

## THE NECESSITY OF RELIGION FOR SOCIETY.

1. *Religion the Basis of Civil Society.*
2. *The Religious Element in our American Civilization.*
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## I.

## RELIGION THE BASIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

**R**ELIGION is the bond that unites man with his Creator. It is a virtue by which due honor and worship are paid to God. The virtue of religion embraces all those fundamental truths that involve God's sovereignty over us and our entire dependence on Him. I employ the term *religion* here in its broadest and most comprehensive sense, as embodying the existence of God; His infinite power and knowledge; His providence over us; the recognition of a divine law; the moral freedom and responsibility of man; the distinction between good and evil; the duty of rendering our homage to God, and justice and charity to our neighbor; and, finally, the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments.

I hold that religion is the only solid basis of society. If the social edifice rests not on this eternal and immutable foundation, it will soon crumble to pieces. It would be as vain to attempt to establish society without religion as to erect a palace in the air, or on shifting sands, or to hope to reap a crop from seed scattered on the ocean's surface. Religion is to society what cement is to the building; it makes all parts compact and coherent. "He who destroys religion," says Plato, "overthrows the foundations of human society."<sup>1</sup>

The social body is composed of individuals who have constant relations with one another; and the very life and preservation of society demand that the members of the community discharge toward one another various and complex duties.

What does society require of your rulers and magistrates? What does it require of you? It demands of your rulers that they dispense justice with an even hand. It demands of you that you be loyal to your country, zealous in her defence, faithful in the observance of her law, conscientious in the payment of imposts and taxes for her maintenance and support. It demands that you be

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. x., De Legibus.

scrupulous in observing your oaths and vows, just in the fulfilment of your contracts and obligations, honest in your dealings, and truthful in your promises. It demands that you honor and respect your lawful superiors, that you be courteous toward your equals, condescending to your inferiors, faithful to your friends, magnanimous to your enemies, and merciful to the poor and the oppressed. It demands of the married couple conjugal fidelity, of parents provident vigilance, of children filial love. In a word, it demands that you "render to all men their dues; tribute, to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor;"<sup>1</sup> and that you "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."<sup>2</sup>

How can these social virtues be practised without sufficient motives? These motives must be strong and powerful, because you have passions and self-interest to overcome. They must be universal, because they are binding on all members of society. They must be permanent, because they apply to all times and places.

What motives, religion apart, are forcible enough to compel legislators, rulers, and magistrates to be equitable and impartial in their decisions? What guarantee have we that they will not be biassed by prejudice and self-interest? Will a thirst for fame and a desire for public approbation prove a sufficient incentive for them to do right? How often has not this very love of glory and esteem impelled them to trample on the rights and liberties of the many, in order to win the approbation of a few sycophants, just as Roboam oppressed his subjects that he might be admired and praised by his young courtiers, and as Alexander enslaved nations to receive the applause of the fickle Athenians.

Would you vote for a presidential candidate that avowed atheistic principles? I am sure you would not. You would instinctively mistrust him; for an unbelieving president would ignore the eternal laws of justice, and the eternal laws of justice are the basis of civil legislation.

What principles without religion are binding enough to exact of you that obedience which you owe to society and to the laws of your country? Is it the dread of civil punishment? But the civil power takes cognizance only of overt acts. It has no jurisdiction over the heart, which is the seat of rebellion, the secret council-chamber where dark schemes are concocted. The civil power cannot enter the hidden recesses of the soul, and quell the tumults raging there. It cannot invade the domestic circle to expel the intemperance and lewdness that enervate and debauch both mind and body. It cannot suppress those base calumnies, whispered in

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii., 7.

<sup>2</sup> Mark xii., 17.

the dark, which poison the social atmosphere with their foul breath, and breed hatred, resentment, and death. You might as well expect to preserve a tree from decay by lopping off a few withered branches whilst allowing the worms to gnaw at the roots, as to preserve the social tree from moral corruption by preventing some external crimes whilst leaving the heart to be worm-eaten by vice.

Besides, if you are so disposed, can you not in many instances escape the meshes of the law by resorting to gifts, bribes, and ingenious frauds ?

If the civil sword, even with the aid of religion, can scarcely restrain public disorders, how futile would be the attempt to do so without the coöperation of moral and religious influence !

Still less do you fear the judgment that posterity may pronounce on your conduct. For if you believe neither in God nor in a life to come, the condemnation of after-ages will not disquiet you, the censures of future generations will not disturb your ashes reposing in the tomb.

Nor can you suppose the emoluments of office an adequate incentive to induce you to be an upright and law-abiding member of society. The emoluments of office are reserved for the privileged few ; the great bulk of society will always be consigned to private life.

Do not imagine, because you happen to be a man of irreproachable private life, integrity of character, and incorruptible justice, that your fellow-citizens will seek you out, as the Romans sought Cincinnatus at the plow, that they will cordially embrace you, force you from your cherished seclusion, and bestow upon you some office of trust and distinction.

“ The office should seek the man, not the man the office,” is a beautiful, but Utopian maxim,—a maxim so antiquated as to deserve a place in the cabinet of national curiosities. The most successful office-holder usually has been and usually will be the most industrious office-seeker ; and his chances for success are not always improved by a delicate sense of honor and an inflexible adhesion to principle.

The esteem of your fellow-men will not be a sufficient inducement to make you a virtuous citizen ; for the great mass of virtues, even of those virtues that influence the well-being of society, are practised in private, and are hidden from the eyes of men. like the root which gives life and bloom to the tree, or the gentle dew of heaven which silently sheds its blessings on the labors of the husbandman.

Nor should you be surprised if your good actions, instead of winning the applause of your fellow-citizens, will sometimes even

draw upon you their suspicion, their jealousy, their odium, and their calumny. The wisdom and integrity of Aristides were such that the Athenians surnamed him "The Just;" yet they condemned him to exile. On the day on which the people were to vote upon the question of his banishment, an illiterate burgher, who did not know him personally, requested him to write the name of *Aristides* upon his ballot. "Has that man done you any injury?" asked Aristides. "No," answered the other, "nor do I even know him. But I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'"

The case of the Founder of the Christian religion is still more familiar to the reader. Who was so great a benefactor to society as He? He went about doing good to all men. He gave sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf, and walking to the lame, and strength to the paralyzed limb, and comfort to the afflicted, and even life to the dead. He promulgated the most sublime and beneficent laws that were ever given to man, He invariably inculcated respect for ruling powers and obedience to their authority; and yet He was branded as a seditious man, an enemy of Cæsar, and He was put to death by the very people whom He sought to deliver from spiritual bondage.

