

Equal and Exact Justice to all Men, of Whatever State or Persuasion, Religious or Political.—Thomas Jefferson.

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THE history of the Salem Witchcraft which has just been retold in the *New England Magazine* by W. S. Nevins, contains an impressive lesson for our times. The progress of National Reform theories in this country has been wonderfully rapid during the past few years; startlingly so we might say; and yet few are alive to the dangers that lurk in the theocratic sophistries of misguided religionists and threaten our most sacred rights.

Pious and well-intentioned people argue that as civil government is ordained of God, his law ought to be the standard of all law, and that civil government, which is his creature, ought not to suffer any preventable violations of his law: hence, our Sunday laws, which are designed primarily to guard a day popularly supposed to be divinely set apart for rest and worship; and it is gravely argued that by failing to guard that day by law, the State itself becomes guilty of flagrant violation of the divine law.

THE Puritans, two hundred years ago, argued in regard to witchcraft much as many now do in justification of Sunday laws. They said, There is a divine law which reads, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Ex. 22:18. And again: "A man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death." Lev. 20:27. And believing it to be the duty of the State to enforce the divine law as given for the regulation of civil relations, they had no choice but to put to death persons adjudged guilty of witchcraft. To be con-

sistent our modern reformers who sigh for "a breath of the Puritans" would have to follow the logic of the Puritans to its legitimate conclusion.

LIKE all religious persecutions, when they are in the past, the hanging of witches in Massachusetts had no sooner ceased than it was seen to be wholly without justification. Mr. Nevins attributes "the whole of the unfortunate affair to a species of neighborhood insanity, a wholesale delusion. It was like a cyclone that sweeps over the land, or a conflagration that wipes out of existence whole sections of a city. We do not realize the awful drama which is being enacted around us. Only when the storm has passed and we awake to a thorough comprehension of the calamity, do we appreciate its force; then the hour of its raging seems like a dream. Such, I judge, was substantially the case with our ancestors two centuries ago. They did not realize, during the summer of 1692, the awfulness of the tragedy they were enacting."

AND why did not the Puritans realize the awfulness of their acts? The writer already quoted answers: "They believed that they were casting out devils, and that any measures, however severe, were justifiable. Their language after the storm was passed and a calm had settled over the land, implies as much, and more,—that the full realization of what they had been doing dawned on them only after all was over." "We of the present generation," concludes Mr. Nevins, "shudder at the intolerant persecutions and superstitions of our ancestors. Let us do nothing in politics or religion that will cause our descendants to blush for us. It is well to review the unwise or unjust acts of our ancestors sometimes, as we would place a beacon on some shoal or reef where a ship has been wrecked, to warn others of the danger."

BUT it is one thing to "shudder at the intolerant persecutions and superstitions"

of others, and quite another to avoid everything of the kind ourselves. The Puritans were not worse than other men; they had many sterling qualities; and doubtless the mass of them felt in duty bound to do just as they did do. There was the divine law against witchcraft, and there was the civil law making it the duty of the Colony to enforce the divine law. It was the law that put to death the "witches." When a murderer is executed to-day no individual feels personally responsible for it; it is the law that does it. And so the Puritans reasoned; they only enforced the law. But why did they not change the law? Simply because when the occasion arose they were in no mood for it. And this points a moral, namely, that laws which may result in persecution ought never to be made; and if made, ought to be repealed when people are in a calm frame of mind and amenable to reason.

NOT all the Puritans were honest; not all acted conscientiously. The most reputable writers do not hesitate to charge that the first accusations of witchcraft were made maliciously, and for personal reasons. Thus the law, supposed to be good, or at least harmless, became the instrument of personal malice and revenge. The same thing is true of our Sunday laws to-day. In several of the States they have been made, not as they were designed to be, the conservators of "public morals," but the engines of religious persecution. The sacred rights of citizens ought not to be thus dependent upon the whim, the prejudice, or the superstition of their fellows. Civil governments are instituted to secure to the citizen his inalienable rights; and whatever may be the state of mind of his neighbors, the individual ought to find in the laws of the commonwealth a Gibraltar of defense against oppression. If prejudice defeats justice in the lower courts, if the law is right, the higher courts can correct the wrong; but when the law is wrong the case is hopeless; hence the supreme importance of just laws.

