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# CATHOLIC, JEW KU KLUX KLAN

What They Believe Where They Conflict

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One thing will stand forth with startling distinctness, to the impartial reader of these pages. It is the fact that there actually is a wide gulf of misunderstanding and misapprehension between each of these three great groups in our population. Suspicion is rampant. The shadows of doubt and fear can be seen on every hand. No diplomatic channels exist for discussing these questions. There has been appointed no board of arbitration to consider the charges and counter-charges. There seems to be no open forum where the conflicts may be threshed out. No grievance committees meet and exchange accusations. Apparently no way exists by means of which these misunderstandings may be cleared up.

# CATHOLIC, JEW KU KLUX KLAN

# What They Believe Where They Conflict.

#### CHAPTER I

We citizens of the United States are divided by religion into three major groups: Protestants, Catholics and Jews. The largest of these groups is the Protestants, while it forms the greatest body of citizens of the three, yet it is the most loosely held together. It represents many races. The Catholics, while representing several different races, are very closely bound together by their religious belief. The Jews are bound together by the double tie of race and an exclusive racial religion.

Within the Protestant group there has grown up during the past nine years an organization which, in size, now claims to approach the entire Catholic population of this country. Moreover, this new organization has declared itself upon certain beliefs and procedures to be opposed to the beliefs of the Catholic and the Jew. In consequence, a conflict of contending forces is now going on in politics, in business and in social life, between the Catholic, the Jew and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The purpose of this work is to outline impartially the fundamental differences of race, religion and belief that separate the groups; to find out what each stands for in our material and spiritual development, and to present the accusations and replies of each side so that the reader may judge for himself the justice of each side.

This book is not prepared as propaganda for any side. You who read it are entitled to the plain facts, honestly edited and presented. You will find here a record of some of the masked horrors for which the newspapers claim the Klan is responsible. You will find the Klan's explanation of these. You will find what the Klan charges against the Jew and the Catholic, and you will find presented just as fully and honestly what the Catholic and the Jew charge against the Klan. You will find also the explanation and defense of both sides. Read them and draw your own conclusions. You can thereby see the entire conflict with a better understanding of the sincerity and ideals of all sides.

#### CHAPTER II

# THE HOODED TERROR

# A Newspaper Indictment

During the last two years scarcely a week has elapsed during which the Associated Press dispatches did not carry the stories of cutrages committed by mysterious bands of masked men.

These dispatches come from widely separated parts of the country. They tell of brutality and lawlessness in many places, the beating, kidnapping and tarring and feathering of individuals, attacks upon meetings and parades, resulting, in numerous instances, in murders. Invariably the perpetrators conceal their identity with masks and robes, either the authorized regalia of the Klan or very close imitation of that worn by Klansmen.

The following have been selected as representative of the press dispatches, stripped of emotional headlines. Draw your own conclusions as to whether they constitute evidence of a scheme of deliberate terrorism to accomplish an unknown purpose, or whether they are the acts of individuals or groups seeking private vengeance under the cloak of a mysterious order to which they may, or may not, belong.

## THE CASE OF REV. OREN C. VAN LOON

On the morning of July 11, 1924, a half-naked man was found on one of the streets of Battle Creek, Mich., apparently suffering from shock, exposure and the effects of a terrible mental and physical strain.

Examination disclosed that the man had been branded, like one of the cattle of the Western plains. In the middle of his back, squarely between his shoulder blades, three letters had been burned so deeply that they would never be eradicatd. They were three inches high; the flesh they seared still quivered from the agony of the branding process.

The letters were: "K. K. K."

The man, it was discovered, was Dr. Oren C. Van Loon, pastor of a community church of Berkeley, Mich., a suburb of Detroit. For eleven days the papers had carried the news, comments and speculations about the mystery of his disappearance on the night of June 30, the date when he had last been seen by relatives and friends.

"What happened to you?" he was asked at the hospital.

Dr. Van Loon struggled to remember. At first his mind was a blank. Finally he recalled that he had arisen in the morning

and prepared to board an interurban car for Flint, Mich., where he was scheduled to deliver an address the night of July 1. An acquaintance came along in an automobile.

"Hello!" the acquaintance greeted the minister. "Jump in. I'll take you as far as Royal Oak, anyway."

Dr. Van Loon remembered alighting in front of the bank at Royal Oak, where he waited for the street car that was to take him the rest of the distance to Flint. Arrived at this point in his narrative, the victim stopped suddenly and buried his face in his pillow.

"I can tell nothing more," he said.

"Don't you care how this outrage happened?" he was asked.

"There has been enough strife among Christians over these matters," he replied.

If he ever told anybody the full story of his abduction and branding, it has not at this writing become public property. Something has sealed his lips. Up to the time of his disappearance he had been active in denouncing a certain "hooded order" from his pulpit. Afterward, he preserved a profound silence.

# THE INGLEWOOD, CALIFORNIA, KILLING

On the night of Saturday, April 27, 1922, a crowd of masked, hooded men raided the home of Fidel and Mathias Elduyen, Mexicans, in the suburb of Inglewood, Los Angeles.

These men were handled with brutal roughness and ordered to reveal the hiding place of a whisky still. The brothers protested that they knew of no such still.

"We have only a bonded winery," they declared in terror. "There is some wine out there, if you care to look, but that's all."

They were dragged to a spot about six miles away, and finally left with the warning that they had better leave the country at once. The mob then started back for the house.

In the meantime, a Japanese family living close by, terrified by the affair, had telephoned the Los Angeles police department. A young officer, Frank Woerner, responded on a motorcycle, driven by a companion. The pair met the crowd of masked men on the road. A short parley ensued; then young Woerner, according to the press dispatches, opened fire. Subsequent stories of the affair were to the effect that a miniature battle was staged on the highway, in which the young policeman was the victor.

At any rate, when the smoke cleared away three of the masked figures were stretched on the ground. The two officers stripped the disguises from the victims. One of them was discovered to be Medford B. Mosher, constable of Inglewood, mortally wounded. He died six hours later. Walter E. Mosher, his son, was slightly wounded. Leonard Ruegg, a deputy sheriff, had a bullet in his abdomen and was in serious condition.

Wholesale arrests followed. Thomas Lee Woolwine, the famous district attorney of Los Angeles at the time, used special representatives of his department to make the arrests. Special deputy sheriffs were pressed into service. Some of the most prominent business men of the suburb were declared to be involved. At the inquest it was testified by men admitting membership in the "hooded order" that the raid had been planned the night before and that certain members had been designated to take part in it. The police department of Los Angeles, it was asserted by Woolwine, was heavily represented in the Order.

Nevertheless; a curious veil of secrecy has since been drawn over the entire affair. For a time the papers of the country were emblazoned with headlines describing the raid, its fatal culmination, and the investigation growing out of it. But at this writing nothing more is heard about it.

#### THE MER ROUGE MURDERS

The crowning horror of masked violence was precipitated upon an awe-stricken populace by the discovery, late in December of 1922, of the hacked and mutilated bodies of Major F. Watt Daniels, son of a wealthy planter, and Thomas F. Richards, a widely known citizen, floating on the surface of Lake La Fourche, Morehead Parish, Louisiana.

The little town of Mer Rouge, nearby, was thrown into a panic by the discovery. Newspaper investigators and the civil authorities reported that the population of the parish was about evenly divided in their sympathies and connections with "the hooded order." That the latter was responsible for two of the most atrocious murders in the history of the South was declared by hundreds, and denied with equal vehemence by other hundreds. For a time it looked as though civil war might result from the feeling that ran so high.

Daniels had served in the Tank Corps during the World War, and was widely popular. The ensuing investigation resulted in the arrest of one Jeff Burnett, declared to have been a member of a masked gang who murdered Daniels and Richards. Burnett lolled in his cell at the county jail and joked with his jailers, newspaper men and others, asserting with palpable confidence that "no jury in this county will ever convict me."

Testimony brought out at the hearing, Jan. 5, 1923, was to the effect that Daniels and Richards had been waylaid by a gang of masked men the night of August 24, 1922, and taken into a patch of woods near Mer Rouge, where they were questioned about an attempted assassination several nights before of Dr. B. W. McKoin, former mayor of Mer Rouge. The physician's automobile had been fired upon from ambush and riddled with bullets, as he was riding toward the home of a patient. He himself escaped injury. He had been active in fighting moonshiners, bootleggers and gamblers.

and was supposed to have incurred the murderous animosity of members of those professions.

Daniels and Richards were seized in company with three other men, one of them J. L. Daniels, father of the subsequently murdered youth. A "kangaroo court" was set up in the woods. All the men denied knowledge of or complicity in the ambushing of Dr. McKoin.

In their efforts to obtain a confession, it was reported, the gang attacked the elder Daniels, whipping him unmercifully. At sight of this outrage and with the groans of his aged parent torturing his ears, young Daniels is said to have shouted, suddenly:

"This is a hell of a state of affairs, for you to whip my old father, while I'm tied and can't do a thing."

The man wielding the lash paused and walked over to the protesting son. With a quick movement the bound man wrenched loose from his bonds and tore the mask from off the other's face, recognizing him. Whereupon, according to testimony, the unmasked man drew a revolver and shot young Daniels, killing him instantly.

Richards, standing close by, revealed by his expression that he, too, had recognized the unmasked one. In a moment he plunged forward on his face, shot through the heart.

Murder had not been any part of the plan of the kidnappers, it was declared. Officials of "the hooded order," according to reports, promised to produce the men responsible for the double killing; but up to this writing the affair is swathed in as baffling a mystery as ever. It has never been cleared up. Will it take its place as one of the unsolved horrors of criminal history?

The majority of the newspapers throughout the country accuse the Klan of being responsible for these outrages. In both their editorial columns and their news disaptches they have not hesitated to repeatedly make such accusations. The purpose of this publication, as stated in the introduction, is to discover the real truth in so far as it can be learned. We will present later the side of the Klan as stated by prominent officials of the order, but before doing this it is essential to a broader understanding that we know more about the Klan—what it is—what it stands for—and what it is trying to accomplish. Likewise it is just as important that we know the same things about the Catholic and Jewish organizations. All three are great and powerful groups. It would be as unjust to condemn one without a hearing as it would another.

In the following chapters will be given a condensed outline of the ideals, views, and purposes of each, with a summary of some of their differences in religious belief.

#### CHAPTER III

# IDEALS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

What It Believes and What It Stands For

Belated motorists passing within sight of famous Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Ga., at midnight of Thanksgiving Day, 1915, were electrified at the sight of a huge, burning cross on its summit.

Around the base of the fiery symbol was gathered a group of hooded, shrouded human figures, apparently going through some kind of a ceremony. Curiosity seekers attempting to approach the mountain for investigation were stopped by sentinels, also hooded and shrouded, who guarded all roads. Absolutely no information could be obtained; even the newspaper reporters were compelled, for several days, to fall back upon more or less vague speculation in their attempts to account for the strange spectacle.

On December 4th of that year, however, the State of Georgia issued a charter to a new secret, fraternal society. The name given it was "The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." A special charter also was granted the order the following July by the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, in which it was revealed that Colonel William Joseph Simmons, of Atlanta, had been named as "The Imperial Wizard."

For a long time the general public knew little more. It was up against a blank wall—a position it has perforce retained ever since, so far as knowledge of the inner workings of the Ku Klux Klan are concerned. Only those who have been admitted, via "a real man's oath," within the sacred precincts could tell—and they don't do it.

The secrecy maintained by the organization has proved baffling to outsiders. Midnight parades in the bizarre Klan regalia, spectacular appearances at churches and equally spectacular donations of money, unheralded attendance at funerals—by these and other methods has the Klan kept speculation alive.

"The Imperial Proclamation," issued by the Klan for perusal and study by men believed to be eligible, qualified and worthy to join the order, carries with it the following statement as to what the Ku Klux Klan really is:

"It is a standard fraternal order enforcing fraternal conduct, and not merely a 'social association.' It is a duly incorporated, legally recognized institution, honest in purpose, ideal in sentiment, and practical in results that commands the hearty respect of all respectable people throughout the nation. It is not encouraging

or condoning any propaganda of religious intolerance or racial prejudice. It is an association of REAL men who believe in BEING something, in DOING things worth while, and who are in all things 100 PER CENT. PURE American. Yet it is vastly more than merely a social fraternal order."

That the Klan stands for "America First, Benevolence and Clannishness" is the assertion of the organization. Its ritualism is claimed to be vastly different from anything in the whole universe of fraternal ritualism, ip that it is altogether original, weird, mystical and of the highest class, leading up through four degrees.

"It unfolds a spiritual philosophy that has to do with the very fundamentals of life and living." The Klan declares: "He who explores the dismal depths of the Mystic Cave and from thence attains the lofty heights of Superior Knighthood may sit among the gods in the Empire invisible."

The Klan asserts that it stands for certain racial, citizenship, patriotic, and Christian ideals. That it is essentially and primarily a Christian organization is the earnest declaration of its sponsors. A list of the principles in which its members believe and are sworn to uphold follows:

The tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, protection of our pure womanhood, just laws and liberty, closer relationship of pure Americanism, the upholding of the constitution of the United States, the sovereignty of our state rights, the separation of Church and State, freedom of speech and press, closer relationship between capital and American labor, preventing the causes of mob violence and lynchings, preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators, prevention of fires and destruction of property by lawless elements, the limitation of foreign immigration, the much needed local reforms, and law and order.

The Klan declares itself unqualifiedly to be a "white man's organization," exalting the Caucasian race and teaching the doctrines of white supremacy. As an avowed Gentile organization it cites as its mission "the interpretation of the highest ideals of the white, Gentile peoples." As an American organization, it restricts membership to native-born American citizens. Its membership also is restricted to those "who accept the tenets of true Christianity, which is essentially Protestant."

Rightful use of the ballot is one of the reforms to which the Klan pledges itself, in its statement of "citizenship ideals." The exercise of citizenship "intelligently" is a necessity, it claims. Enforcement of law by the regularly constituted authorities is one of the planks in the Klan platform; in this connection it says:

"This organization does not take the law into its own hands and will not tolerate acts of lawlessness on the part of any of its members." Patriotically, the Klan takes its stand upon the Declaration of Independence as the basis of popular government, declares that the Constitution of the United States "must be recognized as the supreme law of the land," and stresses that the American' citizen's allegiance to the Government of the United States must be absolute and unassailable. "Neither domestic traitors nor foreign foes of any kind shall be permitted to destroy this nation," it says.

Finally, the Klan cites the Bible as the basis of our constitution, the foundation of our government, the source of our laws, the sheet anchor of our liberties, the most practical guide of right living and the source of all true wisdom.

"We teach the worship of God," the Klan asserts. "We honor the Christ, as the Klansman's only criterion of character. We believe that the highest expression of life is in service and in sacrifice for that which is right; that selfishness can have no place in a true Klansman's life and character, but that he must be moved by unselfish motives, such as characterized our Lord the Christ and moved him to the highest service and the supreme sacrifice for that which was right."

What does the Fiery Cross symbolize, in Klancraft?

"It symbolizes the living, not the dead, Christ," is the answer given by the Klansman.

The motto engraved upon Klan pocket pieces is: "Non Silba Sed Anthar." It means: "Not For Self, But For Others."