But, perhaps, you will say that a natural sense of justice, independently of religion, can exercise sufficient influence in inducing you to practise the duties of an upright citizen. They that discard religion and yet profess to believe in natural justice, are self-contradictory. They are grasping at the shadow, and rejecting the substance. They are unconsciously clothing themselves in the garment of religion, whilst they reject its spirit, "having, indeed, an appearance of godliness, but denying the power thereof."<sup>1</sup> If they had seriously reflected, they would discover that natural justice has no solid foundation unless it rests on religion. Natural justice may sound well in theory, but it is a feeble barrier against the encroachments of vice.

Tell me, what becomes of your natural love of justice, or what influence does it exert on your conduct, when it stands in the way of your personal interests, pleasures, and ambition?

It is swept away like a mud-bank before the torrent, because it has not the strong wall of religion to support it.

Would your love of justice lead you to give a righteous decision against your friend and in favor of a stranger, though you were persuaded that such a decision would convert your friend into a life-long enemy? Would it prompt you to disgorge ill-gotten wealth, and thus to fall in a single day from affluence into poverty? Would your natural sense of duty inspire you with pa-

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<sup>1</sup> II. Tim., iii., 5.

tience and resignation, if you were defrauded of your property by the treachery of a friend? Would a mere natural sense of duty or propriety restrain a Joseph or a Susanna from defiling his or her conscience, and violating the sacred laws of marriage? Would a natural love of truth and honor compel a guilty man to avow his secret crime, that he might vindicate the innocent falsely accused? Such acts of justice, patience, and truth are not uncommon in the Christian dispensation; but they would have been deemed prodigies of virtue in Pagan times.

There are many that consider mental culture a panacea for every moral disorder. "Let knowledge," they say, "be diffused over the land. Social order and morality will follow in its track."

The experience of other nations, as well as that of our own, shows it a very great illusion to suppose that intellectual development is sufficient of itself to make us virtuous men, or that the moral status of a people is to be estimated by the widespread diffusion of purely secular knowledge.

When the Roman Empire had reached the highest degree of mental culture, it was sunk in the lowest depths of vice and corruption. The Persian Empire, according to the testimony of Plato, perished on account of the vicious education of its princes. While their minds were filled with knowledge, they were guided by no religious influences. The voice of conscience was drowned amid the more eager and captivating cries of passion, and they grew up monsters of lust, rapine, and oppression, governed by no law save the instincts of their brutal nature.

It does not appear that vice recedes in the United States in proportion as public education advances. Statistics, I fear, would go far to prove the contrary fact. The newspapers published in our large cities, are every day filled with startling accounts of deep-laid schemes of burglary, bank defalcations, premeditated murders, and acts of refined licentiousness. These enormities are perpetrated for the most part, not by unlettered criminals, but by individuals of consummate address and skill; they betray a well-disciplined mind uncontrolled by morality and religion. How true are the words of Kempis: "Sublime words make not a man holy and just, but a virtuous life maketh him dear to God."

If neither the vengeance of the civil power, nor the hope of emoluments, nor the esteem of your fellow-men, nor the natural love of justice, nor the influence of education and culture, nor all these motives combined, can suffice to maintain peace and order in society, where shall we find an adequate incentive to exact of us a loyal obedience to the laws of the country? This incentive is found only in religious principles. Religion, I maintain, is the only sure and solid basis of society. Convince me of the exist-

ence of a Divine Legislator, the Supreme Source of all law, by whom "Kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things;"<sup>1</sup> convince me of the truth of the Apostolic declaration that "there is no power but from God, and *that* those that are are ordained of God, and *that*, therefore, he who resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God;" convince me that there is a Providence, who seeth my thoughts as well as my actions, that there is an incorruptible Judge, who cannot be bought with bribes nor blinded by deceit, who has no respect of persons, who will render to every man according to his works, who will punish transgressions and reward virtue in the life to come; convince me that I am endowed with free-will and the power of observing or of violating the laws of the country,—and then you place before me a Monitor, who impels me to virtue without regard to earthly emoluments or human applause, and who restrains me from vice without regard to civil penalties, you set before my conscience a living Witness, who pursues me in darkness and in light, and in the sanctuary of home, as well as in the arena of public life.

Religion teaches me that we are all children of the same Father, brothers and sisters of the same Redeemer, and, consequently, members of the same family. It teaches me the brotherhood of humanity.

Religion, therefore, is the fostering mother of charity, and charity is the guardian of civility and good-breeding, and good-breeding is one of the essential elements of the well-being of society. Worldly politeness, devoid of religion, is cold, formal, and heartless; it soon degenerates into hollow ceremony. Good-breeding, inspired by religion and charity, inculcates a constant self-denial. It is sincere and unaffected, it has the ring of the genuine coin, it passes current everywhere, and it is easily distinguished from the counterfeit article. A stranger, who would feel oppressed by the rigid mannerism which rules in the salons of Paris, would be charmed by the quiet dignity and genial warmth with which he would be received by the simple and religious people of the Tyrolese mountains.

As the air of heaven ascends the highest mountains and descends into the deepest valleys, vivifying the face of nature, so does the Christian religion permeate every stratum of society, purifying and invigorating the moral atmosphere. It influences the master and the servant, the rich and the poor. It admonishes the master to be kind and humane toward his servant by reminding him that he, also, has a Master in heaven who has no respect to persons. It does not attempt to disturb, still less to dissolve, those relations that exist between master and man; but it renders those relations

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<sup>1</sup> Prov., viii., 15.

more harmonious by rebuking a domineering spirit. It admonishes the servant to be docile and obedient to his master; "not serving to the eye as it were pleasing men, but, as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart."<sup>1</sup>

It reminds him that true dignity is compatible with the most menial offices, and is forfeited only by the bondage of sin.

