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"AMERICA FOR AMERICANS."—We hold that all men are Americans who swear allegiance to the United States without a mental reservation in favor of the Pope.

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## ROME AND THE A. P. A.

Rev. W. H. Carwardine Replies to Dr. Beaton.

The Pullman Divine Defends American Institutions and Says the Protective Association is Necessary to Counteract Jesuit Influence.

"Roman Catholicism and the A. P. A." was the subject of a sermon by Rev. William H. Carwardine, of the Pullman Methodist Episcopal Church, last Sabbath evening, in which he replied vigorously to the sermon of Rev. David Beaton on the same subject delivered the previous Sunday evening. The church in the Casino Building was crowded, great interest being manifested. Mr. Carwardine chose as his text, Matthew 22-21, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Last Sabbath Dr. David Beaton, pastor of the Lincoln Park Congregational church of this city delivered a sermon in which among other things he declared that the American Protective Association is un-American and unconstitutional.

I have studied carefully the principles of their organization; conversed with those who are posted in its affairs, read the discussions pro and con concerning it in the newspapers and magazines. I have made myself familiar with its workings, and watched with intense interest the rise and development of the order, its effect upon the Roman Catholic church, and upon the politics of the country. In view of this I take issue with those who criticize the order, who see no Lord in it, and who misrepresent its principles.

I do not believe that the American Protective Association is un-American; neither do I believe that this movement is a mere question of creed, and an arraying of a sect against a sect. I am willing to admit in the outset that the organization is not all that may be desired, that it might be improved upon or enlarged in its scope in some directions, and that among its adherents may be found some who permit their zeal to out-ride their judgment and in the name of the order, commit some acts which are wholly foreign to the spirit inculcated by the principle of the American Protective Association.

I appeal tonight to the deliberate judgment of every right thinking American citizen irrespective of creed and party, to a calm consideration of the condition of affairs in our country that has called forth the organization of this society. Let us examine its principles, and true aim of the American Protective Association.

First—As to the question of responsibility:

It may be reasonably asked, who is responsible for this organization? What has called forth this movement? Who is the instigator of it? What condition of affairs has produced a demand on the part of the American people for such a movement? Why is it that the American Protective Association is growing so rapidly all over the United States? Why is it that the ranks are being increased, not only by those whom we are pleased to term the common people, but also by the more intelligent classes in every walk of life—the lawyer, the physician, the clergyman, the statesman, the journalist, the farmer and the mechanic? One council alone in the city of Chicago has a membership of 4,000.

Surely there must be something "rotten in Denmark." Surely there must be an underlying cause for such an uprising of popular sentiment.

History is full of great movements, great uprisings of the people, great upheavals of popular opinion, and back of them there has been some *causae belli*.

The responsibility of the organization of the A. P. A. rests upon the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America. Who is responsible? Romanism. Who is the instigator? Romanism. Where shall we seek the cause? In Romanism.

Not the Roman Catholic church as a church, but the Roman Catholic church as a political organization. Not the creed of Romanism, but the political spirit of Romanism. Not the religion of the Roman Catholic citizen, because he has the same right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience as I have; but that part of his religion which binds him to uphold the temporal sovereignty of the pope, the union of church and state, to destroy the American public school system, to endorse the order of the Jesuits, that would make St. Patrick's day a legal holiday, and wave the green flag above the stars and stripes!

Second—So much for responsibility; now consider the criticism as to religious discrimination:



WHAT IT MUST EVENTUALLY COME TO,

Let it be distinctly understood that the A. P. A. is not opposed to Roman Catholicism as a religion. This must be accepted as a condition in the discussion of this matter. The stock argument of those who criticize the order is that it is "dragging religion into politics," that it is discriminating against a man because he is a believer in the creed of the Roman Catholic church. This is an evasion of the real point at issue; it is a subterfuge to escape from the true question; it is a misrepresentation, whether intended or not; it is a slur cast upon the order by its enemies to make capital against it.