Klan branches are active in every state and city, and almost in every county, in the United States. New members are taking the oath in astonishing numbers. Single cities are known to admit as high as a thousand or more members weekly. Halls, opera houses, theatres and auditoriums are no longer large enough to accommodate the throngs of the "Invisible Empire." Regular meetings often are perforce held in the open air, for lack of enclosed space.

How many members has this strange Order? The figures appear to be unavailable to the outsider. Known members, when asked, answer: "Oh, anywhere from ten to twenty millions!"

What sort of persons are these Klansmen?

"Native born, white, Gentile Protestants," is the answer contained in the Klan's published qualifications for membership.

It is clear, then, that the men comprising the innumerable branches that together form the great national organization must be descendants of the Protestant settlers of the country—Scotch, English, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, French and others in less degree; in other words, the grown-up children, grand children and great grand children of that great horde of Nordic emigrants who thronged to our shores from northern Europe since the historic landing at Plymouth Rock.

#### CHAPTER IV

# IDEALS OF THE JEWISH RACE

# What It Stands for and What It Believes

There are in the United States more than 3,000,000 Jews, of whom approximately 2,000,000 are in New York City alone. The balance are scattered all over the country, living principally in the larger cities.

Many Jewish physicians and surgeons have achieved high places in medicine and surgery, and some of the most notable cures on record have been performed by them. The Jewish race is heavily represented in music and the drama. Literature presents some scintillating stars among its Jewish contributors. In the legal profession there are literally thousands of Jews today; and the highest tribunal of the land, the Supreme Court of the United States, numbers among its robed dignitaries a Jew acknowledged to be one of the most brilliant minds in a brilliant profession.

Jewish charities are declared to be unparalleled in magnitude and efficiency, compared with the total Jewish population. Every city of any size in America has its Jewish hospitals, retreats, homes for the aged and institutions of like character. Jewish rabbis are frequently found to be leaders in civic activities; exchanges of pulpits between them and Protestant ministers are becoming more and more frequent. At the funeral of a famous Episcopalian rector, some years ago, there appeared the Bishop of the Catholic diocese, the leading Jewish Rabbi and a representative Protestant minister.

Judaism is a religion of law and love.

Contrary to a widespread assumption and belief, it is not a religion that teaches a doctrine of eternal reward exclusively for the Jews as "God's chosen people." Analysis develops that "a double stream of thought is to be discerned—a particularistic and a universal, exclusiveness and breadth, Jewery and the wide world, the God of Israel and the God of Humanity." (A. S. Isaacs).

Maimonedes (1130-1205), a Rabbi whose interpretation of Jewish doctrine is accepted by a great majority of the Jews of modern times, declared for the universality of reward of good in these words:

"The pious of all nations have a share in the future bliss."

This declaration is quoted so widely among leaders of modern Jewish thought as to have become a classic of utterance. It expresses the general conviction that the Gentile, as well as the Jew, comes within the purview of God's all-embracing plan of universal love and salvation. The Jew believes that all humanity will in

time achieve perfection, when "all men will acknowledge the unity of God and the brotherhood of man."

Judiaism is a fixed religion, but is difficult to define. It demands no assent to formal articles of belief. Its first principle is belief in God, whom it defines as a Being having the attributes of unity, incorporeality, eternity, omniscience and imnipotence, whose justice is tempered with mercy. The realities of revelation is its second principle; the revealings of Mount Sinai through Moses, and their confirmation through the prophets of laws and statutes, the moral and ceremonial law and the immutability of the "torah," or Pentateuch.

The third principle is future reward or punishment for those who obey or transgress the law, and belief in the soul's immortality.

The Messiah is still to come, according to Jewish belief. He may come as a personality or as an Epoch. When He comes He will bring in an era of universal peace. Maimonedes defines the creed of Judaism with thirteen articles embodying these points as follows: Belief in the Creator, His unity, incorporeality and eternality; that Moses was the greatest of all the prophets; that the torah was revealed on Sinai and possesses immutability; that God knows the thoughts and actions of men; that there is a future reward and punishment, a resurrection of the dead, and that the coming of the Messiah is to be looked for.

The ceremonial code and historical ritual are vital factors in the preservation of Judaism.

They are: "Signs," the observance of the Sabbath, festivals and dietary laws, the aim to quarantine the Jew from idolatry and secure the permanence of the God idea, and to insure self-control over the passions and appetite, promoting physical and moral growth, and maintaining family purity and happiness.

God and Nature are not identical, according to Jewish doctrinal teaching. There is nothing of Pantheism in it. The Jew is taught that God is Mind, Intelligent Will or Energy Will, and that He created, governs, and preserves Nature; that Nature is a manifestation of God, and that His attributes are unity, indivisibility, holiness, intelligence and omnipotence.

The Jewish religion holds that man possesses inalienable rights to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness—and that these fundamentals of modern civilization were taught originally in that religion.

One authority says:

"The practical character of Judaism is seen in the recognition it gives to man as a citizen. No one is to slight his relation to his country, but to express his patriotism by obedience to the civil law. by service to city, state or nation in peace or war."

In support of this position Jeremiah is quoted: "Seek ye the welfare of the city to which I have caused you to be carried captive, and pray to the Lord in its behalf, for in its welfare shall ye fare well." (Jer. XXIX: 7). And the command of God as set forth in Leviticus: "Love thy fellow man as thyself," (Lev. XIX: 18) is cited as all comprehensive. "It is the Golden Rule of Israel."

Ideals as set up by the Jewish religious teaching are: Redemption of the individual, or salvation; supremacy of Truth, Justice and Peace; Humanitarianism; Israel as a priest people; the Brotherhood of Man; Universal Peace, and the Messianic era.

The Jewish religion has always laid stress upon civil, ethical and spiritual law, according to the claims of its adherents. But it is also a religion of love, it is declared; throughout the old Testament love is inculcated as a desideratum of a truly religious life.

Judaism has always been a living religion in every environment, and this despite the cross-fertilization of ideas it has encountered in Babylonia, Rome, Egypt, Russia, Arabia, Spain and mediaeval Germany. It may be defined, as by one observer, as "ethical monotheism illumined by national customs and observances." The Jew's original Semitism has developed into a cosmopolitanism that makes him a citizen of every land, and assures him civil and religious liberty.

The chief Jewish festivals are the New Year, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, Passover and Pentacost, with Purim, Hanukkah and the Fast of Ab—the latter in memory of the fall of Jerusalem.

The Jew does not seek converts, and this, he asserts, is another proof of the declaration that his is a religion of universal love. For:

"The pious of all nations shall have a share in the future bliss."

#### CHAPTER V

### IDEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

What It Believes and What It Stands For

No other organization in the past two thousand years has excited as much discussion or led to as much controversy as the Catholic Church. Millions of books and pamphlets have been written about it. Billions of people, during this time, have rallied around the banner of the cross, while other billions have opposed, denounced, and even persecuted the Church.

These striking facts show that, regardless of what men may think of it, the Catholic Church has been recognized as a great institution. Had this not been true, it would long ago have been cast aside as unimportant. These facts also reveal the utter impossibility of telling in such a brief space as a single chapter in this book all about the Church and for what it stands. It will be interesting, however, to touch upon the most important features of that extensive institution. But since the greatest powers of man and "the amplest leisure of a lifetime have been for centuries unequal to the task of doing justice to the Roman Catholic Church," the reader is warned in advance that after reading this sketch, he is "still lingering in the vestibule of a great subject."

Roman Catholics may be found in every part of the world and, according to the London Catholic Directory, they may be estimated at 309,718,779. Of this vast number there are in the United States but 18,559,787. As these figures are taken from the Official Catholic Directory of the United States, which considers only the membership as shown on parish records, the total number of Catholics in this country is much greater. According to some authorities, a reasonable estimate would be 23,000,000.

The Church proper is a society of living beings with a code of rules, officers, and ceremonial observances. It differs from other organizations in that it professes to be purely a supernatural society founded by Jesus Christ for the spiritual salvation of mankind; that the Pope and the Bishops exercise their power as successors of the Apostles who were chosen by Christ in person; that it is the only and true church which Christ founded when He said: "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (Matt. xxvi: 18).

All ecclesiastical authority in the Catholic Church is said to be exercised in virtue of the commission of Christ, not by the consent of the parishioners. In this respect its government may be said to be autocratic. On the other hand, the lowliest member "may appeal from the decision of subordinate authorities to the Holy See," while the Pope himself is obliged to go to confession, even to a priest. In this and many other ways the Church is very democratic.

The Roman Catholic Church claims infallibility only in matters pertaining to faith' and morals. It teaches that when the Pope speaks or writes as a private doctor, he is liable to error; that the infallibility of the Church does not prevent members of the Hierarchy or the clergy from wrong-doing.

Catholics believe that the Church cannot undergo any constitutional or fundamental change which will make it, as a social organism, something different from what it was originally. This does not, however, guarantee it against heresy nor apostasy. Thus, whole populations may renounce the faith, say Church authorities, yet the stem of the Church will not be altered. Neither does it shoulder responsibility for the conduct of States and individuals that it condemns, nor for disorders that it has never commanded or approved.

All members of the Catholic Church including those in the United States are united under and acknowledge the same spiritual government with the Pope of Rome as their supreme head. All obey the same laws, profess the same faith, and join in the common worship prescribed by the Church. In matters purely civil or political, no member of the Church need obey any order which the Hierarchy or clergy may happen to give.

The Church is not a state within a state, according to Catholic authorities, but an institution separate and distinct, independent of any State or civil society. There is not even an official Papal State at the present time. Ever since the "violent and unjust dispossession of the Holy See" by the Italian government in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Vatican has had no temporal dominion over any portion of the world.

A description of the Roman Catholic Church would not be complete without mention of the several religious orders and communities that form a very ancient auxiliary force in the Church. The majority of these devoted people, both men and women, whom even non-Catholics are willing to praise for their zeal and selfsacrifice, are engaged in teaching. Of the remainder Cardinal Gibbons said: "It is owing to them that the orphans have been collected and cared for, the sick housed and sheltered, the poor and helpless and aged, the crippled and the blind, looked after regularly and lovingly. They surely walk in the footsteps of Jesus, doing good wherever they go. Content with food and clothing and shelter, they devote their lives, often in the very flower of youth and health and beauty, to the weak and needful members of Christian society." True it is that their hospitals and orphanages and homes are found everywhere in this country, and statistics can show only a portion of the real good these charitable communities are doing.

For what does the Roman Catholic Church stand? The following points are by no means exhaustive of the Church's teachings, yet they will furnish a basis upon which to pass judgment.

The Church stands for the Bible in its entirety, and its members firmly believe and tenaciously hold that the Bible is the true word of God. Great spiritual favors are accorded by the Church even to the laity, who, in response to the urgent appeals of priests, Bishops, and Popes, read part of Holy Scriptures every day with reverence and devotion. Catholics have good reason for reverently regarding the Bible. "For 1500 long years," writes Thomas F. Coakley, D. D., "the Roman Catholic Church was the sole custodian of Holy Scripture, for she was practically the only occupant in the field of Christianity. . . . . Had not the Catholic Church preserved the Bible from destruction, it would perhaps be little known today."

Authority in religion is another of the great distinguishing features of the Catholic Church. It teaches that the inspired Word of God in itself, and independent of the living voice and divinely authorized interpretation of the Church, cannot be a safe guide to eternal life. Private and unauthorized interpretation of the Bible is taboo in the Catholic Church although the faithful are not forbidden to read the sacred text. The Catholic compares the authority of the Church in religious matters over and above that of the Bible to the authority exercised by the Supreme Court of the United States in civil matters. Each in its sphere renders decisions from which there is no appeal.

In this way, says the Catholic, there is certainty in religion. To talk about change in religious truths is as ludicrous as to talk about change in mathematical truths. With authority in religion, however, the Catholic is not free to make changes. "We shall believe tomorrow the same unchanging and unchangeable doctrines," says a Catholic writer, "that the Catholics who accompanied Columbus believed, and Columbus and his followers brought to this glorious land the self-same faith that was believed by the earliest Christian community that the annals of history record."

Divorce is not permitted by the Roman Catholic Church. It has taken a very decided and uncompromising stand against what is considered "the plague spot of the Republic," the "moral leprosy," "the fetid cancer that is rapidly eating out the very vitals of American life." Matrimony, to Catholics, is a divinely instituted Sacrament, and no divorce is allowed that will permit one of the parties to marry during the life of the other. The Church has assumed this resolute stand, it is pointed out, not on the theory that all marriages are happy ones, but on the doctrines delivered by Christ, when He said: "What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." (Matt. xix 6).

#### CHAPTER VI

# DIFFERENCES IN RELIGIOUS BELIEF

Conflicting Interpretations of the Scriptures, Different Views Upon Life After Death and Upon Divorce.

It is illuminating, in view of the more or less antagonistic positions taken by the followers of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant religions, to discover, upon analysis, that they have much in common; and especially to find that the ideals set up by them are almost identical—a unit in their appeal to the better impulses in humanity.

Interviews with leaders of the three schools of thought bring this fact out forcibly. There is little or no prejudice visible. The more intellectual the leader, the broader and wider is his perspective, and, as a rule, the more tolerant is his attitude. It would seem, therefore, that the more light we have upon the subject, the less room there is for the suspicions that lurk, like bats, in the gloomy corners of our minds. Ideals are, after all, exactly what the name implies. If they are constructive, they live. If not, they die.

The fundamental differences in religious beliefs are not so great, generally speaking, as is popularly supposed. The Apostle's Creed, for example, is substantially the same in all Christian denominations; it is only the difference in interpretation that creates doctrines so widely divergent in their application to the individual and his spiritual practice.

A discussion of these doctrinal differences would take up a vast amount of space, plunge the writer into a labyrinth of controversy and stir up extraordinary confusion. Therefore only the "high spots" will be touched here. What are the principal points upon which Catholics, Jews and Protestants disagree?

All agree upon the principle of the life beyond the grave, with the attainment of future bliss contingent upon the belief in and practice of good in life. Here is an ideal, it may readily be seen; "good is right, and wins reward."

But the modus operandi by which heaven is attained—here we begin to draw apart. The Catholic faith teaches, for instance, that the human soul, at death, except in the cases of saints and others of exceptional purity, enters Purgatory, the saved reaching the state of heavenly bliss assisted by the prayers of the living. The Jew is taught that future reward or punishment is the lot of the soul, according to whether or not the "law" has been transgressed or obeyed; no special method of transition is defined.

The numerous denominations in the Protestant religions differ widely upon the question. Some hold that the transition is instantaneous; others, going to the opposite extreme, teach that the soul remains in the grave until the judgment day. Still others, declare that it is held in Paradise pending the end of the world, and the Judgment, when final determination as to reward or punishment will be made by God. At least one denomination, which calls itself "creedless," contends that all men will be saved, "hell" being merely a synonym of erroneous thinking.

Perhaps the question of future reward or punishment is not so important, for the purposes of this discussion, as that involving the spiritual economy of life in this world, the attitude of men toward each other and toward great social and religious movements designed to give impulse and impetus to constructive thinking and action.

The Catholic believes in what is termed the "infallibility" of the Church and the decrees of its ecclesiastical authorities. That is, whatever is handed down by the Church through its active heads must be accepted as absolute and final, even though such decrees may be based upon tradition rather than upon written records. Unanimous consent of the Fathers stamps such decrees with the insignia of Truth.

The Jew believes in what he calls "the immutability of the Pentateuch, or torah." The Pentateuch is the first five books of the Bible, and contains the laws given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, including the Ten Commandments. The Jew believes these laws to be unchangeable in their significance and application, taking them literally. Tradition has no place in the Jewish doctrine.