It charges the rich not to be high-minded, nor to trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who "giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy."<sup>2</sup> It counsels the poor to bear their privations with resignation, by setting before them the life of Him who, in the words of the Apostle, "being rich, became poor for your sake, that, through His poverty, you might be rich."<sup>3</sup>

In a word, religion is anterior to society and more enduring than governments; it is the focus of all social virtues, the basis of public morals, the most powerful instrument in the hands of legislators; it is stronger than self-interest, more awe-inspiring than civil threats, more universal than honor, more active than love of country,—the surest guarantee that rulers can have of the fidelity of their subjects, and that subjects can have of the justice of their rulers; it is the curb of the mighty, the defence of the weak, the consolation of the afflicted, the covenant of God with man; and, in the language of Homer, it is "the golden chain which suspends the earth from the throne of the eternal."

Every philosopher and statesman who has discussed the subject of human governments has acknowledged that there can be no stable society without justice, no justice without morality, no morality without religion, no religion without God. "It is an incontrovertible truth," observes Plato, "that if God presides not over the establishment of a city, and if it has only a human foundation, it cannot escape the greatest calamities. . . . If a State is founded on impiety and governed by men who trample on justice, it has no means of security."<sup>4</sup>

The Royal Prophet, long before Plato, had uttered the same sentiment: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it."<sup>5</sup> And Isaiah says: "The nation and the kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish."<sup>6</sup>

Xenophon declares that "those cities and nations which are the most devoted to divine worship have always been the most durable and the most wisely governed, as the most religious ages have been the most distinguished for genius."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eph., vi., 6.

<sup>2</sup> II. Cor., viii., 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxxvi., 1.

<sup>7</sup> Memor. Socrat.

<sup>2</sup> I. Tim., vi., 17.

<sup>4</sup> De Leg., tom. viii.

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah, lx., 12.

"If you find a people without religion," says Hume, "rest assured that they do not differ much from the brute beasts."<sup>1</sup>

"Never," says Rousseau, who had his lucid intervals of strong sense, "never was a state founded that did not have religion for its basis."<sup>2</sup>

Machiavel, who was not an extremist in piety, avows that good order is inseparable from religion. He brands the enemies of religion as "infamous and detestable men, destroyers of kingdoms and republics, enemies of letters and of all the arts that do honor to the human race and contribute to its prosperity."<sup>3</sup>

Even Voltaire admits that "it is absolutely necessary for princes and people, that the idea of a Supreme Being, Creator, Governor, Rewarder, and Avenger, should be deeply engraved on the mind."<sup>4</sup>

Legislators and founders of empires have been so profoundly impressed with the necessity of religion as the only enduring basis of social order, that they have always built upon it the framework of their constitution. This truth must be affirmed of Pagan as well as of Jewish and Christian legislators. Solon of Athens, Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, and Numa of ancient Rome, made religion the corner-stone of the social fabric which they raised in their respective countries.

So long as the old Romans adhered to the religious policy of Numa, their commonwealth flourished, the laws were observed, their rulers governed with moderation and justice, and the people were distinguished by a simplicity of manners, a loyalty to their sovereign, a patient industry, a quiet contentment, a spirit of patriotism, a courage, and sobriety which have commanded the admiration of posterity. "The vessel of state was held in the storm by two anchors, religion and morality."<sup>5</sup>

It must be observed, however, that these virtues were too often marred by harshness, cruelty, ambition, and other vices, which were grave defects when weighed by the standard of the gospel. But a righteous God, who judges nations by the light that is given them, did not fail to requite the Romans for the civic virtues which they practised, guided solely by the light of reason. The natural virtues they exhibited were rewarded by temporal blessings, and especially by the great endurance of their republic.<sup>6</sup>

Montesquieu traces the downfall of Rome to the doctrines of Epicurianism, which broke down the barrier of religion and gave free scope to the sea of human passions.

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<sup>1</sup> Natural History of Religion. (Not having the original at hand, I quote from a French translation.)

<sup>2</sup> Contrat Social., l. iv., ch. viii.

<sup>4</sup> Diction. Philos., art. Athéisme.

<sup>6</sup> *Cfr.* St. Augustine's City of God, bk. v., ch. 15.

<sup>3</sup> L. i., De' Discorsi.

<sup>5</sup> Esprit des Lois, l. viii.



Lust of power and of wealth, unbridled licentiousness, and the obscenities of the plays, corrupted the morals of the people. The master had unlimited power over his slaves. The debtor was at the mercy of his creditors. The father had the power of life and death over his children. The female sex was degraded, and the sanctuary of home desecrated by divorce. The poison that infected the individual invaded the family, and soon spread through every artery of the social body.

Toward the close of the last century, an attempt was made by Atheists in France to establish a government on the ruins of religion, and it is well known how signally they failed. The Christian Sabbath and festivals were abolished, and the churches closed. The only tolerated temple of worship was the criminal court, from which justice and mercy were inexorably banished, and where the judge sat only to condemn. The only divinity recognized by the apostles of anarchy was the goddess of reason; their high priests were the executioners; the victims of sacrifice were unoffending citizens; the altar was the scaffold; their hymns were ribald songs; and their worship was lust, rapine, and bloodshed.

The more exalted the rank, the more sacred the profession, the more innocent the accused, the more eagerly did the despots of the hour thirst for their blood. They recognized no liberty but their own license, no law but their own wanton and capricious humor, no conscience but their own insatiate malice, no justice but the guillotine. At last, when the country was soaked with blood, suspicion and terror seized the tyrants themselves, and the executioner of to-day became the victim of to-morrow.

In a few months, as De Lamennais says: "They accumulated more ruin than an army of Tartars could have left after a six years' invasion."<sup>1</sup> They succeeded in a few weeks in demolishing the social fabric which had existed for thirteen centuries.

## II.

### THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN OUR AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

The subject treated in the foregoing section would not be adequately discussed unless some application of it be made to our own country. It may be interesting and instructive for us to consider in this place whether the dictum of the Holy Scripture, "Righteousness exalteth a nation,"<sup>2</sup> is as applicable to the United States as it has been to ancient empires; whether the founders of our government and their successors, down to our time, have been

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbs, xiv., 34.

indebted to religion as an indispensable element for establishing and maintaining the republic on a solid basis; what blessings we owe to our Christian civilization; and what dangers are to be averted that the Commonwealth may be perpetuated.