Paragraph 3 of the principles of the order declares, "We attack no man's religion, so long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power." Again, paragraph 6 declares: "We regard all religious-political organizations as the enemies of civil and religious liberty."

Now, this is as plain as the English language can make it, that the A. P. A. is opposed to Romanism as a political machine and not as a creed.

Let the burden of proof rest where it rightfully belongs. Let the Roman Catholic church come forth and prove that the fears of American citizens are groundless; that she does not meddle with politics; that she is not, in the garb of religion, making an effort to control the political welfare of this country; that she does not, as a church, hold allegiance first to the Roman pontiff, second to the president of the United States. Let her come forth and clearly prove all this beyond a doubt—then the mission of the A. P. A. will have ended.

The A. P. A. is opposed to the Roman political hierarchy. Its members are fully aware of the abominable political practices of the Roman hierarchy in every country and age where its power has been supreme. Its members believe that there is positive evidence of the same being practiced in this country, and they call upon all patriotic citizens to organize against the evil. Now the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Roman Catholic church are to all intents and purposes one. Roman Catholicism as a political power and Roman Catholicism as a religion are practically one. The A. P. A. believes that the best method to reach political Romanism, and teach them a thing or two about American principles, is to organize against them, until they have learned to know better.

If, then, in organizing against the Roman Catholic church as a political machine, the Roman Catholic citizen, as a religionist, suffers therefrom, then it is his fault and not that of the A. P. A. It is the political aspect of the matter that the A. P. A. is after, and not the religious.

If the religious aspect suffers, because it is keeping company with the political, then let them break up partnership, declare the engagement off, and if they are already married, then in the name of the Almighty, and for the sake of all concerned, get a divorce. It is an unholy alliance.

The Roman Catholic church in America will have to do one of two things, either discard or purge herself of the Ultramontane wing of her ecclesiastical

household. She cannot ride two horses at once. She cannot serve two masters. She must conform to American principles, and separate herself from partisan politics, or reap the slumbering wrath of exasperated and angered Americans who have endured her effrontery long enough.

If on firing on a rattle snake, a hunter wounds some bird of beautiful plumage, it is no disparagement to the hunter. We are sorry for the bird of beautiful plumage. But the death of the snake may mean a lease of life for many other beautiful birds. The viper in American politics today is Jesuitism. If, in its hatred against the viper, the American citizen, seeks by any organized ballot, to rid itself of the monster, and if at the same time a few Roman Catholic office holders (birds of beautiful plumage) are retired to private life, it were better a thousand times that the viper be destroyed, the office-holders retired, and that the Republic be saved.

The critics of the A. P. A. ought to go to the root of the matter. The average citizen looks with disgust and alarm at the condition of things in all our great cities. He sees these cities in the hands of the Roman Catholics. Almost every office is controlled by them. Every one knows that it is the result of Jesuitical scheming. We come into contact everywhere with this secret organization, and patriotic Americans are absolutely helpless and paralyzed in their efforts to overcome its nefarious influence. In this state of mind the American citizen meets with the A. P. A. At first he realizes that its methods of attack are severe but concludes to join it. Do you blame him, if he allies himself with it? I do not.

Let us cease this talk about "dragging politics into religion"—this nonsense about un-Americanism and unconstitutionality. If unorganized effort will not overcome the evil of Roman interference in American politics, then let us try organization. If kindness and Christian charity and pleading and moral suasion will not do, if Roman Catholics have not patriotism enough to give up this selfish and unnecessary cry about our public school system, and kindred matters, then in self-defense we must do something. I welcome the A. P. A. as that something.

Third—Consider the charge that the A. P. A. is un-American:

It has been charged that the A. P. A. is un-American. What is American? What do we mean by Americanism? I believe American stands for liberty of speech, free political action, non-interference with personal religious convictions, entire separation of church and state, free press, free schools—a free people.