The Protestant, for the most part, is taught that the Bible is inspired throughout. He is bound in his spiritual beliefs only by Bible commands and precepts, as interpreted by the accredited heads of the church and leaders of spiritual and theological thought therein, such interpretations and their amendments being adopted formally by vote at periodical conferences, synods and other meetings.

Both the Catholic and the Protestant—always bearing in mind that certain Protestant demoninations qualify their agreement with the rulings of the majority—believe in the "Holy Trinity," or the doctrine of "Father, Son and Holy Ghost." The Catholic is taught that God, the Father, is self-created; that the Son proceeds from the Father, and that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

The Protestant does not attempt to define the method by which the three units of the Trinity came into being, holding merely that "these three are one," as stated in the New Testament.

The Jew, refusing to admit that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah, does not, therefore, subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity at all, ascribing to the one God, or Jehovah, absolute supremacy in all things.

It may be said in this connection, however, that the differences in belief regarding the Holy Trinity are so vague as to be virtually undiscernible to the mind untrained in doctrinal dissection and subdivision. The Holy Trinity partakes of the great mystery surrounding all things spiritual. To the lay mind attempts to explain it constitute hair-splittings of theological opinion, based wholly upon individual and denominational interpretation of Biblical statement.

The most pronounced difference in belief between the Jew and all other religious doctrines, fundamentally, is upon the question of the divinity of Jesus Christ.

As in the time of Christ, the orthodox Jew of today refuses to credit the claim of Messiahship by Jesus and his followers, holding that Jesus not only was not the Son of God, but that He was an imposter as well. No mention of the Christ is made in the Jewish declaration of doctrinal principles; the Jewish Bible consists of the Old Testament. The Jew does not accord authenticity to the New Testament.

The Catholic teaches that Jesus was not only the divine Son of God, but that, as an equal partner in the Trinity, he is God Himself. Upon this point there is a noticeable difference in the contentions of the various Protestant interpretations of creed, some agreeing with the Roman Catholic interpretation, others affirming that Jesus was merely the highest type of manhood that ever graced humanity, typifying the human perfection possible for all men to attain.

What about Sabbath observance?

The positions of the three religious groups upon this matter are highly interesting to observe—and confusing as well.

In some respects they are a unit on the question. The Commandment relating to Sabbath observance is specific in its language, it is generally held, in setting aside one day in seven for rest from all labor. Some ecclesiastical authorities interpret this language as mandatory in its phrasing; others cite the interpretation of Jesus Christ, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," as meaning that Sabbath observance is a privilege rather than merely a duty, whereby man may employ the leisure of the day in mental contemplation of spiritual things—to his individual benefit.

But there is vast confusion over the matter of Sabbath Observance. The Catholic sets aside the "first day of the week," or Sunday. Most of the Protestants do likewise, with a few dissenting and declaring that Saturday, being the "seventh day" specified in the Commandment, should be observed. The Jew, of course, takes the latter view. Some ministers take the view that, so long as one

day in seven is observed, the particular day selected is of no especial consequence.

The divorce evil is a bone of real contention between the three groups.

The Catholic church takes no middle ground upon this question, refusing absolutely to temporize with it. Divorce is neither permitted nor recognized, by the church's spiritual laws. "Until death do us part" is taken by the Catholic to mean exactly what it says. Once married, man remains that way so long as he or the partner of his joys and sorrows lives, in the eyes of the church.

Not only do Protestant doctrines take widely varying stands upon the matter, but ecclasiastical heads within the denominations themselves offer so many opinions and present so many different attitudes that the investigator is conscious of utter bewilderment. Some hold that divorce is permissible only for reasons cited in the New Testament—adultery. Others go to the opposite extreme, alleging that demonstrated incompatability constitutes sufficient grounds. Still others forbid divorce altogether. There are Protestant ministers of one denomination who will refuse to marry a couple either party of which has ever been divorced for any reason than that of adultery; there are others in the same denomination who will perform the ceremony without regard to the divorce status of the principals.

Aparently the Jewish religious laws contain no specific reference to the divorce question. The Jew is taught to abide faithfully by the laws of the land, in all things; it is presumed that he is controlled by the divorce laws of whatever land or state in which he happens to reside.

Marriages outside the Catholic church are not recognized by its heads, while in other Christian faiths, at least in America, civil ceremonies are recognized as binding as well as legal. There are many cases on record where Catholic persons have been married by justices of the peace, judges and even Protestant ministers; but before such marriages are recognized officially by the church, a ceremony must be performed by a priest.

The Catholic, the Jew and the Protestant unite in believing in the supremacy of God Almighty, creator of heaven and earth; in the attributes of Divine Love, expressed in goodness, kindness, charitableness and the other virtues; in the principle of brotherly love and service, etc.

The Catholic differs from the Jew or the Protestant in his belief regarding prayer, holding that petition may be made to the saints for intercession with God, as well as directly to God. In this respect the Virgin Mary, as the Mother of God, occupies a very high place. Catholics deny that they worship the Virgin Mary; but that since God Himself selected her to be the Mother of the Son, the race for whom the Son died on the Cross can do no less than honor her. The Virgin Mary is believed by the Catholics to be exempt from all sin, by virtue of grace and privilege.

As may be seen from the foregoing, analysis of different religions and interpretations of creed is so difficult a matter as to stir up confusion, not only in the minds of the reader and auditor, but in the mind of the student as well. It would seem to be impossible, then, for the adherent of one religion to understand another. The futility of such undertakings, as sponsored by various contending institutions, is a matter of historic knowledge; the devastating religious wars of the past prove this futility.

In the matter of individual ideals, as pointed out before, the Catholic, the Jew and the Protestant have much in common. Jesus Christ declared that belief in the one God, and unqualified love of that God, together with practice of the principle of brotherly love, constituted the two greatest commandments. Even the Jew, who denies the divinity of Jesus, subscribes to these ideals.

It is chiefly upon speculative theories regarding life beyond the grave, based upon human interpretation of inspired Biblical revelations, that the three great groups begin to diverge.

After all, what adherent of any religion could probe deeply into his own embraced or inherited faith without encountering, sooner or later, things which would completely baffle him?

Misunderstanding is like darkness; it arouses speculation, suspicion and fear. Light dissipates darkness, showing it up for what it is—nothing. Perhaps if the light of complete understanding were to be shed abroad upon the Catholic, the Jewish and the Protestant religions, the darkness of bigotry would be dissolved; bootless contention would end, bitterness of feeling would be replaced by harmony, and man would love his brother everywhere.

#### CHAPTER VII

# WHAT THE KLAN CHARGES AGAINST CATHOLIC AND JEW

Why It Believes They Cannot Represent True American Ideals.

The Ku Klux Klan is very definite upon its position with reference to the menaces it claims have grown up in this country, in the form of institutions which have become so large and powerful as to constitute a cause for well-founded alarm.

Chief among these is the Jewish Race in America, and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

The Klansman insists that he bears no malice toward any individual member of these two great groups in our population, and especially none toward the religions represented. But he points out what he professes to believe is a grave danger to the preservation of the ideals upon which our government is built, viz., the clannish exclusiveness of the Jew, coupled with his absolute non-assimmilability; and the fervent loyalty of the Catholic to his church government at Rome, involving such unquestioning obedience to papal edicts that observance of the civil laws of our country becomes of secondary importance.

The loyalty of the Catholic to his church government powers is cited by the Klansman as positive proof that the Church comes first in the strictly Catholic mind, in both a spiritual and a temporal sense. In this connection, as an illustration of the conviction held by the Klan that a Catholic obeys his Church laws first and those of the civil authorities only where there is no confliction, Dr. Hiram W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Klan, quotes the following from the Catholic paper, America:

"Whatever may be affected by public enactment with regard to the rights of men and women before the law, no Catholic is free to admit any legislation which tends to destroy the center of authority in the home."

Dr. Evans interprets the clause "free to admit" as meaning, also, "free to abide by." In his pamphlet entitled "The Public School Problem in America" he says:

"Why is no Catholic free to admit—and of course to abide by—legislative acts of the government of the United States? There is only one answer. It is because his higher allegience is to a religious monarchy, not even American in domicile, whose alien decrees can set aside all laws as easily as one law."

The growth of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, then, is to the Klan mind a matter of grave concern, portending control of our government by the Church at Rome, and an eventual union of Church and State which will spell absolute disintegration and stagnation for the state.

This, in short, is the explanation given by the Ku Klux Klan of its position with reference to the Catholic in America. It believes that the Church has for centuries pursued a definite policy having for its object the gradual assumption of the reins of civil government, through the election of Catholic men and women to positions of authority, or men and women of Catholic sympathies; that this course was decided upon shortly after the discovery of America by Columbus (who, it is pointed out, was himself a Catholic), when the kings of two countries refused to accept a proposition from the Church that the new country be divided equally between the three; that the Church at that time predicted eventual ownership of America for itself, the Pope asserting calmly that this would be brought about in time, even if it took two thousand years.

The history of the Church in Europe is cited as proof of the contention. In many European countries there is at least a partial union of Church and State, it is pointed out; in at least two there is an absolute union between them. Why should the church take any different view of the American situation, Klansmen demand? Especially, they add, as the policies of all hierarchies are dictated from Rome?

What the Catholic has to say about the charge will be set forth in a succeeding chapter. Suffice it to say, at this time, that the Klansman appears to feel a genuine concern over the situation, declaring without qualification that all the denials which can be propagated have no bearing upon what the Klan believes to be the truth; namely, that if nothing be done about it, it will be only a matter of time—and perhaps a very short time at that—when the President of the United States will take his orders from the Pope.

How does the Klan propose to combat this alleged menace to the free democratic ideals and institutions of America?

It has taken two very definite stands thus far, both "tying up" with its platform regarding the so-called Catholic scheme to dominate our government.

One is its stand upon restricted immigration. The other is its stand upon the public school question—which involves an emphatic protest against the parochial school, of which the Catholics have 6388 in the United States, with a total enrollment of 1,988,376 pupils. (Official Catholic Directory for 1924).

The Catholic hierarchy in America, according to the accusations of the Ku Klux Klan, favors unrestricted immigration—and with a selfish end in view. Sixty per cent of the immigrants who swarmed to America in the last ten years previous to the outburst of the World War, it is claimed by Imperial Wizard Evans, were of "undoubted papist" faith. The same ratio obtains now, he says, under the restricted immigration law. He cites that in Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and Moscow thousands of men and women are studying the English language "with the one idea of coming to America and getting employment." These are papists, he asserts; their addition to the country's population will mean a corresponding addition to the legions of the Roman Catholic church in this country; and in the Church they will be grounded in the sinister principles of the union of Church and State.

Although claiming to have been responsible for the enactment of the restricted immigration law, the Ku Klux Klan is not satisfied with it as it stands.

In a pamphlet "The Menace of Modern Immigration," Dr. Evans says:

"It must be apparent to any thoughtful, patriotic American that the mere fact of our having had, say, a million undesirable, unassimilable aliens here in 1910 from a certain country is not a valid reason for now permitting 3,000 more of them to enter our gates each year.

"This quota relates entirely to quantity, while quality should determine the whole matter. Restriction, unless it is absolute, cannot reach and remedy the evil. . . . This problem of our immigration has become so acute and critical, so menacing to America in its every aspect and influence, as to demand instant and heroic attention by those in authority. I speak only as one American, but in that capacity it humbly seems to me that Congress should, at the earliest possible moment, enact two emergency measures.

"First, stop all immigration, with exceptions applying only to separated families.

"Second, while the gates are closed, institute a thorough governmental investigation into every phase of alienism, to the end that there may be exact and scientific information upon which to base a permanent immigration policy."

The Kian's attack upon the country's immigration policy contains only incidental reference to its effect upon the growth of the Catholic hierarchy; but the reference is unmistakably there, and it would seem to the analytical student of the Klan literature upon the question that the control of immigration is aimed directly at curtailment of the alleged Catholic activities in behalf of Church domination of civil affairs. It charges that the Church purposely gathers under its wing the illiterates of the world, and that it thrives on ignorance. And then Dr. Evans says, with reference to the character of immigrants coming to America today:

"During the last decade, the United States has received, through its wide open ports, immigrants from other countries whose numbers have astounded the world and which it will take at least another ten years for America to assimilate.

"These immigrants, far from being the Anglo-Saxon of Scantinavian types of fifty years ago, in search of home, God and freedom, and whose sons and daughters are today loyal and patriotic Americans, are mostly the scum of the Mediterannean and middle European countries.

"Italian anarchists, Irish Catholic malcontents, Russian Jews, Fins, Letts, Lithuanians and Austrians of the lowest class compose the personnel of the present horde of immigrant invaders

"Ignorant and unskilled, covetous and greedy, they come to this country, not with political liberty and religious freedom as their goal, not with determination to become true citizens and to adopt and uphold this country's laws and institutions, but with one sole and ultimate end in view—the accumulation of American money wherewith to retire in later years to their beloved homelands, fattened at the expense of the country which sheltered them and gave them prosperity."

In his article entitled "The Attitude of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Toward the Roman Catholic Hierarchy," the Imperial Wizard says:

"A large number of the vast horde of immigrants who have reached our shores in the last thirty years have been Catholics. . . . In protestant America we must have time to teach these alien peoples the fundamental principles of human liberty before we permit further masses of ignorant, superstitious, religious devotees to come within our borders.

"When America ceases to be a country inhabited by Americans and becomes the polyglot center of the universe, our co-mingled population will have no fixed ideas as to what human liberty means, nor the responsibility that freedom entails upon the people who enjoy it, and our free institutions will collapse.

"From every angle our country and its institutions are in danger, and no danger is greater or more destructive than the infiltration of peoples and ideas which are not American. Too long, from a place of fancied security, we have watched the growth of a liberalism which bids fair within a decade to become license; and when a population, feeling no responsibility for fundamental principles, gets a wrong perspective, countries lose their liberty, civilizations pass, and the sea of time has again upon its shores the wreck of human endeavors."

And then the Imperial Wizard adds:

"For the Roman Catholic as a man we are sorry; for the Roman Catholic Hierarchy as a semi-political religious organization we have an antipathy bred into us from the loins of our forefathers, the men who conquered the wilderness and built a nation, set ablaze the beacon fires of liberty that all the world might see by that light the true road to happiness.

"The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan pledge themselves now and forever to stand between our country and any agency, anywhere, which seeks to lay its hands upon our Holy American institutions."

#### THE KLAN ACCUSES THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF BEING AGAINST OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

In conformity with its avowed constructive program for the preservation of American government, institutions, ideals and political and social liberty, the Ku Klux Klan takes a decided stand upon education. It advocates a program that will do two things:

(1) Establish a department of education, with a Cabinet Secretary at its head, and (2) Give national aid to America's public schools.

At first blush, there would seem to be nothing in this constructive program from which any Catholic could possibly take alarm. But in the Klan pamphlet, "The Public School Problem in America," the Imperial Wizard says:

"At this point I desire only to show that this opposition by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is aimed chiefly at the idea of a Department of Education. That is what they fear."

The Klan contention is that the Church is fighting the creation of a federal department of education, with a Secretary of Education in the president's cabinet, because such a department would eventually mean the abolishment of the six thousand and more Catholic parochial elementry schools. Citing the activity on the part of the Klan to secure the creation of the proposed department in the cabinet, Dr. Evans asks the question:

"Why, then, has this fundamental program not been adopted?"