At first sight it might seem that religious principles were entirely ignored by the Fathers of the Republic in framing the Constitution, as it contains no reference to God, and makes no appeal to religion. It is true, indeed, that the Constitution of the United States does not once mention the name of God. And even the first article of the amendments declares, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And so strongly have certain religious sects been impressed with this fact, that they have repeatedly tried to get the name of God incorporated into the Constitution.

But the omission of God's holy name affords no just criterion of the religious character of the Founders of the Republic or of the Constitution which they framed. Nor should we have any concern to have the name of God imprinted in the Constitution, so long as the Constitution itself is interpreted by the light of Christian Revelation. I would rather sail under the guidance of a living captain than under that of a figure-head at the prow of a ship. The adorable name of God should not be a mere figure-head adorning the pages of the Constitution. Far better for the nation that His Spirit should animate our laws, that He should be invoked in our courts of justice, that He should be worshipped in our Sabbaths and thanksgivings, and that His guidance should be implored in the opening of our Congressional proceedings.

The Declaration of American Independence is one of the most solemn and memorable professions of political faith that ever emanated from the leading minds of any country. It has exerted as much influence in foreshadowing the spirit and character of our Constitution and public policy as the Magna Charta exercised on the Constitution of Great Britain. A devout recognition of God and of His overruling providence pervades that momentous document from beginning to end. God's holy name greets us in the opening paragraph, and is piously invoked in the last sentence of the Declaration; and thus it is at the same time the corner-stone and the keystone of this great monument to freedom.

The illustrious signers declared that "when, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands that have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature *and of nature's God* entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation."

They acknowledge one Creator, the source of life, of liberty, and of happiness. They "appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world" for the rectitude of their intentions, and they conclude in this solemn language: "For the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The laws of the United States are so intimately interwoven with the Christian religion that they cannot be adequately expounded without the light of Revelation. The common law of this country is derived from the common law of Great Britain. "The common law," says Kent, "is the common jurisprudence of the people of the United States, and was brought with them as colonists from England, and established here, *so far* as it was adapted to our institutions and circumstances. It was claimed by the Congress of the United Colonies, in 1774, as a branch of those 'indubitable rights and liberties to which the Colonies are entitled.' . . . Its principles may be compared to the influence of the liberal arts and sciences: 'Adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent; delectant domi; non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.' To use the words of Duponceau: 'We live in the midst of the common law; we inhale it at every breath, imbibe it at every pore; we meet with it when we awake and when we lie down to sleep, when we travel and when we stay at home, and it is interwoven with the very idiom that we speak.'"<sup>1</sup>

Now, it is an incontrovertible fact that the common law of England is, to a great extent, founded on the principles of Christian ethics; the maxims of the Holy Scripture form the great criterion of right and wrong in the civil courts. Hence blasphemy and perjury are punished as crimes against the commonwealth, *because* they are crimes against religion. The Chancellors of England, who were "the keepers of the king's conscience," have ever been, for succeeding generations, professing Christians, and, until the Reformation, they were even churchmen.

"The best features of the common law," says an American juriconsult, "if not derived from, have at least been improved and strengthened by, the prevailing religion and the teachings of the Sacred Book, especially those that regard the family and social relations." The Church left the impress of the Divine Law so indelibly on the common law that Sir M. Hale was moved to assert that Christianity was a part of the laws of England, and that to reproach the Christian religion "was to speak in subversion of the law," and that it was the judgment of the English people and their

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<sup>1</sup> Commentaries, p. 336 *et seq.*

tribunals that "he who reviled, subverted and ridiculed Christianity did an act which struck at the foundation of civil society."

The oath that is taken by the President of the United States before he assumes the duties of his office, and that is administered in our courts of justice, not only to the witnesses, but also to the judge, jury, lawyers, and officers of the court, in accordance with the Constitution, implies a belief in God and forms an act of religious worship. It is a national tribute of homage to the universal sovereignty of our Creator. By the act of taking an oath a man makes a profession of faith in God's unfailing truth, absolute knowledge, and infinite sanctity. He also acknowledges God as Supreme Judge, who, in the life to come, will reward righteousness and punish iniquity.

The Bible, which is placed in the hands of the witness and is reverently kissed, involves a recognition of divine Revelation.

The Christian Sabbath is revered as a day of rest and public prayer throughout the land. The halls of Congress and of our State legislatures are closed on that day. The proceedings of our courts of justice—Federal, State, and municipal—are suspended. The din of commerce is hushed; the looms in our factories are silent; the fires burn low in our foundries; and every city, town, and hamlet resounds with the peal of the joyous bell inviting men to prayer. This is a national homage to the Christian religion.

Again, the Chief Magistrate of the nation and the Governors of the States issue their annual proclamations, inviting the people to offer their thanksgiving to "the Giver of all good gifts" for the blessings He has vouchsafed to the land.

There is another national custom which proclaims God's sovereignty and superintending providence. I refer to the practice prevailing in this country of opening the proceedings of Congress and of State legislatures, of inaugurating other important measures with prayer, and of invoking the blessing of God on the work about to be commenced.

I do not pretend to excuse or palliate the bad taste and irreverent familiarity which characterize some of those prayers. But the holiest practices may be perverted. And I cannot fail to express my admiration for a custom which, in principle, recognizes God's mercy and moral government, and which confides in Him as the Fountain of all light and wisdom.

The original settlers of the American colonies, with very rare individual exceptions, were all professing Christians, who inaugurated and fostered that Christian legislation and those religious customs to which I have referred.

The Puritans who founded New England, the Dutch who settled in New York, the Quakers and Irish who established themselves in

Pennsylvania, the Swedes in Delaware, the English Catholics who colonized Maryland, the English Episcopalians who colonized Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina, the Irish Presbyterians who also emigrated to the last-named State, the French Huguenots and the English colonists who planted themselves in South Carolina, the French and Spanish who took possession of Louisiana and Florida—all these colonists made an open profession of Christianity in one form or another, and recognized religion as the basis of society.

