## THE POPE'S LAST VETO.

Will the People Sustain it, or Will They Run the Country?

An Able Article by Rev. James B. Dunn, D. D., Secretary of the Committee of One Hundred of Boston.

In an article printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser of September 27, 1894, relative to the American Protective Association, James B. Dunn, in speaking of the aim of the Roman hierarchy to make America Catholic, said:

"I know all this is denied by many adherents of the church of Rome, but facts are stubborn things, and it is a fact that Dr. Brownson in his Catholic Review said: 'Undoubtedly it is the intention of the pope to possess this country, and in this intention he is aided by the Jesuits and all the Catholic prelates and priests.' And it is a fact that the Roman Catholic hierarchy, assembled in Baltimore in 1852, sent out to the American people this declaration, that the mission of their church in this country was to make it Catholic. 'The United States,' they said, 'must become a Catholic country.' It is also a fact that Archbishop Ireland, in the Roman Catholic congress at Baltimore in 1889, exclaimed in a burst of enthusiasm, 'Our work is to make America Catho-He. And to aid in carrying out this mission of making America Catholic was the Catholic Truth Society established. To crown all, Pope Leo XIII., in an encyclical letter issued November, 1885, says that 'All Catholics should exert their power to cause the constitutions of states to be modeled on the principles of the true church.""

He also quoted from an encyclical issued by Leo XIII., at Rome, January 10, 1890, and published in Roman Catholic papers in New York, February 12, 1890, and in the Pilot, of Boston, February 15, 1890. In that encyclical the pontiff enjoins Roman Catholics:

"Even in politics, always to serve first the interests of Catholicism, and to submit themselves in obedience to the will of the pontiff as to God Himself, and that the civil laws are binding on them only so long as they are conformable to the Roman Catholic religion. In that same, encyclical the pope says it is a duty to resist all civil laws hostile to anything ordered by the church, and a crime to obey them. These being the facts, is it not quite certain that whatever his private or personal opinion and feelings may be as an American citizen, every good Roman Catholic must support the church as against the state."

Rev. John O'Brien, Roman Catholic priest of East Cambridge, in an article in the papers claims that the quotations from this encyclical, as well as the statements and inferences drawn from it, are false, and in direct opposition to and set it fairly before the public, he would refer the same to a commission of six gentlemen whom he himself has been at the pains to select. To this proposition the writer of this article replies by suggesting that Mr. O'Brien have the whole encyclical printed in the Boston newspapers. The public can read. It can also form a judgment on the meaning of plain English words, without extraordinary assistance. This Mr. O'Brien will not do, as he says:

"The public would never read in \* \* and of those who did read few would understand it properly and fully. The encyclical is not like a sermon in the People's church, but is addressed to or to those who wilfully misunderstand."

Therefore, this review of the pope's copies have (been published, is now reprinted with this introductory state-

The encyclical is on the subject of church and state, and defines the posi-

the social organism."

Coming to the state, he says:

state demands one thing from the citi- a sermon preached in New York, Jan- municipal affairs and elections, and all "That cases happen in which the zen, and religion the opposite from Christians, and this undoubtedly for no other reason than that the heads of the state pay no regard to the sacred power of the church, or desire to make it subdoubt which is to receive their preference."

laws of Jesus Christ for the purpose of will receive my faith from the pontiff, every case it means no personal free- is above man, and the church above the obeying the magistrates, or to trans- but I will not receive my politics from dom, but direct rule from Rome. He state." gress the laws of the church under the him.' This assertion is disloyal and says: pretext of observing the civil law."

Vicar General Byrne, of the Boston ing for Romanists loyalty to government, said:

state demands of us a line of conduct Christ speaks through him." manifestly contrary to the dictates of And this is all in keeping with the view of the realization of their eternal pope) any more than of Almighty God

servient to their own ends. The good says: citizen will refuse to obey an immoral accept the penalty."

of Bishop McQuald, in Boston, February 13, 1876, that:

"The state has no right to educate, and when the state undertakes the civil matters, or indeed, any. work of education it is usurping the powers of the church."