His answer is:

"It is because of the opposition of one of the oldest and the most powerful special interests in the world today.

"The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church stands against America on this issue. The public school, in its every phase, aspect and result, is repugnant to the Pope and all his priesthood. After a most thorough and unbiased examination of the forces for and against this program, I can say with absolute certainty that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is the one influence that is successfully obstructing adequate public school education in America.

"It is pursuing that course because the hierarchy that has both its governmental and religious headquarters in Rome is now, always has been and perhaps will be, opposed to public sponsorship of institutions of learning.

"From its point of view, education is the prerogative of the Church. It refuses to accept secular control or to countenance any result that can or may subordinate the recruitive objects of parochialism. Therefore, through its political power, this alien hierarchy says to America: 'You shall not establish an educational system that sets up in that field an exclusive authority higher than that of the church; public schools shall not be legalized into a superior standing to those of the church'."

The Imperial Wizard charges the Roman Catholic church with the exercise of a deliberate subtlety on the school question.

"The hierarchy, of course," says Dr .Evans, "does not thus state its attitude. . . . Instead, it resorts to camouflage. What it really says to you is that your education program for America would be unconstitutional; that national aid to public school would violate states' rights; that such a system as we propose would be attended by bureaucratic and political perversions.

"What the spokesmen of the Vatican in American really mean is that the further advancement of democratic education within this Republic would be an insurmountable impediment to the papal dream of world wide temporal dominion."

That the Catholic church does not desire the growth of broad education, even within her own ranks, is another phase of the charge by the Klan, as shown in the following quotation cited by the Imperial Wizard from the Catholic News, (The Public School Problem in America):

"We Catholics have no apologies to make for our church's opposition to private interpretation of the Bible. Every Tom, Dick and Harry isn't allowed by the United States government to interpret the Constitution as he sees fit. . . . . If Protestantism had a Supreme court, there wouldn't be so many varieties of religion among the brethren."

What the Klan believes is a sinister influence represented by the Catholic parochial school system of elementary education is seen in Dr. Evans' quotation from Ave Marie, a Catholic publication:

"Every Catholic school today means a dozen flourishing parishes thirty years from today."

And then the connection between the alleged Catholic opposition to the democratic educational program proposed by the Klan, and the dream of temporal world dominion, comes in:

'The Hierarchy, as a religious organization, demands the temporal right to dominate education, high and low, because that control would facilitate the spread and acceptance of its own sovereignty in every country affected, and finally throughout the world.

"With the first opportunity, having recruited the necessary prestige and power, the Catholic Hierarchy would dethrone democratic education entirely. . . . . because the Vatican desires it, and to them all that is good and holy is inseparably associated with papal desires and decrees."

In Italy, it is pointed out, parochialism is nationalized, which is claimed to be the ultimate aim of parochialism everywhere. What has taken place in Italy, it is argued, may very well be sought in the United States. With alliterative sarcasm the Klan sums up the declared aims of the church in this particular in the following slogan:

'Church, Parochialism, Propaganda, Politics."

There, it is claimed, we have the whole circle of cause and effect in the field of discussion.

In at least one state of the United States the issue has been fought openly—and bitterly. On November 7, 1922, the people of Oregon adopted the Initiative Bill abolishing all private and parochial elementary schools in that state, after a close campaign. The vote showed a majority of 7,470 in favor of the bill. In this campaign the Klan is believed to have taken the initiative, being interpreted as a challenge to the Church in that state—and, indirectly, to the Church of the Nation. It was a temporary victory only, however; the Oregon supreme court later declared the authorized act unconstitutional.

That the Catholic Church is not confining its efforts against the creation of a department of education to political channels, or to its system of "perverted" education in its own schools, however, is cited by the Klan in its declaration that by the unthinking selection of public school teachers of Catholic faith, school boards are unwittingly aiding in the propagation of Catholic religious-temporal principals.

It is declared by Klan leaders everywhere that our countrywide public school system gives employment to a large number of Catholic teachers, both men and women, who make it their business to "suggest," whenever practicable, the reading of Catholic books to their pupils.

In this insiduous fashion, the Klan asserts earnestly, are a certain percentage of American school children being impregnated with the dangerous doctrine of Catholic temporal supremacy. It is done in so subtle a fashion that neither the child nor its parents can always detect the motive back of the suggestion. It is for this reason, as much as for any other, that the Klan desires the universal establishment of the public school, so far as this country is concerned, and a system of supervision that would exclude Catholic teachers from the pedagogical ranks entirely.

#### THE KLAN ACCUSES THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF FAVORING THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Linked inseparably with the school question is the alleged Catholic determination to bring about a union between the Catholic church and the government, according to the Klan declarations. In countries where there is such union, it is asserted, citizens of those countries are also subjects of the church, which is supported out of taxes paid into the national treasuries. It is this comparatively "easy" state of affairs which the American hierarchy seeks, it is contended, since this not only would give the Church absolute dominion over affairs of government, but would remove for all time vexatious problems of finance.

Referring to the religious liberty clause in the Constitution, Dr. Evans says.

"The pioneers who made America had before them the tragic consequences of church control of government. They, at least their immediate ancestors, knew from personal experience the perils and persecutions of religious controversy. They saw clearly the fateful truth that religious warfare was always the culminating result whenever and wherever a powerful church left the spiritual field and entered the governmental. They knew that every temporal invasion by a religious organization had invariably left a blood-stained trail of selfishness, cruelty and oppression.

"Therefore, in founding this Republic, they intended that there should not be, then or ever, any religious interference with government, nor any governmental interference with religion. Somehow, the emphasis came to be placed upon the second, leaving the first more a matter of implication.

"Now, suddenly, after half a century of unperceived growth, the un-American power that developed out of the one-sided freedom has arisen to curse and confound our efforts in behalf of demoeratic education.

"In other words, we have not yet brought about the separation of church and state in this country. If you want proof, undisputable, unimpeachable proof, it exists in the fact that today there is a parochial power that can, and does, say to the electors and legislators of America, "Thus far shall you go, and no farther, on this issue of education.' Propaganda and propagation through schools are prerogatives of Pope and priesthood. Public welfare is subordinate to the temporal interests of the heirarchy'."

The Imperial Wizard adds that "standing between us and that achievement (the winning of the fight for democratic education) is the reactionary, repulsive principle of church and state, and the civilization-destroying, war-engendering power of church over state."

A summary of the Klan's attitude toward the Catholic, then, shows that the Klan platform is one of vigorous defense against the policy of self-aggrandizement on the part of the Catholic hierarchy in America, involving aggressive measures against the parochial school, the propaganda system alleged to exist in our public schools, and curtailment of immigration to the point of absolute elimination—for a period of years, at least.

# THE KLAN CLAIMS THE JEW CAN NOT BE SOCIALLY ASSIMILATED

"Idealistic Americanism is the purpose in which Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are dedicated."

This declaration epitomizes the position of the Ku Klux Klan with reference to the Jewish Race in America, according to the assertions of almost any Klansman who will talk about it. In other words, he does not regard the Jew as an Ideal American; and the reason he does not involves a description of the Jew incorporating many tributes which ring with sincerity.

The Jew, according to Klan contention, is not an ideal American principally because he is an ideal Jew. It is because of his loyal allegiance to his peculiar traditions and ideals that he has emerged from centuries of oppression and persecution, and now is able to enjoy in America a freedom which was approximated only at rare intervals in any other country of the globe. He has intense pride of race and ancestry; and he also has a strongly developed religious and racial clannishness, which makes it, according to the Ku Klux Klan contention, absolutely and forever impossible for him to be assimilated into the social and fraternal life of this country—or of any other.

The position of the Klan seems to be largely one of defense from further encroachment by the Jew upon America's business and financial life. The Jew is regarded as residing in America by right of tolerance only. It is pointed out that he had virtually no part in the early pioneering, with its numerous hardships and dangers; that he did not come until the democratic government had been firmly established, religious freedom guaranteed, the equality of all men proclaimed, and an asylum set up which would adequately shelter him from the buffetings he had endured for many centuries.

"The Jews," says the Klan pamphlet entitled "The Attitude of the Ku Klux Klan Toward the Jew" "are the proudest and most exclusive people upon the American continent. The Jew admits none but a Jew to his Church, to his fraternity or to his home, or to his club."

The clannishness of the Jew has been reduced to an exact science, if the Klan indictment is correct. He mixes with no other people, and wants no other people to mix with him. Socially and fraternally he is sufficient unto himself. In the business and professional world he is not so exclusive, but only because to be so would cause him to suffer financially, according to Klansmen.

"The Jew came to America only after the great American Republic was established, then for the purpose of taking asylum under the towers of Democratic government," the Imperial Wizard writes. "He did nothing to wrest human rights from despotic power, or to found the institutions of human liberty. The Cavalier,

the Puritan, the Quaker and the English Catholic, all Anglo-Saxon and all white, and all of Christian faith, had conquered a continent, had overthrown tyranny, and had established American Democracy before the Jewish nomad found a guide book or means of transportation to America.

"Since then three millions and more have come-quite enough

for today, and for fifty years beyond."

The Jew is a Klansman in principle, as a matter of fact, according to the Ku Klux Klan. In the following language tribute is

"If one may be permitted to apply to the Jew a term of the Order of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, he is 'Klannish' and has maintained and demonstrated practical 'Klannishness' to all other peoples. There is an old, old story of the recovery of the Jew from one of the tragedies of his history. He was emerging from the oppression of his conquerers; was seeking to rebuild his nation upon the ashes and ruins; was striving to reclaim his civilization from the wreckage of the despoilers, and one of the great seers wrote: "They helped every one his brother, and everyone said to his brother, "Be of good courage." There is no finer statement of fraternalism or patriotism in human history.

"It is a declaration by the Jew himself of an ideal plan of cooperation in a great service that the Klan is undertaking to exemplify in American life."

The Klan maintains that the Jew is of no real economic value to America, despite the fact that he dominates many kinds of business.

"His economic contribution to society is that of the middle man," the Klansman declares. "There is no industry or enterprise of the inventive, creative or initiative sort that the Jew can claim as his distinctive contribution to the public welfare of America.

The Jew has not increased the sum of American wealth. In the handicrafts, he has not been a builder of houses, of bridges, and of highways, but a maker of wearing apparel from wool and cotton and silk—and he produced and refined none of the raw materials.

"As a distributor, he has been a peddler—a small dealer—a profit gatherer between the man who produced and the man who consumed. (In finance, he has been the money lender, the pawn broker, who, from the emergencies and tragedies of the poor, derived his gains)."

The Jew, according to the Klan, has maintained his social order without invasion by the white American Christian. He has married among his own, and only in rare exceptional instances has the Jew inter-married with the Gentile—and then the orthodox Jew has suffered the terrible penalty of banishment from the Jewish circle, creed and society.

As to his refusal to intermarry, the Jew has shown wisdom, the Klan admits. "The amalgamation of two dissimilar races produces the inferior qualities of both," it says. "The Jew has been careful of his own. He has protected the sanctity of his home with a fidelity that all men respect and admire."

The disinclination of the Jew to form lasting business relations with Gentiles is marked, the Klan declares. A business that is established by the Jew, as a rule, is kept by him and transmitted to his progeny. He usually is a private banker, his money being combined with that of other Jews, and then the members of the Jewish firm marry and intermarry so as to keep the institution and its wealth not only within Jewish hands, but also within the Jewish family.

The Klan is distinctly not hostile to the Jew, Klansmen stoutly assert. Any such impresison was not generated nor fostered by the organization, it is warmly declared. The Klan says that it has the right to organize and exist for patriotic, fraternal and benevolent purposes, following in these particulars the example set centuries ago by both the Jew and the Catholic church.

In setting forth its position relative to the Jew, the Klan declares that it has been compelled to contend, "on its own soil," for the right to live, and for the right to occupy its inheritance from the day of its birth to the present hour.

"Why should we not organize in the interests of the nativeborn, white, Protestant, Christian Americans?" it demands. "Every class of American citizens, without regard to racial or religious distinctions, has been permitted to assemble for peaceable purposes, and to organize into societies with worthy motives, and for laudable objects.

"All such societies have been safeguarded by the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States; but when the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—claiming nativity under the flag. speaking the English language; with one hand on the Bible and the other on the Constitution, under the cross and the flag—consecrated themselves to the white man's civilization, to his country and to his creed, the Jew, the Roman Catholic and the Negro combined and made war upon the Organization.

"It is passing strange that the Jew in America should be mobilized with the hostile forces against the Ku Klux Klan. He should find in the genius of this organization a guarantee of his own security. There are no rights or privileges asserted by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan for themselves as native born, white, Protestant Christians that are not vouchsafed by that assertion to the Jew in his racial, social and religious life.

"Idealistic Americanism is the purpose in which members of the Ku Klux Klan are dedicated. Any man—whether native or alien by birth; Gentile or Jew by faith; white or black by racewho so commits himself in allegiance to his country that nothing is reserved, and in devotion to his flag that nothing remains uncommitted, is, and ought to be, not the enemy, but the friend of the Klansman, and the Klansman is his friend."

The Klan, then, is not making any specific charges against the Jew, save that the Jew is a clansman in his own right and in his own peculiar way, organized and pledged to a policy of mutual interchange of service; and that since he refuses to amalgamate himself with the Gentile in the land discovered, conquered and developed by the latter, he cannot expect to be invited to join the new order.

There is another reason advanced by the Klan for its exclusion of the Jew from its membership lists, which upon the face of it does not constitute an "accusation." But it clearly involves a distinct difference of religious belief.

Colonel William Joseph Simmons of Atlanta, Ga., responsible for the initial organization of the modern Klan and first Imperial Wizard, sets it forth in a pamphlet "The Ku Klux Klan, Yesterday, Today and Forever," as follows:

"In its attitude toward the large Jewish population of this country the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have played square. While its organizers were fully aware that there are thousands of Jewish citizens of the United States whose loyalty to the United States government is unquestioned and who believe in its principles and institutions, it was decided to draw the line because no member of the Jewish faith, after he came into the organization, could be happy or contented with the fellowship he found on the inside for the very simple reason that the entire teaching of the order is that our present civilization rests upon the teachings of Jesus Christ.

"At every lodge meeting Jesus Christ is lauded and his teachings expounded, and the constitutions and regulations of the Order set forth that the living Christ is the Klansman's criterion of character."

In this respect the Klan contends that it cannot be regarded as hostile to the Jew, despite the fact that the Jew is excluded from membership. It is out of regard for the Jew's feelings that he is not invited in. The Klan very definitely charges, therefore, that the Jew has done the Order a grievous wrong by combining, as is claimed, with the Catholic and the Negro in warfare against it. Pursuing this line of argument, the Klan says:

"Consider the cordiality which has been accorded the Jew by the American nation. He brought his racial, his religious and his social distinctiveness to America, and maintains all these characteristics and peculiarities without restriction or even question as to his rights.

"The Jew has established his Temple and his Synagogue, and has worshiped God according to the dictates of his own conscience,

and with none to molest him, or to make him afraid. He has maintained his racial integrity, with none to gainsay his right to keep unbroken his lineage from Abraham. He has established his social life and has shut his society and his family into his own race and into his own creed, without protest from others. . . . .