The same remark applies with equal truth to that stream of population which, from the beginning of the present century, has been constantly flowing into this country from Ireland and Germany and extending itself over the entire land.

In one century we have grown from three millions to fifty-five millions. We have grown up, not as distinct, independent and conflicting communities, but as one corporate body, breathing the same atmosphere of freedom, governed by the same laws, enjoying the same political rights. I see in all this a wonderful manifestation of the humanizing and elevating influence of Christian civilization. We receive from abroad people of various nations, races and tongues, habits and temperament, who speedily become assimilated to the human mass, and who form one homogeneous society. What is the secret of our social stability and order? It results from wise laws, based on Christian principles, and which are the echo of God's eternal law.

What is the cohesive power that makes us one body politic out of so many heterogeneous elements? It is the religion of Christ. We live as brothers because we recognize the brotherhood of humanity—one Father in heaven, one origin, one destiny.

We shall appreciate our Christian civilization all the more by considering the aboriginal tribes of North America, with whom war was the rule and peace the exception; or by casting our eyes on the numerous tribes of Africa, who, though living side by side for ages, enjoy no friendly intercourse, but are habitually at war with one another. And had our country been colonized, developed and ruled by races hostile to religion, we should seek in vain for the social order and civic blessings that we possess to-day.

### III.

#### THE DANGERS THAT THREATEN OUR AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

But if our government and legislation are permeated and fortified by divine Revelation and Christian traditions, we cannot ignore the fact that they are assailed by unbelief, impiety

and socialism. We have our moral Hell-Gate, which threatens our ship of state, and which it requires more than the genius of a Newton to remove. If we have strong hopes for the future of our country, we are also not without fears. The dangers that threaten our civilization may be traced to the family. The root of the commonwealth is in the homes of the people. The social and civil life springs from the domestic life of mankind. The official life of a nation is ordinarily the reflex of the moral sense of the people. The morality of public administration is to be gauged by the moral standard of the family. The river does not rise above its source.

We are confronted by three great evils—Mormonism and divorce, which strike at the root of the family and society; an imperfect and vicious system of education, which undermines the religion of our youth; and the desecration of the Christian Sabbath, which tends to obliterate in our adult population the salutary fear of God and the homage that we owe Him. Our insatiable greed for gain, the cōexistence of colossal wealth with abject poverty, the extravagance of the rich, the discontent of the poor, our eager and impetuous rushing through life, the gross and systematic election frauds, and every other moral and social delinquency, may be traced to one of the three radical vices enumerated above.

Every man that has the welfare of his country at heart cannot fail to view with alarm the existence and the gradual development of Mormonism, which is a plague-spot on our civilization, a discredit to our government, a degradation of the female sex, and a standing menace to the sanctity of the marriage bond. The feeble and spasmodic attempts that have been made to repress this social evil, and the virtual immunity that it enjoys, have rendered its apostles bold and defiant. Formerly they were content with enlisting recruits from England, Wales, Sweden and other parts of Scandinavia; but now, emboldened by toleration, they send their emissaries throughout the country and obtain disciples from North Carolina, Georgia, and other States of the Union.

The reckless facility with which divorce is procured is an evil scarcely less deplorable than Mormonism; indeed, it is in some respects more dangerous than the latter, for divorce has the sanction of the civil law which Mormonism has not. Is not the law of divorce a virtual toleration of Mormonism in a modified form? Mormonism consists in simultaneous polygamy, while the law of divorce practically leads to successive polygamy.

Each State has in its statutes a list of causes, or rather pretexts, which are recognized as sufficient ground for divorce *a vinculo*. There are in all twenty-two or more causes, most of them of a very

trifling character, and in some States, as in Illinois and Maine, the power of granting a divorce is left to the discretion of the judge.<sup>1</sup>

The second evil that bodes mischief to our country and endangers the stability of our government, arises from our mutilated and vicious system of public school education. I am persuaded that the popular errors now existing in reference to education spring from an incorrect notion of that term. *To educate* means *to bring out*, to develop the intellectual, moral, and religious faculties of the soul. An education, therefore, that improves the mind and the memory, to the neglect of moral and religious training, is at best but an imperfect and defective system. According to Webster's definition, to educate is "to instil into the mind principles of art, science, *morals, religion*, and behavior." "To educate," he says, "in the arts is important; in religion, indispensable."

It is, indeed, eminently useful that the intellect of our youth should be developed, and that they should be made familiar with those branches of knowledge which they are afterward likely to pursue. They can then go forth into the world, gifted with a well-furnished mind and armed with a lever by which they may elevate themselves in the social scale and become valuable members of society. It is also most desirable that they should be made acquainted in the course of their studies with the history of our country, with the origin and principles of its government, and with the eminent men who have served it by their statesmanship and defended it by their valor. This knowledge will instruct them in their civic duties and rights, and contribute to make them enlightened citizens and devoted patriots.

But it is not enough for children to have a secular education; they

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<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan has the questionable honor of presenting a new plea for divorce, which, if applied to this country, might fill with dismay many unfortunate husbands uncongenial with their spouses. "A Lahore newspaper states that an Afghan lady recently applied to the Ameer Abdul Rahman for a separation from her husband on the ground that he was becoming bald. The defender and savior of Afghan unity, recognizing the importance of vindicating the sanctity of domestic as well as governmental authority, decided, after due reflection upon the demoralizing tendency of feminine disrespect for intellectual men, to make an example of the presumptuous plaintiff. His first step was to order a vial of sour milk to be poured on the husband's head, whether as an 'invigorator' or 'tonic' the eastern journalist does not say. Then, abandoning curative for punitive measures, the Ameer next commanded the wife to lick the milk off with her tongue, and when that was done, and the husband's head shone like a billiard ball, his highness directed that the unsympathetic woman should be 'placed on the back of a donkey with her face to the tail, and thus be forced to ride through the bazaar.' After that she knew better, it is reported, than to jeer heartlessly at the misfortune of the head of the house. A humane silence, if not respectful commiseration, was the least that a proper respect for the marriage vow dictated. To the ladies of America the Ameer's conduct will perhaps savor of oriental despotism, but it is possible that not a few of their worse halves will envy the position of honor that Eastern law secures to the bald-headed husband."

must receive a religious training. Indeed, religious knowledge is as far above human science as the soul is above the body, as heaven is above earth, as eternity is above time. The little child that is familiar with the Christian catechism, is really more enlightened on truths that should come home to every rational mind, than the most profound philosophers of pagan antiquity, or even than many of the so-called philosophers of our own times. He has mastered the great problem of life. He knows his origin, his sublime destiny, and the means of attaining it, a knowledge that no human science can impart without the light of Revelation.

