RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Another Grand Appeal by Senor Castelar in the Spanish Cortes.

No one who perused the great speech of Senor Castelar in the Spanish Cortes in response to the champion of the party of intolerance, will neglect to read with eagerness the address by him published below. On the 4th instant the Cortes resumed the discussion of the proposed establishment of the Roman Catholic as the religion of Spain. An article declaring that "the nation obliges itself to maintain the worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion" was incorporated in the Constitution by a vote of 176 to 76, and then the question came up on an addition in these words:-

The public or private exercise of any other worship remains guaranteed to all foreigners resident in Spain without more limitations than the universal rules of morals and right. If any Spaniards profess any other religion than Catholic, all the dispositions of the foregoing paragraph are applicable to them.

On this Senor Castelar spoke as follows:-SENORES DEPUTADOS:-My position at this moment is very disadvantageous, having to speak after the magnificent address the Chamber has just heard from Senor Echegaray, which places him amongst the first orators of our country, and with the knowledge that another orator of the most glorious that our soil has produced has to succeed me-Senor Olozaga. In this manner my speech will be placed, like humanity, between two heavens-between a great recollection and a great hope. I do not rise in any way to answer by anticipation the speech of the re-nowned orator who has to follow me. The generation to which I belong has been born with great respect for all our grand parliamentary glories, and in this generation no one shall excel me in admiration and respect. Here I have no wish that there should be conquerors or conquered, for I believe the glories of all our parties are glories of our country. We have no envies one of another, and Spain will not tread under foot her great men as the "Ophelia" of Shakespeare trampled under foot the flowers of her crown. Gentlemen, a duty of conscience, which I esteem sacred, as are all my duties, impels me to speak once more on the question of religion. Neither the Congress nor the country need fear that I shall attempt to raise or venture any pro-positions upon this transcendental problem. I know well the dividing line which separates the legislator from the philosopher. Beyond this place, in the colleges, we have the right to discuss the dogmas and to weigh them by the independent criterion of our reason. But here, in this Chamber, we have only the right to examine the relations of the Church with the State, the relations of religion with polities. (Cries of

Gentlemen, if any hard word, if any inconvenient phrase, if any theory more is less venturesome, has proceeded from these benches, attribute it not to our desire, but to the necessity which spirits so long enslaved and forbidden to express their ideas feel of giving utterance to them, when they find themselves playing, for the first time, upon the shores of liberty. The responsibility of those irreverences of language, in my opinion, more than upon us recoils upon those religious magnates-those episcopal archiepiscopal magnates—who in former times, which we ought to record for our experience, although not for our revenge, forced the hand of the arbitrary powers to persecute and stifle thought in the weak, and who had not one word of reprobation or censure to condemn the disorders and cruelties of the strong. Those artificial chains have been broken. Thought rushes forth restlessly and promiscuously, like the lava of the volcano. And we must not ask of any new thought that it be just to that which pre-ceded it. Christianity was not so with Paganism. In those gods and goddesses of old-eternal models of the sculptor's art, to which all the generations have gone to define the secrets of form—the first heroes of Christianity only saw the lurking smiles of the Devil. The renaissant was not so with the middle ages. In those Gothic cathedrals, sublime expression of religious thought, souls as great as those of Michael Angelo, of Bravante, and of Herrera, written up the barbarons in art and the barbarous in man. Consequently, it is no surprising thing that the generations who have had no power hitherto to manifest the depth of their religious and philosophical thought, neither is the college nor in the press-it is no wonder that they should come here and turn implacable against those powers, which, forgetting that true force is moral force, snatched away the first of our possessions—the inviolability of the conscience. This symptom may really afflict super ficial men, but men of elevated spirit and right mind, especially conservatives, will deduce two grand lessons from what has occurred; first, tha it is impossible, by repressive laws, to stay the progress, and even the extravagance of thought. Another thing will be seen also, which it is necessary should be made perfectly clear and legible, namely, that in Spain, for these or other reasons, either philosophical or moral, there are those who dissent from the religion of the State. Those who oppose the idea of the religion of State have taught two things to the conservative

parties, who are those who are destined sooner or later to rule, whatever may be the form of government—namely, that repressive laws amount to nothing; and secondly, that after four centuries of Catholic unity and religious intole-rance, after a gagging of the press which pre-vented the depth of the conscience to be seen. thought has come forth like the eruption of volcano, and that the work of the committee is justified, for there are those in Spain who have eparated themselves from the religion of the State! Now, gentlemen, I direct myself espe-cially, in the first place, to the absolutists. How can you avoid these differences? What means would you employ? These are the ancient measures, the measures which the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago called the state quo. Would you burn the dissentients as they burned the philosophers and the Protestants? Would you expel the dissentients as they expelled the Jews and the Moors? No! You cannot employ the ancient measures! Would you employ the modern measures—that is to say, that he who is not a Catholic shall not be a public functionary, cannot exercise civil and political rights? Then you would have to place in this Constitution general exceptions for those who do not profess the religion of the State. Know you what once succeeded when conscience was persecuted, when thought was stilled, and when they wished to rob a whole nation of its rights? The race took its Bible, its book of religion embarked in a vessel, crossed the seas, arrived in America, and there founded, under the heaven God concedes to all beliefs, a new temple for We have heard it said before that all, abso-