"The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, believing that the white man's civilization is cemented with the morale of Protestant Christianity, the organization holds tenaciously to the tenets of Christ. The Order goes to the great scholar and leader in the early church, the Apostle Paul, the Evangel of the Gentile, to find its creed and its code of conduct. In his epistle to the Romans, he carries the ideals of Klannishness to its highest levels, and in the twelfth chapter of that great exposition which he makes of the teachings of Christ, he sets up a standard of character and of conduct by which every true Klansman must measure his life."

It seems evident, from prima facie indications, that the Ku Klux Klan makes no charge of ulterior activity or motive against the Jew. The Klan seems to believe that the Jew's non-assimilability definitely shuts him out of participation in social and fraternal benefits accruing to the white, Protestant Gentile, and just as definitely eliminates him as a factor, actual or potential, in the building up of strictly American institutions—including the national home life.

"Except in a comparatively few cases of established merchants and bankers, the Jew lives more or less transiently," says the Klan. "He is not a home builder. It isn't in his blood."

In other words, according to the Klan belief, he can never be a real American, because he is racially and traditionally out of sympathy with the principles of American idealism.

### HOW THE KLAN STANDS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

The Negro race in America, according to figures taken by the 1920 government census, had grown to 10,463,131.

There seems to be little in Klan operations and activities directed against the colored race in this country. However, the Order stands emphatically for "White Supremacy," and this declaration alone has the effect, undoubtedly, of causing many members of the Negro race to believe themselves justified in accepting it as a challenge.

"We must keep this a white men's country," is the way one of the Klan Ideals reads. "Only by doing this can we be faithful to the foundations laid by our forefathers."

The Klan maintains that this country was established by, and for, white men. Its accusations against the Negro have to do mostly with the alleged efforts of certain negro organizations and periodicals to sow the seeds of discontent and racial hatred among

the negroes of the country, by preaching and teaching social equality.

There can be no such thing as social equality between white and black, the Klan asserts with conviction.

"We believe it is possible for the races to live together in peace and unity only upon condition that each race recognize the rights and privileges of the other," says Colonel Simmons, former Imperial Wizard of the Klan. "Yet we hold it is obligatory upon the negro race, and upon all other colored races in America, to recognize that they are living in the land of the white race and by courtesy of the white race, and that the white race cannot be expected to surrender to any other race, either in whole or in part, the control of its vital and fundamental governmental affairs."

# THE KLAN STANDS FOR LAW AND ORDER AND AGAINST PERSONAL ATTACKS OR RETALIATIONS

On a down town street corner of a Western city, during a heated election campaign in which the Ku Klux Klan was made an issue, an anti-Klan speaker addressed an audience of approximately five hundred men.

His arraignment of the Order was not merely emphatic; it was bitter and vitriolic in the extreme. As he warmed to his subject he grew still more bitter in his denunciation of what he declared to be the "destructive" principles for which the Klan stands.

"You Klansmen," he shouted, shaking his fist angrily, "haven't the courage of what you claim to be your convictions. You hide behind masks and bed sheets. You hold your meetings secretly. You conceal yourselves under regalia, including hoods that reach to your feet, and then spread your propaganda against the Jew, the Catholic and the Negro.

"When the world was convulsed with the war struggle, and this country was drawn into the maelstrom, there were no distinctions drawn between religions or races in the creation of an army. The drafting officers didn't care whether the boys were Protestants, Catholics, Jews or Negroes. They took them as they came, provided they passed the mental and physical tests. Commanders of divisions made no distinctions when they ordered the boys to go over the top. Regardless of creed, race or color, they went.

"But today, you fellows who have joined the Ku Klux Klam have done so to trade upon race and religious prejudice; to create strife. You are banded together with a ring of Hate. You sing the Hymn of Hate in your oranization—against men who, like you, were born free and equal under the Constitution of the United States and the flag of this glorious country. You are organized to create dissension between groups, and to preach a doctrine of discrimination, injustice and persecution.

"There isn't a Klansman here who dares to speak up and identify himself with this slinking, slimy, crawling thing called a secret Order."

The speaker glared at the audience.

"Come on!" he urged. "Let's see if you've got the courage of what you call your convictions. Speak up, you fellows that do your dirty work under the protecting disguise of a night shirt and a hood!"

No one in the audience responded to the challenge. The speaker's expression of triumph was not unmixed with one of puzzlement, however. Men listened to him unmoved, with countenances unruffled. That there were many Klansmen present was evident from the cold silence which greeted the speaker's arraignment. But not a trace of resentment showed anywhere. There were no cheers nor other applause.

"You're a bunch of cowards, as well as traitors!" the speaker told them, wiping his heated face with his handkerchief. "You haven't got enough red blood in your veins to take up a man'schallenge when it's thrown at you."

Later the writer met the speaker walking up the street, alone. His face, still red from his verbal exertions, was a study in bewilderment. He had been striking out wildly, at an object which was to him totally invisible. If he had struck anything he didn't know it. It was a new experience for him, and his patent bewilderment was proof of it. The subjects of the "Invisible Empire" in this audience plainly demonstrated that they stood for law, order and free speech and would not be dared into a street brawl.

The fact that his accusations against the Klan are refuted in all the Klan statements of principles, and that consequently many in his audience knew, according to their own convictions, that he was mistating the facts, failed to sting them out of their silence. It was a study in a new psychology. This speaker was fully convinced of the truth of his accusations, and sincere in his attitude, without doubt; but no one took the trouble to set him right.

The Klan charges against the Catholic, the Jew and the Negro are not expressed in personal attacks, responses or retaliations, if the Klan assertions are correct. They are rather to be found embodied in carefully analytical stands against the social and religious structures of these three groups, for which the individual members are held responsible only as they subscribe to the policies thereof.

Which is an epitome of the Klan's charges against its organized opponents.

#### CHAPTER VIII

# THE JEWS DEFENSE AND COUNTER CHARGE

Refuses to Consider the Klan's Protestation of Friendship as Genuine

The following chapter tells what Jewish thinkers have to say in defense of the charges by the Klan against the American Jews. These expressions are reproduced exactly as stated. They undoubtedly give a true picture of the thought of representative Jews.

-THE EDITOR

"When the Ku Klux Klan claims that it has only friendship for the Jew in America, and that its members are not committed to a policy of active antagonism both against the Jew as an individual and against the principles for which he stands, racially and religiously, it is declaring what is manifestly not true—and which we have documentary evidence to prove is not true!"

Thus reads, in substance, the indictment returned by the American Jew against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; and this despite the fact that representative Klansmen have again and again asserted the organization's actual friendship for him.

Relative to the Klan's charge that the Jew is not an ideal American because he is an ideal Jew, a widely known Jewish member of the American bar association, who stands high in the professional life of the country, and whose code of professional ethics has been demonstrated to stand the most rigid tests, has this to say:

"The Jews of America are American citizens, first of all. They do not pretend, nor want, to be anything else. Respect for the Constitution of the United States and the laws of this country are a part of the Jew's religion.

"One would have to hunt a long time, and go a long way, to find an intelligent Jew who has not for the ideals of this nation and government the deepest and most reverential respect. The patriotism of the American Jew cannot rightly nor successfully be questioned. Whatever else may be charged against him, certainly the accusation that he is not wholly American in his sympathies and loyalty cannot be sustained in the light of historical fact.

"I can understand that the Klan has its own peculiar definition of what constitutes 'ideal' Americanism. I understand that the Order, through its Imperial Wizard, contends that there are not more than 35,000,000 so-called 100-per-cent Americans in the United States, out of a population of nearly 110,000,000. But the Klan thus reduces the total by a process of elimination and classification all

its own; and we challenge the Klan to prove, by referendum to fairminded Americans, that its definition is correct."

## DENY THERE IS A JEWISH MENACE

That the so-called clannishness of the Jews in this country constitutes a menace to its democratic government and ideals is taken emphatic exception to by representative persons of the race. A man born of Jewish parents, although able to claim America as his birthplace, highly educated, intellectual, cultured and cultivated to a degree that clearly entitles him to a classification as a "gentleman," declares:

"There is no such thing as a Jewish menace. This is simply comparable to the goblin that will 'get you if you don't watch out.' The Klan cites this mythical clannishness of the Jew as a good reason for alarm; that the triumphant emergence of the Jew from centuries of universal persecution and oppression is due to the traditional policy of solidarity and constant alertness against the danger of inter-marriage with Gentiles, interchange of social intercourse, fraternalism, and so on. The Public is warned, in effect if not in actual words, that the Jews form a powerful, highly organized minority, with a passion for clannishness that amounts to fanaticism—and that the time will come when they will have the nation by the throat in matters financial, if they are not curbed immediately by counter-clannishness.

"The talk of Jewish solidarity is idle and unfounded. There is none, so far as the American Jewish population is concerned. The Jews clash and bicker among themselves with illuminating consistency. The rich Jew will have nothing to do with his Ghetto co-religionist, save to help him in a financial way when appealed to by the representative of some charity activity. The line of demarcation between the social classes among the Jews is just as sharp and definite as it is between such classes in any other group."

If the Jews do not absorb readily into the body social, it it not their fault. At least, this is the position taken by almost any representative Jew to whom one may address himself.

It is pointed out that in virtually every city and town in the United States, the Jew is barred out of nearly all Gentile clubs, societies, organizations and bodies of even quasi-social or fraternal character. He cannot become a member of any of them even if he would. And it is because of this social barrier, which he declares is not of his erection, that he has been compelled to take refuge in organizations of his own.

"The antipathy held for the Jew by so many people began so far back in history that its origin is difficult to trace," says a widely known American Jew. "It is bred in the bone, with millions of Gentiles. And there is no doubt but that it is kept alive, in part, by the repellant and unwise behaviour of many Jews in public. "No one deplores this more than the great body of the Jews themselves. Our organs are constantly warning against it. There are Jews, for instance, who delight to appear in public at great resort and metropolitan hotels, making lavish display of their clothing and jewels, and rudely monopolizing the public conveniences. These things help to intensify the general antipathy.

"The Jews of the United States have no designs upon the government, its laws or policies, or upon the social, fraternal, business or religious life. They are already thoroughly absorbed in the economic, business and professional life. They would absorb more readily into the social life if they could do so without being offensively aggressive in that pursuit. They are, for the most part, patriotic, loyal American citizens; they have never failed to contribute generously to all war drives for funds; they did their part in the World war, and would do so again."

The Jew scouts the charge that he is not a valuable contributor to American economic life.

"The Jew is in business because he was driven into business centuries ago," he says. "He was forced into commerce because the less discredited activities were barred to him. Persecutions, repeated uprisings against him, compelled him to go into whatever occupations were open to him, for a livelihood; and if today he is mostly the middleman in business, he is right were he was put centuries ago. It is a matter of economic philosophy that employment in the less popular occupations have always made more money for those engaging in them; and the Jew became the buyer and seller because in the early days trade was looked down upon.

"Moreover, the charge that the Jew dominates the middleman's field is not true. There are as many others as he in the field—more, in fact. Our complex civilization has encouraged the growth of the middleman, and there is no question but that he receives too large a share of what is produced, for economic soundness; but that is the fault of the system, not of the Jew."

The charge of the Klan that the Jew, being transient by tradition and impulse, studiously avoids homebuilding and investment in anything that might be construed as home establishment, the Jew denies categorically

"A flat misstatement of facts," he declares. "It is a matter of statistics that, in America, the Jews are rapidly buying their own homes. The great majority of them are doing so, in fact. In many cities a greater proportion of Jews own their own homes than of Gentiles. This can be verified by merely referring to statistical records."

Lastly, the Jew denies that his race avoided coming to America until after the pioneers had made it a safe asylum by establishing the democratic government, erecting safeguards against religious persecutions, and so on.

# COLUMBUS WAS FINANCED BY JEWS

"Columbus was able to make his voyage of discovery because his venture was financed by Jews, a fact which Columbus afterward acknowledged in his correspondence," the Jew declares warmly. "Jews formed a part of Columbus' crew. Jews fought in the Revolutionary war. Jews were a factor in the early life of the American republic. If the great mass of the Jews did not come to this country until later years, it was because they were attracted—as were the peoples of many other races—by the ideals of government set up by the new nation."

The Ku Klux Klan is insincere and deceptive in its attitude toward the racial and religious groups against which it is arrayed, according to the Jews.

"In many places," says the noted Jewish attorney quoted in the beginning of this chapter, "the Klan is organized along political lines. It advertises one declaration of principles, and practices another. Its organizers, or Kleagles, seek the support of one group by pretending antagonism against another. Jews are approached and assured that the Klan has nothing against them, but that its activities are directed solely against Catholics and Negroes, when political support is sought.

"Queries as to whether a solicitor for votes and support is connected with the Klan brings, invariably, flat denials. The policy of the Order seems to be one of deliberate deception and mendacity. Because the members hide under cloaks and behind masks when participating actively in Klan operations, there is no way of identifying them. This engenders suspicion among the Jews. How can they, under such circumstances, credit the Klansman's protestations of friendship?"

This alleged policy of "deceit, double-dealing and general unreliability" is what will defeat the Ku Klux Klan in the long run, the Jew believes. The Order is founded upon a shifting foundation of lies; it cannot endure, because it is not built upon the Rock of Truth. So says the Hebrew. The Klan's insidious methods, he says, are calculated to break down an honest man's personal constitution of integrity; how, therefore, can it claim to teach and practice loyal allegience to the Constitution of our government?

"An organization which thus corrupts its members," says the Jew, "is in the same position as the government which corrupts its citizens or subjects, excusing itself on the ground that the end justifies the means."

#### CHAPTER IX

# THE CATHOLIC DEFENSE AND COUNTER CHARGE

Declare the Klan Insincere and Inconsistant

The following chapter tells what Catholic thinkers and writers have to say in defense of the charges by the Klan against the Catholic Church. It is reproduced exactly as written by an eminent Catholic educator and gives one of the clearest pictures of the thought, accomplishments and history of the Catholic Church in America ever presented in so condensed a form. THE EDITOR

Although the Klan has directed numerous charges against the Catholic Church, it has not officially attacked the Catholic religion. All Klan literature is emphatic on the point that the invisible empire is not opposed to the Roman Catholic Church as a religious institution.

"he Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, regardless of statements made to the contrary, either through ignorance or with deliberate intent to misrepresent it, has not made, is not now making and does not intend to make any fight on the Roman Catholic church as a religious institution." Thus writes the former Imperial Wizard, Colonel William Joseph Simmons, in his pamphlet entitled "The Ku Klux Klan."

In like manner speaks Imperial Wizard Dr. H. W. Evans in the booklet, "The Attitude of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Towards the Roman Catholic Hierarchy." "My condemnation," says Dr. Evans, "has been of the political system of the Roman Catholic church, not of its parishioners, nor of their religion."

From these two obvious quotations, it is clear that the Klan does not attack the Catholic religion. It is equally clear that Klan members who are hostile to Catholics on account of their religion are, according to Colonel Simmons, either ignorant of the purpose of their order, or they deliberately misrepresent it.

Contrary to popular opinion, there is no religious question involved in the fight of the Klan against the Catholics, according to Klan leaders. It is purely a civil matter. Dr. Evans explicitly states that it is the "political system" of the Roman Catholic Church that he condemns. He does not, however, attempt to prove from any source whatsoever that such a political system exists. Neither does he explain the nature of it nor describe its activities.