Hence the coeffict that is now being or the state supreme in the education of the child?

the land, the pope proceeds:

"But if the laws of the state are in open contradiction with the Divine law. if they command anything prejudicial to the church, or are hostile to the duties imposed by religion, or violate in the person of the supreme pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then indeed it is a duty to resist them and a crime to obey them-a crime fraught with injury to the state itself." This means in plain Anglo-Saxon that

when any law is passed, or any action taken by any government which the proper Romanist authority deems 'prejudicial" to the . interest of the church, or affecting "the person of the supreme pontiff," resistance becomes a duty, obedience a crime. And this, mark you, is not the teachings of Hildebrand and of the middle ages, but of Leo the XIIIth, and the Nineteenth century. And what Leo here indicates as possible, has happened. Popes have declared the laws of nations null and clare null and void the laws of New Granada: also, in 1856 the laws of Mexico; as in 1855 the laws of Sardinia; in the same year the laws of Spain, and the laws of Piedmont; in 1862 the laws of Austria; and in every case, the laws which he pronounced null, are essential parts of the American constitution, and of our common law. Shortly after the present pontiff's recovery from his illness in 1886, after establishing all the

occurs this sentence: The judicial functionaries must refuse obedience to the state and to the have been revealed by God. The inlaws of the country which are in contradiction with Reman Catholic precepts."

What is this but preaching downwhere Roman Catholics holl any judicial function?

There is required

"Perfect submission and obedience of will to the church and the sovereign quences.' whole. And in order to test the matter pontiff, as to God Himself. In fixing that it is due to the authority of bishops, and especially the Roman pontiff, merely in matters of dogma."

obedience is all-sweeping-covering the private and public life and acts of the individual, his civil, political and reman Catholic leaders in this country.

Father Bodfish, a Roman Catholic priest, at a hearing at th state house, Boston, last winter, said

"Roman Catholics were bound to reintelligent persons-not to the studid ceive, believe and disseminate the instruction received from the pope as the vicar of Christ." To ex-Gov. Long's question, "You said you are bound to encyclical which was first printed in receive, believe and disseminate the April, 1890, and of which over 70,000 word of the pope, am I right?" Answer, "Yes, sir."

Vicar-General Preston, of New York, while on the witness stand in one of the courts in that city a little over a year ago, when asked if Roman Catholics tion of the good, Romanist toward his must obey their bishops, whether right religion and his country. But let the or wrong, replied "Yes." This excited pope speak for himself, as he proceeds: amazement in the court, and the ques-"To describe more exactly the duties tion was repeated, and again Monsigof the Catholics \* \*3 \* to restore nor Preston answered, "They must the principles and practices of Chris- obey, right or wrong." In this the tlanity in private life and in all parts of vicar-general spoke the truth. It is "obedience," first, last, and all the

This same Vicar-General Preston, in uary 1st, 1888, gave utterance to these significant words:

"Every word Leo speaks from his high chair, is the voice of the Holy Ghost, and must be obeyed. To every obedience. It is said that politics is not within the province of the church, of the true church." and that the church has only jurisdic-"It is an implous deed to break the tion in matters of faith. You say, 'I untruthful. \* \* \* You must not think as you choose: you must think as diocese, in a sermon preached in that Catholics. The man who says, 'I will executing the precepts of legitimate try, boldly affirms: city, March 16, 1890, while explaining take my faith from Peter, but I will authority." this encyclical of Leo XIII., and claim- not take my politics from Peter,' is not a true Catholic. The church teaches that the supreme pontiff must be obeyed says of himself that "No doubt there are times when the because he is the vicar of the Lord,

command of the state, and peacefully any matter in politics at all? For this dom of the ecclesiastical authority." plain reason, because politics are a part The church declares, in the language of morals. \* \* Politics are morals on the widest scale."