lutely all, ask that the State shall protect and defend Catholicism, because it is the only true one. It is said that on this side of the Chamber there are predilections against Catholicism. In vain many orators of the minority have said that while defending the liberties they were at the same time Catholics. Nothing else has been heard from the orators who dissent from the beliefs and the religion of the State. Well, I am about to say a thing, which I have to say with intimate faith, as if I was presenting myself before God, that if God should ask of me in the day of judgment an account of the good or bad use I have made of my few intellectual faculties. I am going to give to the Chamber, opening my conscience, all my religious thought—I do not belong to the world of theology and faith; I be-

long to the world of philosophy and reason.

But if at any time I had to return to the world after I had left it, I would certainly not embrace the Protestant religion, whose leiness would dry np my soul, my heart, and my conscience—that Protestant religion which is the eternal enemy of my country, of my race, and of my history. I would return to the beautiful altar which inspired within me the grandest sentiments of my I would return to bend my knee before the Holy Virgin, who calmed with her smile my first passions; I would return to soothe my spirit in ice scent of the incense, in the note of the

panions of my soul in my infancy, and on dying I would seek an asylum near the cross, whose sacred arms extend themselves over the spot I most love and venerate upon the face o the earth-the tomb of my mother. (A spon taneous burst of applause greeted this declaration of the orator.) Yes, gentlemen, if I have any religious predilection, if I have any predilection of sentiment and of faith, I have it in favor of Catholicism! But what says Catholicism? I am the truth! Make me the only religion, make me the privileged religion, for I am the truth. Well, gentlemen, have not all other religions said the same? With this thought have they not justified all the crimes of all the theocracies? I am the truth, said Pagan-ism, and it gave the hemlock to Socrates, and Socrates died between the mockings of the people and raillery of the stage. I am the truth, said Judalsm, and it nailed up Jesus, and when the leaders of the people went through the field of Jerusalem in that sublime hour of His sub-lime agony, they said to Him, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross!" I am the truth, said Protestantism, to justify the exe-cution of Servetus, and the severe, the cruel, the implacable Calvin enjoyed himself at Servetus' agonies, and while he died guashing his teeth in the eternal agony of fanaticism. I am the truth, has also said Catholicism, and it has ruined and impoverished Spain in the name of a religion of peace and mercy.

Thus, gentlemen, to religious intolerance that eternal molester of the human conscience, instead of that youthful humility whose heart only beats to love, and whose lips only open to bless—the inquisitors of the theorracies have ever offered, like the idolators of the ancient gods of India and America, human sacrifices. But concede for a moment that Catholicism is true; I ask is it right to impose a true religion by force? Here from these benches many venturesome propositions may issue; I will not den it. They have issued at times from my lips: I confess and I feel it. We have come here hot from the press, hot from the tribune, hot from the college. More than as statesmen, we have come here as men of thought, and we have heeded more the voice of our consciences that needed more the voice of our consciences than our social interests. But I ask if ever there has issued from these benches a proposition so scan-dalous as that which has issued from those benches (pointing to the bishops), when a high dignitary rose and said, "Here are three millions of signatures of persons disposed to die in the defense and sustenance of religious unity;" that is to say, here are three millions of persons disposed to rebel against you Senators, and like the ancient soldiers of the old religions, like the soldiers of Omar, to impose their belief on the other Spaniards by force.

The human conscience and the mind reject this idea, and protest against it. We, if we have an idea, do not seek to impose it by force upon anybody, like Omar imposed Mohammedanism on the East. On the other hand, gentlemen, what is error? In what does it consist? Error is an infirmity, and this infirmity, I say it to those secondary whom those sacerdotes whom I see here invested with their sacred mantles this infirmity, Senores Sacerdotes, of the Gospel-this infirmity. Senor Manterola-(lond laughter)-this infirmity, if it merits anything, it is the sentiment of your com-passion, not of your vengeance; and if it needs mything, it is the remedy of the truth, not of force, (Loud applause.) Yes, gentlemen, religion, like morality, cannot be true for the life if it is not also true for the conscience. Religion cannot work on our will if it does not first work on our understanding. What does religion do? It blesses the crade, guides the first dawn of the intellect to the truth and the first steps of the life to the good; purifies the heart so that our first loves shall not be as the corresive poison, but as a liquor full the sweetest scents; tightens the bonds the family, not only by the voice of conscience and the sentiment of affection, but by the community of beliefs; places the note of infinite in art, and the light of the absolute in science; converts the love of country into a worship, and the life of the citizen line a priest-hood, and, when the exigencies of society require it, into a martyrdom; and, when we ap proach our last hour, and draw near to the abyss of eternity, sustains and consoles us, promising that our good deeds shall not perish, but shall remain throughout all time, bound up in the human spirit, and promising us also that the essence of our life shall not evaporate, but shall ascend from region to region until it loses itself in the bosom of its God. (Tremendous