God has given us a *heart* to be formed to virtue, as well as a *head* to be enlightened. By secular education we improve the mind; by religious training we direct the heart.

It is not sufficient, therefore, to know how to read and write, to understand the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic. It does not suffice to know that two and two make four; we must practically learn also the great distance between time and eternity. The knowledge of bookkeeping is not sufficient, unless we are taught, also, how to balance our accounts daily between our conscience and our God. It will profit us little to understand all about the diurnal and annual motions of the earth, unless we add to this science some heavenly astronomy. We should know and feel that our future home is to be beyond the stars in heaven, and that, if we lead virtuous lives here, we shall "shine as stars for all eternity."<sup>1</sup>

We want our children to receive an education that will make them not only learned, but pious men. We want them to be not only polished members of society, but also conscientious Christians. We desire for them a training that will form their heart, as well as expand their mind. We wish them to be not only men of the world, but, above all, men of God.

A knowledge of history is most useful and important for the student. He should be acquainted with the lives of those illustrious heroes that founded empires,—of those men of genius that enlightened the world by their wisdom and learning, and embellished it by their works of art.

But is it not more important to learn something of the King of kings who created all these kingdoms, and by whom kings reign? Is it not more important to study that uncreated wisdom before whom all earthly wisdom is folly, and to admire the works of the Divine Artist who paints the lily and gilds the clouds?

If, indeed, our soul were to die with the body, if we had no existence beyond the grave, if we had no account to render to God

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<sup>1</sup> Dan., xii., 3.



for our actions, we might more easily dispense with the catechism in our schools. Though even then Christian morality would be a faithful source of temporal blessings; for, as the Apostle teaches, "Piety is profitable to all things, having promise of *the life that now is*, and of that which is to come."<sup>1</sup>

But our youth cherish the hope of becoming one day citizens of heaven, as well as of this land. And as they cannot be good citizens of this country without studying and observing its laws, neither can they become citizens of heaven unless they know and practise the laws of God. Now, it is only by a good religious education that we learn to know and to fulfil our duties toward our Creator.

The religious and secular education of our children cannot be *divorced* from each other without inflicting a fatal wound upon the soul. The usual consequence of such a separation is to paralyze the moral faculties and to foment a spirit of indifference in matters of faith. Education is to the soul what food is to the body. The milk, with which the infant is nourished at its mother's breast, feeds not only its head, but permeates at the same time its heart and the other organs of the body. In like manner, the intellectual and moral growth of our children must go hand in hand; otherwise, their education is shallow and fragmentary, and often proves a curse instead of a blessing.

Piety is not to be put on like a holiday dress, to be worn on state occasions, but it is to be exhibited in our conduct at all times. Our youth must put in practice every day the Commandments of God and the precepts of the Church, as well as the rules of grammar and arithmetic. How can they familiarize themselves with these sacred duties, if they are not daily inculcated?

Guizot, an eminent Protestant writer of France, expresses himself so clearly and forcibly on this point that we cannot forbear quoting his words: "In order," he says, "to make popular education truly good and socially useful, it must be fundamentally religious. . . . It is necessary that national education should be given and received in the midst of a religious atmosphere, and that religious impressions and religious observances should penetrate into all its parts. Religion is not a study or an exercise, to be restricted to a certain place or a certain hour; it is a faith and a law, which ought to be felt everywhere, and which, after this manner alone, can exercise all its beneficial influence upon our mind and our life."

The catechetical instructions given once a week in our Sunday-schools, though productive of very beneficial results, are insuff-

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<sup>1</sup> I. Tim., iv., 8.

ficient to supply the religious wants of our children. They should, as far as possible, breathe every day a healthy religious atmosphere in those schools in which not only is their mind enlightened, but the seeds of faith, piety, and sound morality are nourished and invigorated. By what principle of justice can you store their minds with earthly knowledge for several hours each day, while their heart, which requires far more cultivation, must be content with the paltry allowance of a few weekly lessons ?

Nor am I unmindful of the blessed influence of a home education, and especially of a mother's tutelage. As she is her child's first instructor, her lessons are the most deep and lasting. The intimate knowledge she has acquired of her child's character by constant intercourse, the tender love subsisting between them, and the unbounded confidence placed in her by her pupil, impart to her instructions a force and conviction which no other teacher can hope to win.

But how many mothers have not the time to devote to the education of their children ! How many mothers have not the capacity ! How many, alas, have not the inclination !

And granted even that the mother has done her duty, the child's training does not end with the mother, but it will be supplemented by a curriculum in other schools. And, of what avail is a mother's toil, if the seeds of faith that she has planted are choked by the tares of impiety and infidelity, or attain a sickly growth in the cheerless atmosphere of a schoolroom from which the sun of religion is rigidly excluded ?

The remedy for all this would be supplied if the denominational system, such as now obtains in Canada, were applied in our public schools.

The desecration of the Christian Sabbath is the third social danger against which it behooves us to set our face, and take timely precautions before it assumes proportions too formidable to be easily eradicated.

The custom of observing religious holidays has prevailed, both in ancient and modern times, among nations practising a false system of worship, as well as among those professing the true religion. They have set apart one day in the week, or at least certain days in the month or year, for the public and solemn worship of their Creator, just as they have instituted national festivals to commemorate some signal civic blessing obtained by their heroes and statesmen.

The Mohammedans devote Friday to public prayer and special almsgiving, because that day is appointed by the Koran.

The Parsees of Persia and India have four holidays each month consecrated to religious worship.

The Hebrew people were commanded by Almighty God to keep holy the Sabbath Day, or Saturday, because on that day God rested from His work.<sup>1</sup> He wished to remind them by this weekly celebration that He was their Creator and Master, and the Founder of the universe. He desired that they should be moved to worship Him by the contemplation of His works, and thus rise from nature to nature's God.