"It must be considered a duty by waged all over the land. Is the church bishops, and escecially of the apostolic After having thus elevated the laws divine right laid down by the church by our Lord Jesus Christ to the sole of the church to an equality with the and in the church by the supreme ponteachings of God, and above the laws of tiff. Hence it is that the pontiff ought and sheep." to judge with authority what is contained in revelation, what is consonant, and what disagrees with it; and for the same reason it is incumbent on him to point out what is moral and what imto avoid, in order to attain salvation.'. [This last quotation is from the Cath-

olic World, July, 1870.] "The finger of the pope, like the to the pole of eternal truth; and the mind of the sovereign pontiff is as cer, tain to reflect the mind and will of God, as a mirror at one end of a submarine cable to indicate the electric signal

Cardinal Manning, in one of his serspeaking of the pope's claim to independency and supremacy, says:

"I acknowledge no civil superior; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of void, and absolved Romanists from al- the consciences of men; of the peasant the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge on earth of what is right ard 53, Baltimore, 1886.)

That there may be unity of action, Leo XIII. announces of Christians (Roman Catholics) that

"They receive from the church the rule of their faith; they know with certainty that in obeying its authority and allowing themselves to be guided by it. privileges and immunities of the Jesults, he issued a papal degree in which truth. \* \* \* We must receive entirely and with the same assent all things and everything ascertained to tegrity of the church would suffer if a doubt were entertained that the church alone has been invested with this power or governing souls to the absolute exright rebellion, not only in Italy, where clusion of the civil authority; for it was it means civil war, but in every country not to Caesar, but to Peter that Jesus Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. From this doctrine with regard to the relations between politics and religion follow important conse-

Its application to politics is made in

the following terms: Oh, no; this perfect submission and ought always and in the first place to are told that, serve, as far as possible the interests of ence on the part of the members, is the disposition of those who are at the recognized and acknowledged by Ro- head of the government, the church but subject to the church. cannot grant its patronage or favor to men whom it knows to be hostile to it. who openly refuse to respect its rights; who seek to break the alliance estabreligious interests and the interests of the civil order. On the contrary its duty is to favor those, who, having sound ideas as to the relations between church and state, wish to make them both harmonize for the common good. These principles contain the rule according to which every Catholic ought to model his public life."

This is but a reiteration of what Pope Leo said in an encyclical letter of November 7, 1885, reported by cable to the New York Herald:

"Every Catholic should rigidly adhere to the teachings of the Roman pontiff, especially in the matter of modern liberty, which, already under the semblance of honesty of purpose, cipline and issues orders to which every leads to destruction. We exhort all Catholic under pain of sin must yield Catholics to devote careful attention to public matters, and take part in all public services, meetings and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily live. All Catholics should exert their states to be modeled on the principles of March, 1873, said:

The treatment of this subject is very full, and cannot be misunderstood. In

"The civil prudence of individuals

of the priests, bishops and pontiff, who which he is a member by baptism, with

"In effect he has to order and reguour religion. This only happens when claims of the pontiff, who is to be salvation. It will be thus seen how in- as a preliminary to submission.

the civil rulers for the time being over- obeyed in all matters of faith and dispensable it is that besides the perstep their true sphere, or seek to make morals. Cardinal Manuing, in Vol. fect concord which ought to reign in the sacred power of the church sub- III of Ecclesiastical Sermons, page 83, their thoughts and action-, the faithful should always religiously take as the "Why should the holy father touch rule of their conduct the political wis-

This therefore follows: "Now the Roman pontiff is the supreme ruler of the church. The union In his encyclical the pope proceeds to of minds then requires perfect submisdeny the rights of private judgment in sion of will to the church and the sovereign pontiff AS TO GOD HIMSELF. \* \* \* Should any of the bishops lay Christians to be ruled and guided by himself open to criticism either in his the authority and leadership of the conduct or in the opinions he maintains. It does not belong to any insee. Man's duties, what he ought to dividual to arrogate to himself in his believe and what he ought to do, is by own regard the office of judge confided state." pastor whom He has set over His lambs

Silent acquiescence in the decisions of the pope and his representatives is enjoined, and it is taught that

"The actions of superiors ought not moral: what is necessary to do and what even when they appear to merit a cen- afterwards." sure.