Americanism, I take it to mean loyalty to American institutions (even if a man be of foreign birth), love of country, opposition to foreign intervention in American affairs, desire for reforms beneficial to the country at large.

Now, in the light of this definition, I contend that the A. P. A. is as American as any other organization of the country. Does Americanism mean loyalty to country, irrespective of birth?

Read paragraph 1 of the principles of the order, which says: "Nationality is not a bar to membership in the order. No man is asked where he was born."

Does Americanism mean free political action? Read paragraph 2, which says: "We interfere with no man's partisan politics." Also paragraph 13, which says: "We are in favor of putting into office honest and true patriots, who are the best qualified to fill the position, regardless of political parties."

I should advise you all to purchase copies of THE CHICAGO AMERICAN, read the declaration of principles, and judge for yourselves.

Americanism demands that the sacred institutions peculiar to the American government be maintained at all hazards by Americans. Rome stands confessedly avowed the enemy of our public school system. Washington said: "Beware of foreign intervention in American affairs." Every one knows that Leo XIII. and his Italian emissaries are continually interfering in American affairs.

Is it un-American to repel these attacks; and is it un-American to do this by using the same method employed by the enemy in attacking me?

Cunning, craft, deceit, and political trickery of every description has been brought to bear against the most cherished institutions of American citizens. Ballots, not bullets, is the true American's weapon of defense. Open political warfare has failed to bring him redress. He therefore comes together in secret conclave, and obligates himself to oppose the enemy by ousting him from office. Is it un-American to meet in a secret society? Is it un-American to combine together to unite our votes against a common enemy? What about the secret caucuses of all political parties, and the hidden counsels of cabinets and parties in times of danger?

So long as the members of the A. P. A. do nothing immoral or dishonest, and do not violate the laws of the land they have a right to meet in secret council and agree among themselves not to vote for certain persons.

The un-Americanism is not in the actions of the A. P. A. but rather in the condition of affairs and unholy antagonism to American institutions shown by Roman Catholicism.

It is not always pleasant to do some things, but it is sometimes expedient that they be done. Expediency, the salvation of the republic, demands that the Roman Catholics be defeated. Only one thing does Rome fear and that is a powerful secret combination against her unpatriotic machinations. My patriotism, my love for America, my desire to save my country, and her cherished institutions, demand that I use against the sworn enemy of true Americanism the only weapon that will bring her to her senses. I contend that this is American.

Fourth—As to the criticism that the A. P. A. is unconstitutional.

The argument against the constitutionality of the A. P. A. is as fallacious as that against its Americanism and its apparent discrimination in religion.

The A. P. A. is declared by its critics unconstitutional, because they affirm that it discriminates against the religion of the Roman Catholic citizen, and is therefore a violation to article 6, of the United States constitution, which reads: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Now it might be a proper question to ask right here, "Do the words 'Religious qualification' refer to the taking of the oath of office by the candidate, or to the motive of the voter who places the candidate in office. I believe that there is a distinction, and that a fair and square issue could be legitimately made on that question. But the criticism can be answered in another and perhaps more satisfactory way. I have already shown that the A. P. A. is not opposed to the Roman Catholic citizen on account of his religion. On the contrary, it is because that very clause is in the constitution of the United States that there exists today as an A. P. A. It is the discrimination that being made today in every part of the country in favor of Romanism that has aroused this spirit of opposition.

It has come to pass that the politics of the country (especially municipal politics) has virtually passed into the hands of Irish Catholics all over the land. Read that remarkable article in the current number of the Forum from the pen of Mr. John Paul Babcock entitled "The Irish Conquest of our Cities," and you will see the force of my remark. Talk about "dragging religion into politics," why, my friends, religion has already got control of politics, and the mission of the A. P. A. is to drive her out of politics and place her in the holy and supreme realm where she properly belongs.

