, but needs only the common sense of any plain patriot to see that in remedy. The foe of Republican lostiand seeks to prostitute the sovereignty of the voters to the base uses of an Catholic church in the presidential

election of 1892 will be impossible. The friendly warning addressed by of the public schools; hands off of the America for only one people, who shall