"Peter having thus spoken"-to use the words of the Irish bishops-"through Leo, the question is settled." needle in the compass, invariably points It is the duty of every good Romanist in whatever land he may dwell, to obey the voice of the pope as pretended vice gerent of God, in preference to the commands of earthly rulers. The oath embodied in the profession of faith does not differ greatly in the material point of allegiance from that taken in the mons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, in Mormon Endowment House, which the courts have recently decided renders those who take it incapable of naturalization. Here it is, as decided by the Romish council at Baltimore, in 1885:

"I acknowledge the holy Catholic and apostolic Roman church as the mother and mistress of all churches; legiance to such governments. Our that tills the field, and the prince that and I pledge and swear true obedience readers cannot have forgotten how the sits on the throne; of the household to the Roman pontiff, vicar of Jesus pontiff took upon himself in 1863, to de- that lives in the shade of privacy, and Christ and successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles." (Acta et Decreta Concilii Baltimorensis III., page

There is nothing reserved; no exception is made of allegiance to the government under which the person who has taken this oath may live, and in the wide field of conflicting sovereignty the duty to obey the pope is imperative and absolute over the duty to obey the laws. This doctrine of supreme juristhey will be placed in possession of the diction over call earthly powers and laws is a doctrine the papal church in America has always taught as it holds:

"The state to be only an inferior court, receiving its authority from the church, and liable to have its decrees reversed on appeal, (Brown on's Essays, p. 282), and that, in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the laws of the church must prevail over the state. While the state has rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority, and that authority can only be expressed through the church."-Catholic World, page 439, July, 1876.

This is the doctrine taught in the pope's syllabus of 1864; and in the pas-"Furthermore, in politics, which are toral letter issued by the Second Na inseparably bound up with the laws of tional council of the Roman Catholic morality and religious duties, men church, held at Baltimore in 1806, we

"In prescribing anything contrary to Catholicism. As soon as they are seen the Divine law" (as interpreted by the to be in danger, all differences should pope) "the civil power transcends its ligious duties-and the claim of the cease between Catholics. Sin e the authority, and has no claim on the pope to perfect submission and obedi- fate of states depends principally on obedience of the citizen," as the civil power is never absolute or independent,

On page 278 of a book prepared for the use of the Roman Catholic colleges and schools, by the Rev. F. X. Schouppe of the Society of the Jesuits, and bearlished by the nature of things between ing the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning, we are told that-

> "The civil laws are binding on the conscience only so long as they are conformable to the rights of the Catholic church."

And on page 279 that

"Human laws are susceptible of dispensation. The power to dispense belongs to the sovereign pontiff."

This is plain language. It cannot be misunderstood. Civil laws are not binding when they conflict with the decrees of the pope. Thus the Catholic World of August, 1868, says that the

"As the head and mouthplece of the Catholic church, administers its disobedience."

Is it possible, it may be asked, that the Roman Catholic clergy and laity realize the full extent of what is involved in these principles as laid down by the infallible head of their church? political life in countries where they It is to be hoped that they do not; but that their leaders do is unquestioned. ject to them. No one, however, can Catholic heart comes no thought but power to cause the constitutions of Bishop Gilmour, in his lenten pastoral

"Nationalities must be subordinate to

seems wholly to consist in faithfully Roman Catholic journals in this coun-

"Every individual must receive his This is fully set forth as the authority faith and laws from the church in unquestioning submission and obedience of the intellect and will: we have no late the actions of Christian citizens in right to ask reasons of the church (the

light of the encyclical:

what the church now proposes to his citizenship be permitted in America? belief, but be ready to believe whatever she may hereafter propose: he must therefore be ready to give up any or all the state-to which authority citizens of his previous opinions as soon as they owe allegiance? are condemned and proscribed by competent authority."

very clearly defines its position, as fol- citizenship, while owning allegiance to

and profess an unreserved allegiance to done with those who own allegiance to the church, which takes precedence of, the pontiff at Rome? Why should the and gives rule to, our allegiance to the privileges of citizenship be extended to

the enthusiastic American looks for, azine of December, 1888, says:

"It is an obligation to obey the civil ruler; but if the civil ruler shall make

teachings, we ask, Can a good Romanist be at .the same time a loyal American citizen?