When Dr. Evans refers to "such unquestioning obedience topapal edicts that observance of the civil laws of our country becomes of secondary importance," he undoubtedly limits his accusations to that portion of the Catholic Church in the United States, for the Klan professes to be "distinctively an American-American organization." This does away with the difficulty of trying to discuss the Catholic Church and its "political system" in other parts of the world.

What, then, are the charges made against this alleged political system? Dr. Evans is specific in a speech made at Dallas, Texas, in which he said, "No nation can long endure that permits a higher temporal allegiance than its own government. The hierarchies of Roman and Greek Catholicism violate that principle." In other words, the Catholic hierarchies in the United States are accused of paying allegiance to a temporal power other than our own government.

To this charge the Right Reverend John P. Carroll, Bishop of Helena, replies: "Dr. Evans should know that Catholics everywhere recognize no temporal authority except that of the civil government under which they are living; that the Divine Founder of the Church taught them the distinction between temporal and the spiritual powers and their obligation to each when He said, 'Render therefore to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things which are God's'; that the Church (Pope, Bishops, and priests) have always taught that the civil authority is from God and must be obeyed under pain of sin and even of eternal damnation."

From this it appears that the Catholic makes very careful distinctions between temporal and spiritual allegiance and that the Church teaches that since civil authority has divine sanction, Catholics are bound under pain of sin to obey their lawful temporal rulers. For this reason, the Catholic explains, his prayer book has disobedience to civil authority listed as an offense against the Commandment of God.

To prove that Catholics do act upon these teachings, Bishop Carroll cites the fact that "the Catholic Hierarchy speaking for twenty-three million American Catholics was the first religious body to pledge whole-hearted support to the President of the United States on the entry of America into the World War."

This statement is significant when it is remembered that at the time which Bishop Carroll mentions, Pope Benedict XV was begging the nations to cease hostilities. Then, too, many of the members of the Catholic Hierarchy in this country were not in harmony either with the President or with the policy of entering the war. Had they been subject to the Pope in their action, they would in all probability never have pledged support to this government in the war. As it was, they did not act under Papal orders, nor were they censured by the Pope for their pledge. The point that Bishop Carroll evidently wishes to make is that the Catholic Hierarchy acted from purely patriotic motives and without orders from any higher authority than their own convictions as American citizens.

#### PATRIOTISM OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS IN WORLD WAR

Speaking of Catholic patriotism, Catholic writers have repeatedly called attention to official government records showing that when President Wilson called for volunteers, Catholics enlisted in numbers more than twice the quota expected of them. It is shown from figures taken just before the selective draft went into effect that 35 per cent. of the army, 50 per cent. of the marine corps, and 40 per cent. of the navy, were Catholic volunteers, although at that time the Catholic population amounted to a little less than 17 per cent of the total population of the United States.

"To be the first to shed their blood in defense of their country has become a habit with Catholics," says Thomas F. Coakley, D. D. in an interesting booklet, "America's Debt to Catholics." He shows from information based also on official records that "the first American soldier to fall in the great World War was a Catholic, Thomas Enright. The first sailor to give his life for his country in the Great World War was a Catholic, named Joseph Lavelle." He points out that a Catholic college, St. Mary's, Kansas, lays claim to the first United States officer, a Catholic, to die in France, Lieutenant William T. Fitzsimons. "Not only are Catholics first to spring to the defense of their country," adds the writer of the booklet, "but they are the last to leave the line of danger. The very last officer to lay down his life for his flag in the Great World War was a Catholic priest, Father William F. Davitt, who, a few minutes before the Armistice, was killed by a German shell."

"May I beg all who read these lines," Father Coakley says parenthetically, "to send a copy of this pamphlet to the anti-Catholic citizens in Washington and Oregon and to members of the Ku Klux Klan who dare malign the patriotism of their Catholic fellow citizens?" He also gives considerable space to showing that not only in the World War but in every other war from the Revolutionary War down to the present time, Catholics have been patriotic in the true sense of that word.

# CATHOLIC OPINIONS AGAINST UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The principal charge of the Klan against the Catholic Hierarchy is the alleged attempt to bring about a union of church and state. Colonel Simmons speaks very plainly on this subject. The Klan will oppose "any move of the Catholic church or any other church, individual or organization which attempts to bring about a combination of church and state in the United States." Again, it is officially stated by the Klan that "we have not yet brought about the separation of church and state in this country." Here it seems that the Catholic church is not only charged with trying to effect a union of church and state, but that it has already brought about this condition, although there can be found no statement as to the date or circumstances of the event.

It is further pointed out by Klan spokesmen that all the Popes since the discovery of America by Columbus who was a staunch Catholic have been conducting a definite policy in order that one day a union might be effected between the Vatican and the United States government. This charge is also flatly denied by Catholics who brand such accusations as groundless for no mention of such a thing can be found in any authentic history written either by a Catholic or by a non-Catholic. On the other hand, Catholics argue that every Pope has taught quite the contrary on the subject of the relations between church and state.

There was in all modern times no greater Catholic leader, perhaps, than Pope Leo XIII, whose encyclicals carried great weight even with non-Catholics. These writings have been considered not only authoritive of Catholic doctrine, but clear and masterly statements of his predecessors. In an encyclical letter dated Nov. 1, 1885 he deals with the Christian Constitution of States. Therein he clearly defines the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the State regardless of its form of government.

"The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, "the ecclesiastical and the civil," says Leo XIII, "the one being set over divine, and the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme. . . . Whatever, therefore, . . . . belongs either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls, or to the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority."

Again in 1896 he wrote, "Wherefore they who pretend that the Church has any wish to interfere in civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, know it not, or wickedly calumniate it."

Finally in his apostolical letter dated March 19, 1902, the same Pope, in answer to repeated charges made against the Church, exclaims, "The Church the usurper of the rights of the State! The Church invading the political domain! Why, the Church knows and teaches that her Divine Founder has commanded us to give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's, and that He has sanctioned the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between those two powers which are both sovereign in their respective spheres. . . . Would to God that its (the Church's) action were received without mistrust and without suspicion." Then he adds, "To accuse the Church of ambitious views is only to repeat the ancient calumny, a calumny which its powerful enemies have more than once employed as a pretext to conceal their own purposes of oppression."

These pronouncements were intended for the instruction and guide of Catholics throughout the world, and were accepted as such. When, therefore, the head of the Church promulgates a doctrine that the State is separate from the Church and that it is independent and supreme in its sphere, and that the citizen must give it due allegiance, Catholics act according to these teachings.

In this connection it is well to note that even if the alleged political designs of the Hierarchy were true, there could be no possible danger of these designs being executed. The Catholic layman will point out that in the first place politics are not permitted to be discussed in the sermons of the pastors. Although the practice of discussing political and civil topics from the pulpit is extensive in most other churches and is considered perfectly proper, the Catholic priest confines himself strictly to instructing his flock to become better Christians. If the priest discussed politics instead of preaching the word of God, he would soon be removed from his parish or he would lose his congregation.

In the second place, the Catholic layman points out, Catholics would not tolerate even the merest reference to partisan politics in church because they believe that it is not the proper subject for a minister of Christ to discuss at church services. They would, moveover, consider it an insult to their intelligence as American voters and an attempted restriction upon their liberties as citizens. Then, too, kneeling side by side on Sunday mornings there are parishioners belonging to almost every one of the American poltical organizations. Under these conditions, it is difficult to understand how a union of church and state in this country, even under the sway of a tyrannical hierarchy, could be effected.

If another of the Klan's accusations is considered, an accusation that states plainly that to the Catholic mind his Church comes before his country, in spite of what may be said to the contrary, a Catholic writer may be aptly quoted here. "Let it be assumed," he says, "that there is a question of choosing between church and state. Which would the Catholic uphold? Would he choose to defend his government or would he take sides with the Church against the civil authority?"

The writer then answers his questions very briefly. "This situation would never develop, for a Catholic cannot choose between Church and State. He must have both. It is only when one power attempts to encroach upon the domain of the other that there is conflict. If the Church tried to influence him in casting his lawful ballot, the good Catholic would know that he need not obey. If, on the other hand, the State tried to forbid him from worshipping God as his conscience dictated, he would be justified in disregarding the law. The State has no more right to encroach upon the lawful domain of things spiritual than the Church has a right to dictate in the lawful affairs of the State."

The Catholic view on the relation of Church and State is briefly summed up in the words of a representative Catholic pastor during a heated political campaign in one of our larger cities, when various denominational ministers were plainly expressing their

partisan views from their pulpits. "We have been appealed to from many sources to speak from this pulpit relative to the coming municipal election," he said. "Whilst claiming the privilege of every citizen to exercise the right of franchise and as individuals to promote the election of one or other candidate, we refuse to degrade our pulpit by dragging it into the realm of politics. . . . . There is not a political position in the city, state or nation big enough to warrant our exposing the Church to the charge of being a political organization. We do not hesitate to influence your thoughts in matters of faith or morals, but we merely suggest that you use your own good judgment in matters of politics."

### DENY THAT IMMIGRATION IS A RELIGIOUS QUESTION

"The Roman Catholic Church favors unrestricted immigration because its strength is thereby greatly increased." This is another charge launched against the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States by the Klan whose purpose is "to first, stop all immigration, with exceptions applying only to separated families."

It cannot be denied that the strength of the Catholic Church in this country has been considerably increased through liberal immigration laws, yet it is doubtful if the numbers are as great as the Klan pictures them.

Says the Catholic World in an article on immigration "Several anti-Catholic organizations have been formed with the avowed purpose of further limiting immigration. They think that, on the whole, the immigration to this country has favored Catholics, and that for them this is a sufficient reason for limiting it very strictly. They do not realize that this is as un-American as it would be for Catholics to favor it because they thought that it would help them . As a matter of fact, however, it will probably strengthen Catholics relatively, to have immigration practically stopped."

The editor explains this last statement by showing the effect of the Church's stand against divorce and birth control as compared to the consequence of decreasing birth rates among those who advocate birth control. He then shows that a large number of Catholic foreigners fall away from the Church after they come to the United States. "The Church as a whole," he concludes, "loses by Catholic immigration to this country. And so Catholics, merely as Catholics, have no reason to wish to keep up the amount of immigration."

In any event, the Klan, in desiring to limit immigration merely because it would increase the Catholic population, would expose itself to the un-American principle of which the editor of the Catholic World speaks, for it would be making a religious question out of a purely civil one. This would be in direct contradiction to the expressed principle by Klan leaders that the Klan is not against Catholics on account of their religion.

That the Klan has shifted its position, however, is shown from the following quotation: "In Protestant America we must have time to teach those alien peoples the fundamental principles of human liberty before we permit further masses of ignorant, superstitious, religious devotees to come within our borders." Here the Klan evidently refers to Catholic immigrants as the "masses of ignorant devotees" in contrast to "we, in Protestant America." The argument appears to be based in the above quotation exclusively upon religious basis.

Catholics have never considered immigration in the light of a religious question as it has been shown above. To them it is purely a political question with a social importance. Considered as a purely civil question confronting the United States today, Catholics are divided between the arguments for and against further restriction of foreign immigration.

The immigration Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference while maintaining that restriction in immigration should be enforced, has protested to the Immigration Committee against the acceptance of the 1890 quota basis, and has suggested that "a study of selection based on general fitness for citizenship and on moral, humane, and economic grounds would be a more just test." Thus it is seen that the Catholic viewpoint is in agreement with the Klan statement which says, that "quality should determine the whole matter" when passing upon foreigners seeking entrance to this country..

Leaving out of question the religious item and considering only the Klan's argument that we must "have time to teach these alien peoples the fundamental principles of liberty," America, a leading periodical of Catholic opinion, appears to be in harmony. In the issue dated March 8, 1924, an article by Wilfred Parsons, S. J. on Immigration says: "There is undoubtedly a danger to the country in large unassimilated alien blocs, speaking a foreign tongue, indifferent and even hostile to American ideals. It is too true that we have not an unlimited power of assimilation, that the melting pot, if overcrowded, will not melt.

"No one recognizes more keenly than Catholics the perils that may lurk in the foreign language press and in the schools where English is not spoken. Those conditions menace the Church no less than the country."

From this it would appear that the Catholic, no less than the Klansman, views with alarm the dangers resulting from unrestricted immigration. Again, there is no consistent "Catholic policy" with regard to the immigration question; hence, no conflict on that score between the Klan and the Roman Catholic Church.

The only possible grounds for dispute would be the attempt of the Klan to make it a religious question. In that event, the Klan would either have to repudiate the outspoken statements of its leaders or withdraw its accusations against the Catholics in the United States in this regard.

## CATHOLICS PROUD OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Undoubtedly the object of the Klan's most vehement attack is the Catholic parochial school, and the Catholics' most vigorous defense is made in behalf of that same institution. The Klan makes two fundamental charges. It says first, that the Catholic parochial school is un-American; and secondly, that Catholics are hostile to the public school system.

Before discussing the validity of these charges and offering the defense made by Catholics, it may be interesting to learn just what the parochial school system is and why Catholics so jealously guard this institution.

There are in the United States 6,388 Catholic elementary schools with an attendance of 1,988,376 students. These schools are supported by the Catholics of the community wherever the schools are located and are standardized in accordance with the State requirements. Here are taught the same secular branches that are taught in the public schools but in addition a knowledge of religion and morality. The curriculum of the typical Catholic school is fully equivalent to that of the public schools in all grades, according to both Catholic and official State authorities.

Why, then, do Catholics wish to have their own schools? "Catholics do not maintain their own schools because they are and wish to be politically and socially a class apart," says the editor of America, one of the strongest advocates of Catholic education in the United States. But "a system which, beginning with the kindergarten and ending with the university, deliberately refuses to find place for religion is unsatisfactory." Again, "the public school is good as far as it goes. But for our children, we are bound in conscience to give them moral as well as secular education. And we have a constitutional as well as a natural-law right to do this."

The whole purpose of the parochial school is to combine religious training with a knowledge of the secular branches generally taught in the public schools. In a dilemma offered in a phamphlet, "Why Catholics Have Parochial Schools," the author says: "If our elementary school system makes no provision for teaching religious knowledge, one of two conclusions is inevitable—either we must confess that the province of religion is barren of any real knowledge, or else that in our school system one very important branch of knowledge is passed over and neglected altogether."

"Religious doctrine is knowledge in as full and as complete a sense as is the law of gravitation," continues the same author. "Christian doctrine has at least as much right to find a place in the instruction given in our schools as has Physiology, or Botany, or Mathematics. Truth is one vast whole. In order to possess truth, it is necessary for us to have the whole truth. Not one branch of knowledge, nor two of them, and not all secular knowledge taken together is the sum total and the entire body of truth. If religious doctrine is omitted, then a void is created."

The Roman Catholic Church brands as absurd the "setting up of a program of education which teaches of plants and earths and creeping things, of beasts and gases, about the crust of the earth and the changes of the atmosphere, about the sun, moon and stars, about man and his doings, about the history of the world, about sensation, memory and the passions, about duty, about cause and effect, about all things imaginable, except one—that is, about Him that made these things, about God."

Since the kind of education that Catholics consider the only "complete education" cannot be found in the public schools, they establish, at a great cost and sacrifice to themselves, schools of their own which are commonly known as parish or parochial schools. It is quite obvious that the problem of giving religious instruction in the public schools is very great on account of the differences among the various religious sects whose children attend these schools; the intermingling of Gentile and Jew and those of no religious affiliations whatsoever. The nearest approach to solving the problem has been the Gary plan, but even this has its weakness. Catholics avoid the difficulties by building and supporting their own schools.