The Sabbath was marked also by a beneficent character, which admirably displays God's tender mercy toward His creatures and appeals with touching pathos to the compassion of the Hebrew master in behalf of his servant and beast of burden. "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God. Thou shalt not do any work therein, thou, nor thy . . . bondman and bondwoman, . . . nor any of thy beasts, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. . . . Remember that thou also wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out from thence with a strong hand and a stretched-out arm."<sup>2</sup>

The prophet Isaiah attaches abundant blessings to the due observance of the day: "The children of the stranger that adhere to the Lord to worship Him, and to love His name, to be His servants: every one that keepeth the Sabbath from profaning it, and that holdeth fast my covenant; I will bring them into My holy mount, and will make them joyful in My house of prayer; their holocausts and their victims shall please Me upon My altar. For My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations."<sup>3</sup>

The prophet Ezekiel declares the profanation of the Sabbath foremost among the national sins of the Jews, and the chief cause of their national calamities. "I lifted up My hand upon them in the wilderness, to disperse them among the nations, and to scatter them through the countries: because they had not done my judgments, and had cast off my statutes, and had violated My Sabbaths."<sup>4</sup>

It is the opinion of Grotius and of other learned commentators that the Sabbath was held sacred for generations prior to the time of Moses, and its observance, according to Lightfoot and other writers, dates even from the creation, or, at least, from the Fall of Adam. Hence they maintain that the Jewish lawgiver, in prescribing the Sabbath, was not enacting a new commandment, but enforcing an old one.

This inference is drawn from the words of Genesis: "And He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it,"<sup>4</sup> which plainly means that He then instituted it as a day of rest and prayer for Adam and all his posterity. It is manifest also from the significant fact that

<sup>1</sup> Exod., xx., 8.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, lvi., 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Deut., v., 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Gen., ii., 3.

the Hebrew people, for some time before they received the Law on Mount Sinai, were enjoined in the desert to abstain on the Sabbath Day from gathering manna, and to rest from all servile work.<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion is obvious from the very words of the precept: *Remember* to keep holy the Sabbath Day, by which God recalls to their mind an already-existing ordinance which had grown well-nigh obsolete during their bondage in Egypt. This inference is, moreover, warranted by the fact that the Sabbath was kept sacred by the Egyptians, as Herodotus testifies. We cannot suppose that a people, so tenacious of their traditions, would adopt from their own slaves a religious custom that was rarely, if ever, practised by the slaves themselves, owing to their wretched condition. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that it was derived from the primitive law given to Adam.

With what profound reverence, then, should we view an ordinance instituted to draw man closer to his Maker, and to inculcate on him humanity toward his fellow-beings and compassion for even the beast of burden; an ordinance, whose observance was requited by temporal blessings, and whose violation was avenged by grievous calamities; an ordinance, which was first proclaimed at the dawn of human life, re-echoed on Mount Sinai, and engraved by the finger of God on the Decalogue; an ordinance, which applies to all times and places, and which is demanded by the very exigencies of our nature!

Sunday, or the Lord's Day, is consecrated by the Christian world to public worship and to rest from servile work, in order to commemorate the Resurrection of our Saviour from the grave, by which He consummated the work of our Redemption, and to foreshadow the glorious resurrection of the elect and the eternal rest that will be theirs in the life to come. "We who have believed," says the Apostle, "shall enter into rest." "There remaineth, therefore, a day of rest for the people of God." Yea, an everlasting day of rest and supreme felicity prefigured by the repose of the ancient Sabbath. Most appropriately, indeed, has Sunday been chosen. If it was proper to solemnize the day on which God created the world, how much more meet to celebrate the day on which He redeemed it.

As the worship of our Creator is nourished and perpetuated by religious festivals, so does it languish when they are unobserved, and so does it become paralyzed when they are suppressed. Whenever the enemies of God seek to destroy the religion of a people, they find no means so effectual for carrying out their impious design as the suppression of the Sabbath. Thus, when Antiochus deter-

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Exod., xvi., 23.

<sup>2</sup> Heb., iv., 9-11.

mined to abolish the sacred laws of the Hebrew people and to compel them to conform to the practice of idolatry, he defiled the Temples of Jerusalem and Garizim, he put an end to the Jewish sacrifices, and, above all, he forbade, under pain of death, the *observance of the Sabbath and the other religious solemnities*, substituting in their stead his own birthday and the Feast of Bacchus as days of sacrifice and licentious indulgence.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of the French Revolution of 1793 adopted similar methods for the extirpation of the Lord's Day in France. The churches were profaned and dedicated to the *Goddess of Reason*; the priests were exiled or put to death. The very name of Sunday, or Lord's Day, was abolished from the calendar, that every hal-  
lowed tradition associated with that day might be obliterated from the minds of the people.

And it is a well-known fact that, in our own times, the enemies of religion are the avowed opponents of the Christian Sabbath. I have seen Sunday violated in Paris, in Brussels, and in other capitals of Europe. And even in Rome I have seen government workmen engaged on the Lord's Day in excavating and in building, a profanation which grieved the Holy Father, as he himself acknowledged to me. Who are they that profane the Sunday in those cities of Europe? They are men lost to all sense of religion, who glory in their impiety and who aim at the utter extirpation of Christianity.

A close observer cannot fail to note the dangerous inroads that have been made on the Lord's Day in our country within the last quarter of a century. If these encroachments are not checked in time, the day may come when the religious quiet, now happily reigning in Baltimore and other well-ordered cities, will be changed into noise and turbulence, when the sound of the church-bell will be drowned by the echo of the hammer and the dray, when the Bible and the prayer book will be supplanted by the newspaper and the magazine, when the votaries of the theatre and the drinking saloon will outnumber the religious worshippers, and salutary thoughts of God, of eternity, and of the soul will be choked by the cares of business and by the pleasures and dissipation of the world.