Many Romanists, no doubt, mean to

be loyal citizens of the republic, and honestly think they are; yea, we are and valued institutions - the public quite willing to believe that the great body of them have no wish to interfere with the liberties and institutions of America, and that if called upon to choose between serving our government and the power at Rome, think they would abjure Rome. But it must be remembered that they belong to a system in which free agency is impossible. As we have seen, the vatican claims absolute and supreme authority in all things, civil as well as spiritual, and dicial, executive, military, or other every member of that church is bound offices of the government, before enterevery member of that church is bound to render to the pontiff absolute and true, is it not quite certain that what affirmations, viz.: ever his private or personal opinions and feelings may be as an American citizen, he must support the church as against the state? Yea, this position is acknowledged not only by the Rothe representative Roman Catholic laymen in congress assembled at Baltisponded to the summons which Archbishop Ireland gave when confronting the seething mass, he with fiery emphasis, exclaimed:

"Go to your homes with the enthusiasm that you have here; spread it in every state in the union, and say there a new mission open for laymen. The long expected day has come when Cathand say, Henceforth we will act as one man in accordance with our religion."

The response to this call was given these words, to be found in the last paragraph of their platform:

the holy see) be scrupulously respected by all secular governments. We protest against the assumption by any such government of a right to affect the interests or control the actions of our hely father by any form of legislation, or other public act to which his full approbation has not been previously given, and we pledge Leo XIII., the worthy pontiff to whose hands Almighty God has committed the helm of Peter's bark amid the tempests of this stormy age, the loyal sympathy children in vindicating that perfect liberty which he justly claims as his

sacred and inalienable right." For less treasonable utterances, men Now, what are we going to do about it? treasonable declaration, and the further declaration that

"In performing their duties as citimanists are always, and under all circumstances, to act simply as Catholics." (See Catholic World, July, 1870.)

We have no hesitation in affirming that the oath of allegiance to our government taken by Romanists and by which they have obtained the rights make any difference whether the poof the ballot, citizenship and office, amounts to nothing-if they are good Romanists-and has no binding obligation where the interests of the church met. or the pontiff require it to be disre- ship. No man should be allowed to garded.

Peter having thus spoken, and the position of Romanists in this country being clearly established, what is to be done? If the American people do not propose to surrender to the papal the faith of the citizen, she will not perchurch their sovereignty, their honor mit the church to control the politics of fathers secured through the sacrifices religion, and we must learn that we are of the revolution, then something will Catholics first and citizens next. God have to be done, and that speedily. We do not hesitate to say as a measure for lioners, the nation's self-protection, that no The Catholic World, for August, 1871, man who confesses primal allegiance to one of the ablest and most influential of the pontiff in civil affairs, should be al- perium in imperio. lowed to participate as a citizen in either holding an office or casting a ballot.

has decided that the law of one of our the position of a deadly foe to all Ameristates, disfranchising Mormons, if constitutional, on the theory that the man times more perilous than the ships and who takes the oath the Mormons are armaments of other enemies to Amerirequired to take, cannot be a good citi- can liberties? If so, what are you going zen. Why should not this principle be to do about it?

Again, read the following in the applied to those who confess allegiance to the papal hierarchy? How much "A Catholic must not only believe longer will this flagrant violation of

Is it not high time for the nation to decide which is supreme, the church or

How long would the nation allow oneeighth of her population to enjoy all The same journal very tersely and the rights and privileges of American any other foreign power, say Austria "We are purely and simply Catholic, or Russia? Why permit this to be men who not only do not uphold Amer-This sort of loyalty is scarcely what lean institutions, but who endeavor to drive those who uphold them away Cardinal Manning, in Donahoe's Mag- from such allegiance through fear of eternal damnation?