In a pamphlet on "Catholics and Education" there is the following: "The first school in our country was a Catholic school, opened in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1603, thirty years before the first non-Catholic school, the Dutch Reform school, was opened in New York in 1633.

"Catholics opened the first schools in California, Colorado, Texas, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Dakota, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Maine, Maryland, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana.

"The first professional elementary school teachers in our country were Catholic nuns, who came from France at the request of Governor Bienville in 1727 and opened St. Angela's Free School in New Orleans. That school is going today, the oldest free school in existence in the United States.

"When the public school system was started and the first secularized State-supported, State-controlled, "common," free schools were opened (in Massachusetts in 1839) the Catholics already had three universities, 15 colleges, 30 academies, 7 training schools for teachers, and upwards of 300 elementary schools in this country." From this it is seen that the Catholic parochial school in this country is not new, but that it ante-dates our public school by 236 years.

Have Catholics the right to maintain their schools? As the Catholic World points out, there is no American national school nor a national system of schools; hence, Catholics are not running counter to any national American institution when they set up parochial schools. "The public school," says the pamphlet quoted above, "is not mentioned in our national Constitution. It was not mentioned in any of the Constitutions of the original States. It did not exist in the colonies. It did not exist in the States for more than fifty years after the foundation of the Union. All the foundations of our country were laid without the public school. All the traditions of our country were formed without the public school. All the builders of our country were educated without the public school. . . . The United States had been going for a century before we had a President who was educated in the public school; and almost that long before we had a Senator, a Congressman, a State legislator, a Governor, a Judge, who was educated in the public school. There is no greater folly than to say that the public school is a part of our American foundations; no greater fallacy than to say every citizen should be required to educate his children in the public school and no other."

Catholics very strenuously oppose the idea that the State is absolute and that the children are wards of the State; that therefore the State, not the parent, has the right to educate the child. During the parochial school fight in Michigan in 1920, Right Reverend Michael James Gallagher, Bishop of Detroit, addressed the annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Men and reduced the absolutism of the State theory to simple terms. "Brushing aside terms used to hoodwink people, and pointing to his child, ask a father: 'Whose child is that?' 'That's MY child,' he will answer. If you suggest that the child belongs to the majority, to the State, he will think you are crazy." This is the voice of reason harmonizing with the voice of revelation and with the voice of true Americanism as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence."

"The Declaration of Independence," concludes Bishop Gallagher, "tells us that every individual is endowed with certain inalienable rights, and an inalienable right is such that no man, no set of men, no majority, even if it goes into the millions, can take from us. This principle laid down by our forefathers, is the one with which we can effectively defend our rights to give our children a Christian education, no matter what the majority is against us."

The claim of the Catholic parent to educate his child as he wishes so long as that education is adequate is based on the principle that the family existed before the State, and that the State received its being only from a combination of families. Therefore, the right and duty of the parent to educate his child is prior to the right and duty of the State. Only when parents fail in their duty to educate their children has the State a right

to take charge. "If this principle that parents have no right to their children is ever enforced in America, all other rights to property and other things will fall with it," says a Catholic authority on education, "for property is a lesser right than the right over your children. Therefore if a socialistic or communistic majority has the right conceded of allowing them to take away from parents the rights to educate their children, they have a right to declare, as they did in Soviet Russia, all the property of the people to be the common property of the State."

Catholics, in sending their children to parochial schools, are said to be acting according to the dictates of their conscience. They are not, however, the only ones who are against laws prohibiting parochial and private schools, for it is an American principle to grant freedom in this respect. The Honorable Dudley G. Wooten who managed the Catholic campaign against the so-called Compulsory Educational Bill in Oregon shows that the total number of Catholics in the States registered and voting did not exceed 30,000; yet 92,530 votes were cast against the bill. This proves that 60,000 non-Catholics, or twice the number of Catholics, voted against the bill.

The accusation that Catholics are un-American because they oppose the establishment of a Department of Education at Washington and the giving of national aid to State schools is a favorite with the Klan. This is an unfortunate charge, however, since it includes a great many non-Catholics. Space will not here permit the enumeration of the various groups and societies outside of the Catholic Church that condemn such a program as unconstitutional.

The following is taken from a report of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce: "We have examined in detail the basis of distribution of Federal funds in the Sterling-Towner bill and find that the framers of the bill have been guided by political considerations rather than educational necessities. It is a log-rolling bill." The U. S. Chamber of Commerce certainly cannot be said to be an un-American organization; yet when he makes the charge, says the Catholic, he is denounced by the Klan as un-American.

To sum up, the Catholic holds that he has a right by virtue of the national law to educate his child; that the American principles further guarantee that right; that no national school exists in the United States; that no law requires him to send his child to the public school; that the Catholic parochial school is "essentially, practically, typically and thoroughly American" in its history ,traditions, teachers, curricula, students, organization, language, ideals; therefore, as an American citizen, he resents the imputation of the Klan that he and his parochial school are un-American.

Finally, the Klan charges that Catholics are hostile to all public institutions, especially to the public school system. Just because he does not make use of them, retorts the Catholic, is no sign of

hostility. The jails and insane asylums are public institutions, yet it is no reason that an honest or a sane man should use them. It is said that hostility would be shown only in the event that Catholics refused to support public schools, but since one sixth of our population is of the Catholic faith, it is reasonable to assume that they pay one-sixth of the school taxes besides supporting their own parochial institutions.

From this standpoint, it would be unfair to deny the Catholic a place on public school boards or on the staff of public school teachers, for the taxation without representation theory was found wanting after the Revolutionary War. "Nobody asks us," says a prominent Catholic, "what our religion is when we pay our taxes. Why, then, should our religion be questioned when we want representation in spending our money?"

Catholics criticise the public school system severely, it is true, but it is equally true that thousands of prominent non-Catholics do that also. Criticism is not a Catholic trait alone, but an American one as well. After all, since the Catholic helps to support the public school, he accordingly has a right to criticise it. Criticism does not necessarily denote hostility.

Instead of tending to destroy the public school system, the Catholics are aiding it by saving approximately \$100,000,000 a year which is spent on parochial schools, but which would have to be spent on public schools if Catholics suddenly elected to throw their children into the public institutions.

There is not even a desire on the part of Catholics to control the public schools as charged, according to the booklet, "Catholics and Education." "No movement in that direction has ever been made by Catholics anywhere, . . . . Moreover, it would not help to make America Catholic if we did control the public schools. A cardinal tenet of our belief inhibits Catholics from imposing their teachings on unwilling minds. We have our schools. All know they are Catholic. Who wants to take advantage of their teachings is welcome."

"At the same time we stand, as Catholics, upon the principles of true Americanism that would allow us to have our own schools," says the editor of the Catholic World in a recent number, "we ought to do what we can for the public schools. Taking the country as a whole, about one half of all our children are in the public schools, and in some sections, the proportions is much higher." Moreover, the better the public schools, the less the bigotry. . . . . Hence, we help ourselves by helping the public schools."

Speaking of religion in our public schools, he urges Catholics to "pick out the best of these plans and work for it. The public schools belong to us as American citizens, as well as to others."

It is plain that Catholics, instead of being hostile to the public school system, take a deep interest in it; and that criticism is not

rendered to destroy but to improve. Indeed, they would be unwise to attempt to destroy a great and essential American institution to which they have paid vast sums of money.

As a final word for the Catholic defense, the following quotation from "Our Sunday Visitor" is very apropriate. "Intolerance, not private schools, is the only thing which prevents the proper fusing of all people in the United States into one compact body. Intolerance promotes disunity, not union; it engenders hate, not brotherly love. Any movement which antagonizes a large group of people promotes disunion, and because it violates the spirit of the Constitution, is itself most un-American, and most unpatriotic.

"The real enemies of the public schools are those who take a stand against the private schools.... If religion in education is right (and not a churchman in the land would declare it wrong) then the parochial school is right." This last statement would by necessity be admitted even by the Klan who profess to stand by the principles of the Christian Religion, Liberty, and Closer Relationship of pure Americanism. All in all, the parochial school question, according to the literature of the Klan is not a religious question for its leaders have expressed the principle clearly that the Klan does not oppose the Catholics on account of their religion.

#### WHAT THE CHURCH THINKS OF THE KLAN

What, then, does the Catholic Church think of the Ku Klux Klan? That there is a pronounced antagonism is apparent to everyone. That both organizations profess to stand in essential principles which are the same and to appeal to the same laws and reasoning for their defense is equally well known. That both vigorously insist that each is American in every respect and that the other is wrong is evident.

In the face of these facts, it is surprising to find that the Catholic Church has made no official pronouncement against the Klan. No Pope or Bishop has gone on record as condemning that organization in the name of the Church. The great reason for this seems to be that the Church considers the Ku Klux Klan a political organization and for this reason it is not for the Church to voice its approval or disapproval. Another factor to keep in mind is the fact that the Klan has officially stated that its purposes and principles are purely American and that it does not attack the Church as a religious institution. It would, therefore, be folly for the Church to denounce the Klan.

Catholics have been consistent in their stand as American citizens in their opposition to the Klan. It will be noted from the previous few chapters that the Catholic religion was not brought into the discussion; in fact, the only relation that religion had with the charges of the Klan was whether or not it was un-American to teach religion in schools, and this right was not confined to Catholics, but extends to any Christian denomination

which desires to establish and maintain its own schools. Religion wherever used in the arguments was confined to Christian religion in general.

"There is no Catholic 'viewpoint' of the Klan," says the editor of America. "If the Klan is guilty of violation of the law, the duty of vindicating the law rests solely upon public officials, and as to the un-Christian and un-American purposes of the Klan, it is the duty of every American citizen to oppose them by every lawful means at his disposal. To this defense of American institutions we rally, not as Negroes, Jews, or Catholics, but as Americans."

The same periodical states in another number that "Fundamentally the principles and practices of the Klan are incompatible with good government. They are simply usurpation, and usurpation always ends in tyranny. While the alleged object of attack is the Catholic Church, it is the American form of government, not the Church, which in the end will suffer."

The editor says further that Catholics do not object to the Klan's principle of Americanism if properly conducted. Neither do they complain because the Klan is a secret organization, because it is against foreigners and foreign ideas, because it is against the Catholic Church. Catholics do not deny Protestants the right of organizing, but when that organization takes on the guise of a secret political society whose purpose is to destroy the rights of American citizens who do not belong to the Klan, it is necessary to show decided resistence to its further encroachments. The editor of America objects to the un-American methods adopted by the Klan, to their concealment of membership, to their avowed invisible government.

It is interesting to observe, however, that all in all, Catholics are not greatly perturbed over the activities of the Klan. After devoting several pages to ridiculing the organization, James M. Gillis, C. S. P., editor of the Catholic World touches lightly upon the more serious side of the question.

"However, it is time to be serious—though not too serious," he adds. "It may be that the Klan has not yet reached the peak of its pernicious activities. Conditions may get worse before they get better. But it is a fact that thus far the Ku Klux Klan has not accomplished nearly so much villany as the 'Native American' Movement of the thirties and forties, or the 'Know-nothing' Movement, of the fifties, in the last century."

Here follows the nearest thing to an accusation against the Klan in brief form that can be found in Catholic literature. "They (the Klan) claim to be '100 per cent. American.' The truth is they would ruin America. There could not possibly be a more dangerous anti-American society than one which is a law unto itself. Obedience to law, observance of the established means of obtaining justice, acceptance of the decisions of the courts, are a sinc qua non of the existence of our form of government. But the

Ku Klux Klan makes itself a police force, judge, jury, attorney, executioner, mayor, governor, supreme dictator in all matters pertaining not only to government, but to manners, morals, and religion.

"This arrogant society has taken the duty upon itself to warn gamblers, adulterers, 'joy-riders'; to teach editors what they may write or publish; to dictate to judges on the bench about their decisions. It has violated the habeas corpus act. With the alleged purpose of punishing crime, it has been guilty of more serious crimes—unlawful seizures, abduction, punishment without trial. It is a State within a State, or rather a State above the State. Indeed, it claims to be that most dangerous of all institutions, an Invisible Empire."

In all this we find not a word about the Catholic Church nor the Catholic religion. The whole accusation is based on one of pure Americanism, and, as the editor of the Catholic World concludes, Catholics will stand upon their rights as American citizens and defend those rights even at the risk of their lives.

There is, however, in all Catholic literature against the Klan little attempt to disprove the numerous "silly accusations which have formed the subject of attack against the Church by bigots of all times." Whether the Klan officially assumes responsibility of these accusations is not known, but it is a well known fact that its members, especially its solicitors for membership, sing the song of hate and broadcast startling charges against Catholics. To such propaganda, a very sane and even-tempered Catholic editor remarks "What is the use of trying to disprove these absurd, unfounded charges. An unsuccessful search for rifles in the basement of a Catholic Church would only lead a fanatic to believe that the rifles were hidden elsewhere. A man who believes such rot must be either a fanatic or a hypocrite; in either case it is useless to try to disprove his charges."

The Catholic accusations against the Klan may be briefly summed up in the following manner: The Klan is an un-American organization which professes to adopt one set of principles and acts upon another set. It is therefore not only un-American, but likewise insincere and inconsistent.

#### CHAPTER X

# THE KLAN DEFENSE

Declares Itself Fundamentally Opposed to Law Breaking and Religious Controversy

The newspapers, the Jews and the Catholics have brought sweeping charges against the Klan. These charges are of such a serious nature that if not met they subject the Order to much public condemnation. For this reason the editor of this book urged Klan officials to take advantage of the opportunity offered here to state frankly their defense against these charges, offering to give the same fair presentation as given the defensive statements of the Jew and the Catholic.

Realizing the desirability of giving the public a statement of their side in an unprejudiced medium the Klan officials decided to break an iron-bound rule of secrecy and take the public into their confidence on matters of both fact and policy, imposing however this restriction; that the name of the Klansman who gave out the facts for publication should never under any circumstances be divulged.

The following chapter is reproduced in accordance with this pledge of secrecy. It is sufficient to say that the speaker has full authority to represent his organization and speaks with the most intimate knowledge of confidential matters, no inkling of which has heretofore appeared in print.

THE EDITOR.

The charge by the editor of America, the Catholic periodical, that "fundamentally the principles and practices of the Klan are incompatible with good government," and that "they are simply usurpation, and usurpation always ends in tyranny," is a highly erroneous interpretation of avowed Klan principles.

It is both unfair and misleading, to define as "usurpation" the declaration of patriotic policy appearing in "Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan," which reads as follows:

"We believe in upholding the Constitution of the United States. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are sworn by a solemn oath to uphold and defend this immortal Constitution.

"We teach that the citizen's first and highest allegiance is to the government of the United States. No other government, potentate or person of any kind shall share in this allegiance. We maintain that a divided allegiance is no allegiance. There can be no half-American, and any sort of a hyphen absolutely makes impossible any kind of loyalty to the American government, its ideals and institutions." It cannot be construed as usurpation of any individual's rights, to insist that his loyalty to the Government of the United States be absolutely undivided and unadulterated. Only persons and institutions demanding the prividege of divided fealty could possibly take exception to the principle, and term it "usurpation."