To obtain office now-a-days the American citizen must either become a Roman Catholic, or get their patronage. The fathers who framed our constitution never dreamed that such a state of affairs would come to pass. It is a condition and not a principle that faces the American people. I am asked to vote against the Roman Catholic because his church has committed itself to a policy that is a violation of the constitution of the United States. I contend that I am an American and an upholder of the constitution when I comply with that request.

The spirit that rules and governs in the councils of Romanism is the spirit of Jesuitism, and the Jesuits are the sworn enemies and undying foes of republican institutions, and the constitution of the United States in particular. To vote against that man everywhere and anywhere is both American and constitutional.

The A. P. A. charges the papal hierarchy with hostility to our American liberties and with seeking to supplant them with the spirit of servile obedience to the pope of Rome. The A. P. A. charges the papal hierarchy with plotting to overthrow our civil institutions founded upon the will of the people, and to re-construct and found them upon the will of the pope of Rome. The A. P. A. believes that the principle of the papal hierarchy carried out in this country means disloyalty to the state and disobedience to the civil government. The A. P. A. charges

the papal hierarchy with being hostile to free education and seeking the destruction of the public school system. The A. P. A. repudiates all their un-American and unconstitutional ideas, and devotes her energy to uphold rather than defeat the constitution of the United States.

I believe I have answered the principal argument against this organization. Bear with me while I offer a word of exhortation.

There never was a time when America needed the help of all patriotic institutions more than she does at present. It is a pity that there is necessity for such organizations as the A. P. A. None deprecate that fact more than myself, but it cannot be helped. I am amazed that some ministers of the gospel and some leaders of opinion should rise and denounce with such vehemence and unthinking denunciation these organizations. I believe that they do it because they utterly fail to see the real cause underlying the A. P. A., and are not thoroughly alive to the dangers that beset our body politic. We are being literally forced by the current of events to do something to save ourselves from the schemes and plottings of the ultramontane and Italian elements in the Roman Catholic church.

I am willing to accord all honor to Archbishop Ireland, and all patriotic Roman Catholic citizens, who follow his lead, and who claim to have no hostility to our public schools, and let me say right here that there are thousands of Roman Catholics in this country who are as patriotic and as loyal to our flag as we are ourselves. But they can never become truly patriotic until they break away from these influences. Protestations of patriotism are all very well for after-dinner oratory (vide Archbishop Ireland's late magnificent address to the Loyal Legion in New York), but let the archbishop and his followers come out from among their unpatriotic brethren, or else drive them out from their midst. We will believe in their patriotism.

One of two things is going to happen in the near future: Either patriotic Americans will split the Roman Catholic church, or the Roman Catholic church will split America.

I would not unnecessarily arouse the fear and antipathy of men, but when danger lies ahead of us, it is well to seek a method of escape; when disease is abroad it is well to take steps toward its eradication. We have pursued the do-nothing policy long enough. We have taken soothing syrup from the Jesuit spoon long enough! It is time we were doing something to protect ourselves. Every day from all parts of the country, and every hour, come evidence of Rome's treasonable and un-American designs.

Last Friday we celebrated the birthday of one of the noblest men America has ever produced. A man whose name is the synonym for liberty in every American heart, whose picture adorns the multitudinous homes of our people more than that of any other American besides George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—I refer to Ulysses S. Grant. All honor to the hero, the silent man of Galena, who now sleeps beside the placid waters of the picturesque Hudson. The message of this man, delivered by his own lips to Americans, will never be forgotten as long as the Stars and Stripes shall wave over this free and United people. He says: "The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason's and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition and ignorance on the other. Let us all labor and add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech, and free press; pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Let us encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to their support, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school."

Americans, we have seemingly forgotten their words, and, now, to arouse us out of our lethargy, to awaken us out of our sleep, to nerve us to action, has come, among other incentives, the agency of this much abused, and yet marvelously vital organization, known as the American Protective Association. As one, I am willing to give it the right hand of fellowship and bid it "God Speed."

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