Romanism eleva'es the church above the state, and demands that the first a law hostile to faith (Rome) we must allegiance of the citizen shall be to the to be struck at with the sword of speech, then be Catholics first, and citizens church, and claims the prerogative of deciding what laws of the state shall be obeyed, and what laws disobeyed. Can In view of such declarations and any person who is loyal to Romanism be true to Republicanism? Can a Romanist be a good citizen of America?

What is the duty of the government to those who, at the bidding of an alien power, are grossly misrepresenting and maligning the nation's most cherished schools-and pursuing a policy towards them that is expected to cripple them if not to destroy them, and who owe their first allegiance to the pope?

Let there be required of men appointed or chosen to fill offices of trust and power an oath of allegiance to the government as strong as can be framed, permitting of no mental reservation.

The constitution of Massachusetts, up till 1821, required the governor, lieutenant-governor, councillors, senators, representatives, as also every person appointed or commissioned to any juing on the discharge of the business of his place or office, to take and subscribe unquestioning obedience. This being the following declaration and oaths, or

["I. A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, that the commonwealth of Massachusetts is and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign, and independent state; and I do swear that I will bear true faith man hierarchy in this country, but by and allegiance to the said commonwealth; and that I will defend the same against traitorous conspiracies and all hostile attempts whatsoever; and that more a few weeks ago, who quickly re- 1 do renounce and abjure all allegiance, subjection, and obedience to the king. queen, or government of Great Britain (as the case may be) and every other foreign power whatsoever; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction. superiority, pre-eminence, authority, dispensing or other power, in any matter, civil, ecclesiastiis a new departure among Catholics in cal, or spiritual, within this commonwhich is or may be vested by their con-stituents in the congress of the United States; and I do further testify and deolic bishops, priests and laymen rise up clare, that no man or body of men hath or can have any right to absolve or discharge me from the obligation of this oath, declaration or affirmation; and that I do make this acknowledgby that large representative body, in ment, profession, testimony, declaration, heartily and truly, according to the common meaning and acceptation "We demand in the name of human- of the foregoing words, without any ity and justice, that this freedom (of reservation whatsomer. So help me. (See Chap. VI., Article I.) God."]

In 1821 the Sixth amendment was adopted, requiring that instead of the foregoing oath of allegiance, the following only should be taken:

I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and will support the constitution there-So help me, God."

Is it not high time to return to "the faith of the fathers," and require the enactment in every state, and by some

such statutes as the former? Let Romanists who would become citizens of the United States, be reand unstinted aid of all his spiritual quired, not only to take the oath of allegiance to the government, but to take an oath also renouncing all primal allegiance to the pope. This is not a question of religious intolerance, nor is it one of antagonism to foreigners who during the recent war, were sent to are willing to homologate with us in accordance with the spirit of our insti-Fort Lafayette or fled the country. accordance with the spirit of our invasingle span the splendid proportions of In view of this un-American and national freedom: we would not abridge the liberty of party, sect or individual But this is a question of self-protection and se'f-preservation, and the law of self-preservation is supreme in all social zens, electors and public officers, Ro- and political organizations. We would

> Romanism is a political system. It is a political power; as a political power it must be met, as a political force it must be treated when viewed in its relation to our institutions. It does not litical power that assails our institutions is on the shores of the Baltic, on the shores of the British Channel, or on the shores of the Tiber, it must be We can have no divided citizenparticipate in the political affairs of this country who is the subject or ally of a loreign power that is at war with our national institutions. No ballot for the man who takes his politics from the vatican.

As the state assumes not to control and their rights, and undo what their the citizen. Employers are prohibited under heavy penalties from influencing the votes of employees; prevent by penalties as heavy, ecclesiastics from influencing the votes of their parish-

Any corporate vote, be it that of a church or railway company, is a menace to a free state, because it is an im-

In the face of these most explicitly avowed claims of the papal hierarchy as iterated and reiterated by councils and bishops, who doubts that The United States supreme court Romanism as a political system occupies can institutions, and that its intriguing interference with politics is a thousand