applause.)
But, gentlemen, and this I ask especially from my friend, Senor Manterola; who with so much attention listens to mc-(Manterola had been reading a book at the time, and paying no attention at all until this pointed cut of Castelar's and the roars of laughter of the house compelled him hurriedly to close it)-I ask of Senor Manterola, can religion or can morality answer to any of these ends if it is not voluntarily accepted? Instead of refining us by grand sentiments, it degrades us if we have not faith; instead of guiding us to good, it guides us to evil; instead of helping us in the education of the little ones, It disturbs us in this sacred ministry, for cannot teach the lips as truth that which the heart feels as a lie; instead of strengthening in us the love of country, it grounds us in hatred for then the country will not be the hearth, but the dungeon of the soul. And then in our last hour a religion with whose ceremonies we are not conformed, whose beliefs are not accepted by our heart and our intellect-a religion of this class will cause us doubt between our faith as men and our faith as citizens, and convert into a ridiculous farce the sublime tragedy of a death in which commences immortality, and in which the man has to present himself before God, who can see with His scrutinizing vision the depth of our conscience.

Castelar went on to show from history that a forced religion led to no good, but, on the other hand, to great evils. He said liberty was not the end of history—it was only an instrument to good. The end of liberty was the good of all. What was the definition of good? He would give them the one his mother taught him-"Good is that each may comply in the scale of creation with the destiny for which he had been created." Very well, if good was the end of life, what were the means to attain it? Certainly none but moral ones; certainly not force, but liberty. Take liberty from art, and it would be converted into a less beautiful thing than the song of a bird; take it from labor, and it would convert it into the blind movement of a machine; take it from the affections, and it would convert them into nothing less than the ferocity of the wild beasts; take it from polities, and the people would fall into the sad indifference and eternal somnolence of the Oriental race; take it from reigion, and it would convert that sublime code for life and death into a police ordinance, and turn God into an agent of public order—God who had given to all worlds the law of attraction, that they might comply with their eternal harmony, and the light of liberty to the soul that it might comply with that other and even sublimer harmony—the harmony of justice.

Examine all the words of Christ, and you will see they all contained religious teleration. who extend your maledictions over a society which embraces religious liberty, you are wanting to the doctrines of Christ—you differ from the Saviour of the world. But, gentlemen, do not believe in any manner that you will ever see the Roman clergy converted. The Roman the Roman clergy converted. The Roman clergy never repent or amend. As Alonso Cano says:—"He knows Rome badly who would pretend to cure her." Well, gentlemen, the Roman clergy will continue by all means and with all their preachings swearing against your constitution. Why, even on many occasions the Pontiffs themselves have been more liberal than the conclave of ecclesiastics. On two occasions in history the Church might have reconciled itself to the movement of ideas. One was in the eleventh century, when Pascal II signed the treaty of Sutri, by which he resigned the sword of Sutri, by which he resigned the sword to the Emperor, and he himself took the "anillo." He retained the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and abandoned the civil jurisdiction. In that moment the separation of the Church from the State might have been realized. was on that sublime day in which Plus IX, as if he were the spirit of Christ transfigured in the

Church, directed his benediction from the altar

organ, in the light beaming through the stained glass windows of many colors, and reflected in the gilded wings of the angels, eternal companions of my soul in my infancy, and on dying chocolate of the Jesuits! Consequently, the same in both the eleventh and in the nineteenth centuries, the reactionary spirit of the elergy has made completely impossible liberty for the Church and liberty for the State. When they last met together the bishops of Rome were on the point of declaring the temporal power of the Porce as a decrary of fath, to the control of the control o Pope as a dogma of faith, to the eternal servi-tude of the Romans.

Do we not know that an Œenmenical Council is about to assemble, and it is rumored that we run the danger of having settled as articles of faith the 80 articles of the Syllabus, which will ruin our society, our constitution, and our rights! If I were a priest; if I were a clerico, like his excellency; if I represented here any of the Christian titles, as in some moments this Chamber, by the questions treated of in it, may be said to be converted into a temple and its ministry into a priesthood. I would lift up my hands to God and say, "Bless the legislators who are seeking to establish religious liberty, which is part of Thy love; bless the legislators who are seeking to reconcile all classes and all people; bless those legislators, for before them there are not, as there are not before Thy majesty, Jews or Gentiles, but men; bless those legislators who seek to realize the grand ideas which emanate from Thee, and to establish upon the face of the earth those two essential principles of Thy perfect and incommunicable Being-Thy love and Thy justice."

He sat down amid tremenduous applause, which lasted some minutes. The amendment was carried by 163 votes to 40,

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The stockholders of this Company are requested to pre-sent their certificates at this office at once, that the proper reduction of the par value, in accordance with the provi-sions of the act of the Legislature reducing the same, ap-preved April 16, 1869, and accepted by the stockholders May 5, 1869, may be stamped thereon.

Books of subscription to the capital stock at its reduced valuation are now open at this office.

CHARLES S. TEAL, Treasurer.

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four shares she libe entitled to subscribe for an ad-Fourth, All share upon which instalments are yet to be paid under Resolution of May 13, 1868, will be entitled to their allotment of the 25 Per Cent. at par, as though they were paid in full.

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