"There could not possibly be a more dangerous anti-American society than one which is a law unto itself," says James M. Gillis, C. S. P., editor of the Catholic World. "Obedience to law, observance of the established means of observing justice, acceptance of the decisions of the courts, are a sinc qua non of the existence of our form of government. But the Ku Klux Klan makes itself a police force, judge, jury, attorney, executioner, mayor, governor, supreme dictator in all matters pertaining not only to government, but to manners, morals and religion."

This is a false statement of Klan policies and activities. The Klan first of all is organized to aid in the enforcement of law. It cites its avowed stand in "Ideals" in the following words:

"We stand for the enforcement of law by the regularly constituted authorities. This order does not take the law into its own hands, and will not tolerate acts of lawlessness on the part of its members."

Mr. Gillis goes farther in his denunciation of the Klan, in the declaration that "with the alleged purpose of punishing crime, it has been guilty of more serious crimes—unlawful seizures, abduction, punishment without trial."

And the Klan replies (The Ku Klux Klan, Yesterday, Today and Forever):

"The Ku Klux Klan is strictly law abiding organization, and every member is sworn to uphold the law at all times and to assist officers of the law in preserving peace and order whenever the occasion may arise, and any member violating this oath would be banished forever from the organization."

Both the Catholics and the Jews charge that the Klan is insincere in that it preaches one thing and practices another, that its declaration of principles is for show purposes only and that under the cloak of this cover it countenances rowdyism, violence, and terrorism to accomplish unworthy purposes. Catholic and Jewish authorities while undoubtedly sincere in bringing such sweeping charges against this organization show themselves ignorant of the real ideals and purposes upon which the Klan is founded.

In a preceding chapter, under the heading "The Hooded Terror", a newspaper indictment of the Klan," have been listed a representative number of press dispatches of outrages which the news services have credited to this organization. If the Klan in its secret rituals sanctions, fosters, encourages, or suggests such disregard for the laws of this country then certainly it should be condemned not only by Catholics and Jews but by Protestant as well. Stop

for a moment and realize the seriousness of such charges. They infer just this and nothing more: that the millions of men who have taken the sacred oath of the Klan are accused of a conspiracy to nullify the laws of this country, in plain words of being traitors to their country, traitors to its ideals, and traitors to its democratic foundations.

To show the absurdity of such a general charge let us put it this way. If all the Catholic population of these United States and all the Jewish population were to meet through duly organized representatives in one great convention, and in that convention asked to vote as American citizens on a plan to override the civil laws and courts of this country, to constitute themselves judge and jury as to what was right and what was wrong, how would they vote? Would they vote themselves traitors to their home land, traitors to democracy, that seized from tyrannical monarchs the right to manhood? The thought is inconceivable. No more would Klansmen subscribe to such absurdity. Klansmen are first, last, and all the time American citizens, born in this land of the free, educated in our public schools and believers in American ideals and institutions.

The charge that the Klan is in any way un-American in its beliefs or in its endeavors is no more than a reckless statement by those who fear it and condemn it because they do not understand it. Such charges are based upon the unauthorized utterances of members who place their own false interpretations upon the Klan principles and also upon sensational newspaper reports of the acts of such members or criminals outside the organization who hide their identity beneath robes similar to the regalia of the Klan.

In the year 1923 a certain Catholic priest named Father Grace was tried before the United States Court in Denver, Colorado, and convicted of illegally securing five barrels of whiskey from the United States warehouse by means of liquor permits to which he had forged the name of the Mother Superior of a Catholic Home for the Aged. It was shown at the trial that Father Grace had converted this liquor to his own use, selling most of it and giving portions to his friends. The associated press sent out dispatches telling of this crime upon its discovery, which were printed in the leading dailies of the country. These dispatches did not suggest that this was another Catholic crime against the prohibition laws of the United States. They did not infer that it was part of a conspiracy of the Catholic Church to take the dispensation of liquor into its own hands and proclaim itself judge, jury, and consumer of the bonded stocks controlled by our government. more when a certain Jewish Rabbi in a mid-western city was convicted of securing absurdly large quantities of liquor for sacramental purposes and selling it again did the newspapers intimate that the Jewish people, under cover of their church, were

going into the wholesale bootlegging business. Every sensible man on reading the accounts of such affairs takes it for granted that the Catholic Church will unfrock a priest who so debases himself as to break the civil laws. Likewise it is expected that the Jewish church will do its duty in the case of a Rabbi who proves himself unworthy of his trust. There is no news story in what happens after the offender is convicted.

But see how differently the press treats offenses committed by supposed members of the Klan or of which the Klan can be accused under any circumstantial evidence. Take for example the Michigan minister who disappeared for two weeks and returned with "K. K. K." freshly branded on his back. If his actions were above board why does he not tell where he was and what he was doing during those two weeks? How can anyone explain what interest a national organization like the Klan could have in the personal affairs of a missing minister? Under what secret rules and procedures could it take jurisdiction and hunt him up? Why should it brand him with initials which to its members stand for ideals of the highest type of patriotism, a sacrilege, abhorrent to every loyal member of the organization? Would Catholics brand a miscreant C-A-T-H? Would Jews brand one J-E-W? The charge that any self respectng organization of American citizens would countenance or authorize such an act is unthinkable. This occurrence received columns and columns of space in great daily papers all over the land. The Klan was openly accused of "another dis-graceful outrage," an act contrary to every principal for which it stands. No opportunity to deny or defend itself was given.

If members of the Klan were proven guilty of this outrage or of any of the others mentioned so frequently in our press, its officials would take just as forcible and drastic action against them as would the Catholic hierarchy against a dishonored priest. Such offenders would be tried and expelled from the organization as unworthy.

It is unfair and it is unjust to judge the vast body of patriotic and law abiding citizens who compose the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan from the press dispatches concerning "Hooded Terror" as it is unfair to judge the honorable members of the Catholic Church from the criminal actions of unfrocked priests.

The Klan has been accused of commercial boycott against both Catholic and Jewish business. The spirit of fraternalism in every social organization carries with it more or less of an obligation to patronize co-members when practical in a business way. Every lunch club of business men in the United States is founded upon this basic idea of patronizing each other. Most of these clubs, of which there are now thousands, limit to one or two from each line of trade to secure the greatest benefit for each. If Klan members choose to bestow their patronage on their fellow members it can

in no sense of the word be considered as a boycott against non-members.

Both the Catholies and the Jews charge that "The Ku Klux Klan is insincere and deceptive in its attitude toward the racial and religious groups against which it is arrayed." This the Klan must flatly deny. Sincerity and honesty are two attributes upon which the Order takes no temporizing stand, as to its members. The alleged practices of certain organizers, called Kleagles, in appealing to religious prejudices are repudiated by the Order.

The difficulty has been to get suitable men for these positions. We don't deny that, in the rush of applications for membership, there were received into the Klan some men whose characters were not of the highest. Such men naturally have mistaken its mystic ritualisms for a cloak under which they could satisfy lust for vengeance, settle private quarrels, vent their prejudices against persons of different religious faiths, and yield to the not uncommon inclination to take the law into their own hands.

We tolerate no one in the Order who practices a policy of deception or violence. Banishments of such men are of periodical occurence. They do not correctly interpret nor present the purposes for which the Klan was founded, and is being perpetuated.

Much has been said and written against masked parades in public. Because the members of the order function under cover of mysterious robes, the erroneous impression has gone abroad that their activity is pernicious and criminal.

There is a possibility that the wearing of the regalia in public will be abandoned. We realize that much opprobrium has been heaped upon the Ku Klux Klan because of the criminal acts of bands of men wearing something approximating Klan costumes. The matter has been taken up in the national councils and is now under consideration.

As to the charge that the Klan teaches, promulgates and encourages a doctrine of hate against adherents of the Catholic and Jewish religions, the following statement is authorized for exclusive publication here: On or about July 20, 1924, there was held, in a certain middle Northern state, a conference of the Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragons and other national officers, representing Klans and Realms all over the United States.

This conference discussed the charge that the Order was teaching a doctrine of religious hatred and intolerance. It was felt that definite action must be taken against any ground for such charge, because the Ku Klux Klan stands squarely for the Christ principle of brotherly love and for the rights of every man to worship as he sees fit.

It was felt that no half-way measures would suffice as certain members of the Klan were making the Order bear the brunt of these accusations, whereas these members were individually responsible for the impression.

As a result, action was taken by the conference, whereby the Imperial Wizard was authorized to proclaim to all Klansmen throughout the United States that any member proved to be voicing a doctrine of hate would be summarily dropped from membership in the Order.

The leaders of the Ku Klux Klan are determined that no one speaking with authority of the Klan shall be permitted to preach a doctrine of hate or of religious intolerance.

This message has now gone forth, and every Klansman everywhere knows about it. Klanism and religious hate have nothing in common.

The Ku Klux Klan stands for better citizenship, better government and the further development of American ideals. It believes that womanhood should be protected and that in our children is entrusted to our care the hope of future democracy. It stands unreconcilably against lawlessness, political grafting, the abuse of political power or the subjugation of our rights as American citizens to the religious beliefs or the financial greed of any organization or group. Upon its ideals and its accomplishments the Ku Klux Klan is willing to be judged.

#### CHAPTER XI

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF IT

# From a Biological Standpoint

The brain cells of "fixed ideas" are, in a way, responsible for the intolerant attitudes of the three main groups in the current controversy between the Catholic, the Jew and the Ku Klux Klan.

So says a famous psychologist, who reaches his conclusion by

way of what he terms the "biological approach angle."

There are, says this psychoanalyst, nine billion, two hundred eighty-six million cells in the human brain. Each cell is ready to hold an impression of something felt or seen or heard. They are divided into groups, each of which is designated by a scientific name. And one group has been denominated, for the purpose of psycho analysis of the subject under discussion, the "fixed idea" cells.

Stripped of their scientific verbiage, the "fixed idea" cells of the brain hold the religious persuasions of millions of people.

In his pamphlet entitled "Science, Its Meaning and Goal," Dr. Duren J. H. Ward, A. B. and B. D., Hillsdale; A. M., Harvard; Ph. D., Leipsic, and Harvard Fellow in Europe two years, says:

"There is something unaccountably strange in the way the average mind clings to its traditions against all suggestions of change. . . . . If one religion or religious opinion is greatly superior to another, comparison will make this clearer. . . . . Why not lay the Jewish Bible beside the sacred books of other ethnic religions? Let the best triumph-naturally—in religions as elsewhere."

But the average adherent of any traditional religion declines absolutely to do anything of the kind. The "fixed idea" brain cells forbid. In them are housed the religious beliefs which were received by them in childhood; beliefs which had their origin in creeds and dogmas framed centuries ago, and cherished as something as inviolate as they are sacred, defended from anything and everything even faintly suggestive of an assault upon their infallibility. So strong is the power of suggestions impressed upon the childish brain that ideas so impressed are often unassailable by the reasoning power of later years. Adjacent to the "fixed idea" cells of the human brain are the "receiving" cells. An assault upon the cherished ideas in the "fixed" cells will cause a suffusion of those cells by blood, sometimes to the point of bursting and subsequently atrophying. Correspondingly, an assault upon the "receiving" cells will cause a blood rush there, perhaps to the relief of the suffusing process in the neighboring "fixed idea" cells. Thus, according to science, a positive benefit accrues to the individual; new ideas are received and held by the receiving cells, and the pressure upon the "fixed idea" cells by the blood is relieved. Balance is restored.

The controversy between the three groups of religious adherents under discussion is merely a three-sided assault upon three different sets of "fixed idea" brain cells, science declares.

None of the members of the three groups is in the receiving mood. The assaults are controversial in character, and as a consequence precipitate violent blood suffusions. Charges and countercharges, usually non-analytical in character, are hurled back and forth as from mental catapults. The battering rams of vitriolic argument and assertion are employed. Attacks and counter attacks are made upon creeds and deeply-rooted convictions.

And the result is confusion and atrophy!

The calm eye of psychological observance sees nothing constructive in it all. When the smoke of battle clears away, there will be hundreds of thousands of "fixed idea" brain-cell groups in which the violent suffusion of blood has culminated in burstings. There will be no changes of religious opinions; no peaceful spirit of tolerance born.

True, none of the three groups will admit that it harbors any aggressively active animosity or prejudice against any other. Each is interested solely in the triumphant march of its own particular creed, it declares. Each charges that it would remain quiescent, if it were not forced to defend itself from attack. And so the war goes merrily on.

If the psychological conclusion is correct, no good can come from the controversy, no matter who wins—and psychology makes it reasonably plain that there can be no such thing as victory in an affair of this sort. The Catholic cannot be shaken in his religious convictions; the Jew has proven by his emergence from centuries of oppression that he is likewise immune; and the Protestant, as exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan position, perhaps will only help to strengthen and solidify the other two groups by what they interpret as "persecution" of their religious beliefs and institutions.

"Religion," says Dr. Ward, "is the profound impulse arising from the glimpse of a vast truth. . . . unanalysed interest in truth and goodness and beauty. Religion is life leaning forward. It is the soul's effort to reach beyond the present grasp."

A "profound impulse" cannot be affected by violent methods and efforts of antagonism, according to psychological conclusions.

And this is the psychology of the struggle between Catholic, Jew and Ku Klux Klan, as seen from the biological standpoint.

#### CHAPTER XII

# WHERE IS THIS CONTROVERSY LEADING US?

Can Any Good Come From It?

Judaism is a religious belief of fine ideals and beautiful sentiments. Catholicism is bringing consolation, comfort and spiritual guidance to its millions of adherents. Klanism is correspondingly idealistic, and brings to the Protestants consciousness a something for which his soul longs—otherwise it would not attract to its standard men and women of as good blood as America has produced, who rally around it, work for it, believe in it with an unquestioning devotion that mystifies detached observers.

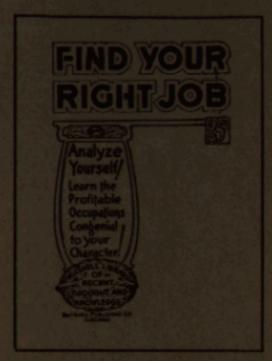
The Ku Klux Klan is a free force that may be turned to such directions and purposes as its leaders determine. What direction shall it be? What purposes will the new force set out to accomplish? One asks these questions with wide eyes, and thrills at the possible answer.

The Ku Klux Klan, whatever its religious convictions and avowals may be, is not a religious organization in the same sense as is Catholism or Judaism. It has been formed upon entirely different lines, and, so far as the outsider is able to determine, for entirely different purposes.

That the Catholic, the Jew and the Ku Klux Klan are in conflict cannot be denied. As the psychologist has pointed out, charges and counter-charges, usually without the stamp of authoritive analysis, are being hurled back and forth. If the initiating energy back of the Klan lies in the selfish thought that believers in other religions must be forced out of the way because they are taking the land that by natural inheritance belongs to the Klansman, then future generations may witness the continuation of the conflict, repeating the indescribable horrors of religious wars of past history, and perpetuating hatred that will grow more unreasoning as time goes on.

If, on the other hand, the present controversy is but the rubbing off of the rough edges of mutual misunderstanding; if the points of conflict and contact are found to be susceptible of polishing; if a more scientific direction of "hostilities" should eventuate in making each group harmonious to the others, combining in a grand, constructive program for the progress and betterment of American citizenship—then in the future we may hope to behold the Americanism of the Jew, the Americanism of the Catholic and the Americanism of the Klansman merged into one glowing, 100-per-cent ideal for which we all can stand, without conflict and without prejudice.





Another "Nutshell"