We cannot but admire the wisdom of God and His ultimate knowledge of the human heart in designating one day in the week on which public homage should be paid Him. So engrossing are the cares and occupations of life, so absorbing its pleasures, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to direct the thoughts of mankind to the higher pursuits of virtue and religious worship unless a special

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<sup>1</sup> II. Mac., vi.

time is set apart for these spiritual exercises. We have certain hours assigned to the various functions of daily life. We have stated hours for retiring to rest at night and for rising from sleep, for partaking of our meals, and for attending to our regular avocations of life. If we attended to these ordinary functions only when the spirit would move us, only when inclination would prompt, our health would be impaired and our temporal interests would suffer. And so, too, would our spiritual nature grow torpid if there were no fixed day for renovating it by the exercise of divine praise and adoration. We might for a time worship God at irregular intervals, but very probably we would end by neglecting to commune with Him altogether.

The Christian Sabbath is a living witness of Revelation, an abiding guardian of Christianity. The religious services held in our churches each successive Sunday are the most effective means for keeping fresh in the minds and hearts of our people the sublime and salutary teachings of the Gospel. Our churches exercise on the truths of Revelation an influence analogous to that exerted by our courts of justice on the civil law. The silence and solemnity of the court, the presence of the presiding judge, the power with which he is clothed, the weight of his decisions, give an authority to our civil and criminal jurisprudence and invest it with a sanction which it could not have if our courts were closed.

In like manner, the religious decorum observed in our temples of worship, the holiness of the place, the sacred character of the officiating ministers, above all, the reading and exposition of the Sacred Scriptures, inspire men with a reverence for the Divine Law and cause it to exert a potent influence in the moral guidance of the community. The summary closing of our civil tribunals would not entail a more disastrous injury on the laws of the land than the closing of our churches would inflict on the Christian religion.

How many social blessings are obtained by the due observance of the Lord's Day! The institution of the Christian Sabbath has contributed more to the peace and good order of nations than could be accomplished by standing armies and the best organized police force. The officers of the law are a terror, indeed, to evil doers, whom they arrest for overt acts; while the ministers of religion, by the lessons they inculcate, prevent crime by appealing to the conscience, and promote peace in the kingdom of the soul.

The cause of charity and mutual benevolence is greatly fostered by the sanctification of the Sunday. When we assemble in church on the Lord's Day, we are admonished by that very act that we are all members of the same social body, and that we should have for one another the same lively sympathy and spirit of cōoperation

which the members of the human body entertain toward one another. We are reminded that we are all enlivened and sanctified by the same Spirit. "There are diversities of graces," says the Apostle, "but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministers, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but the same God who worketh all in all." We all have divers pursuits and avocations; we occupy different grades of society, but in the house of God all these distinctions are levelled. The same Spirit that enters the heart of the most exalted citizens, does not disdain to descend also into the soul of the humblest peasant. We all profess our faith in the same Creator, and we are all regenerated by the waters of baptism. We hope for the same heaven. We meet as brothers and sisters of the same Lord whose blood was shed on the Cross not only to cleanse our soul from sin, but to cement our hearts in love. We are, in a word, taught the comforting lesson that we all have one God and Father in heaven. "One body," says the Apostle, "one Spirit, as you are called in one hope of your vocation. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all."<sup>2</sup>

And how can we hesitate to render to our Creator this reasonable service? We give six days to our temporal affairs; let us devote one day to our eternal interests. Six days we spend in the society of our fellow-men; let us consecrate one day to conversing with our Maker. Six days we lay up treasures on earth; on the seventh we should lay up treasures in heaven.

If, indeed, the observance of the Sunday were irksome and difficult, there would be some excuse for neglecting this ordinance. But it is a duty which, so far from involving labor and self-denial, contributes to health of body and contentment of mind. The Christian Sunday is not to be confounded with the Jewish or even the Puritan Sabbath. It prescribes the golden mean between rigid sabbatarianism on the one hand, and lax indulgence on the other. There is little doubt that the revulsion in public sentiment from a rigorous to a loose observance of the Lord's Day, can be ascribed to the sincere but misguided zeal of the Puritans, who confounded the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath, and imposed restraints on the people which were repulsive to Christian freedom, and which were not warranted by the Gospel dispensation. The Lord's Day to the Catholic heart is always a day of joy. The Church desires us on that day to be cheerful without dissipation, grave and religious without sadness and melancholy. She forbids, indeed, all unnecessary servile work on that day; but as "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," she allows

<sup>1</sup> I. Cor., xii., 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ephes., iv., 4-6.

such work whenever charity or necessity may demand it. And as it is a day not only of religion, but also of relaxation of mind and body, she permits us to spend a portion of it in innocent recreation. In a word, the true conception of the Lord's Day is expressed in the words of the Psalmist: "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us be glad and rejoice therein."

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### AN ITALIAN CHAMPION OF CATHOLIC RIGHTS.

WHEN to Carlalberto, fugitive and broken-hearted on the far-off shore of Portugal, Victor Emmanuel II. had succeeded, and Piedmontese ambition, leagued with Garibaldi and Mazzini, and guided by the genius of Cavour, was preparing all Italy for another and a more successful war against Austria, Cesare Cantù was pursuing his own intellectual labors, directing all of them towards the realization of his cherished dream of an Italy independent, united, and Catholic.

Then appeared the work which he had conceived the plan of in his Austrian prison, his *Storia degli Italiani*, in six volumes, the work which had been the cherished subject of his studies all through the preceding years, and while giving to the public so many precious fruits of his genius. He had put into its composition his whole heart and soul, both as an Italian and as a Catholic. Any serious-minded lover of Italy, who reads these six pregnant volumes through, must be convinced, long before he finishes their perusal, that the coming generation of Italians will find in these glowing and patriotic pages the most eloquent exhortation to be true to the religion and the ideal of their mediæval ancestors.

The Neo-Guelph's aspirations are apparent throughout. These, of course, were equally distasteful to the courts of Vienna and Turin, the former of which considered the Lombardo-Venetian provinces as the southernmost portion of the former German Empire, while the latter aimed at nothing less than blotting out in the Peninsula every sovereignty but its own. Indeed, the Piedmontese king and statesmen were far more bitterly opposed to Cantù's teaching than his own Austrian rulers; the very idea of an Italian Confederation, especially of one in which the Pope should be the presiding authority, was an abomination to Victor Emmanuel and