### The Supreme Court and a National Religion.

A MOST remarkable and unlooked for evidence of the timeliness of the articles which have lately appeared in THE SENTINEL, on the derivation and growth of religious law, has been given in a late decision delivered by Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States. This decision also bears proof positive that the principles educed in those articles, from the facts which were taken as premises, are sound. The accuracy of the statement of fact is corroborated in the decision. And that, in logically following the leading of these facts, a conclusion as to the unity of the State and religion,—or of Church and State, which is but another wording for the same thing,—has been reached by the Supreme Court, is incontrovertible evidence that the same conclusion arrived at in these columns was just and warranted.

THE SENTINEL has asserted that the weight of judicial precedent establishes a union of religious ecclesiasticism and the State in this country. Justice Brewer affirms the same thing. THE SENTINEL denies the jurisdiction of the court or Legislature in religious things. Justice Brewer accepts their authority in religion, and is willing to be an instrument for the further enforcement of the legal precedents favoring and establishing accepted religion.

The Supreme Court of the United States has then concurred in the arraignment of the State of Tennessee (representing the States in general) here previously made, and has hastened to give testimony that it is itself *particeps criminis*.

The case in which the Supreme Court has done this is that of the Rector etc., of the Church of the Holy Trinity vs. the United States. An English clergyman came to New York under contract to serve this religious body. The foreign contract labor law of the United States was invoked, and it was held that the law had been violated. An appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court. On Feb. 29, Mr. Justice Brewer delivered the opinion, from which there seems to have been no dissent.

In view of the language, intent, and spirit, of the First Amendment to the Constitution, it is patent enough that matters pertaining to religion or the ecclesiastical business of religious bodies are not within the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, neither are they within the sphere of congressional legislation; and had the bill, under which this action was brought, been passed with the intent to cover within its provisions ministers of religion it would, to that extent, have been unconstitutional and void. Thus simple would have been the decision of the case upon correct principles. But to these the Justice of the Supreme Court has not referred, except, casually, to use the constitutional clause, which prohibits the United States from making any law respecting an establishment of religion, to show that this country has, and already had, an establishment of religion.

He first shows that the statute, as worded, covers the broadest possible ground; then argues that there is sufficient precedent to justify the court in giving it a restricted interpretation and exempting this class of laborers, together with others specifically mentioned in another clause; further, that the framers

of the measure could not have intended to include ministers; but still beyond these considerations, and above them all, is the controlling fact that "it is historically true" that "this is a religious people;" that the precedents affirm and reaffirm that "this is a religious Nation;" that "we are a Christian people," and "the morality of the country is deeply ingrafted upon Christianity;" because "it is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is part of the common law of Pennsylvania;" "that there might be gathered a volume of unofficial declaration, in addition to the mass of organic utterances, that this is a *Christian Nation*." Thus by the easy gradation through the expressions "religious people," "religious Nation," "Christian people," "*Christian Nation*," the series culminates in the National Reform shibboleth, and the capsheaf has been put to the theory that the Christian religion is part of the common law of the individual States, by declaring, by fiat of the Supreme Court, the United States to be a Christian Nation.

For the purpose of upholding these views two classes of historical and judicial precedents are cited, both of which are indiscriminately used to uphold the theory of the union of religion with the State. The one set of precedents does establish the position taken, while the very precedents are in themselves the strongest arguments possible that the laws for which they stand should be abrogated; the other set is diametrically opposed to these in thought and purpose, they are antipodal. No one who looked beyond the fact that the titles of the Deity or moral truths, are expressed in both could fail to see that they are in complete antagonism to each other. Yet Justice Brewer has massed them together as common evidence to the same point. His line of precedent runs back to the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, commissioned from "Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile," to explore and discover "by God's assistance." There was the germ, and every seed will produce after its kind. The next was the Colonial grant to Sir Walter Raleigh from "Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen, *defender of the faith*," etc., in which he was authorized to establish laws in the Colonies if only "they be not against the true Christian faith now professed in the Church of England." The first seed was Roman Catholic, the second the State Church of England. Again, in the first charter of Virginia, given in 1606, King James I. makes the grant that it may "tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion," etc. Justice Brewer supports these citations further by saying:—

Language of similar import may be found in the subsequent charters of that Colony, from the same king, in 1609 and 1611; and the same is true of the various charters granted to the other Colonies. In language more or less emphatic is the *establishment of the Christian religion declared to be one of the purposes of the grant*.

In Connecticut the declaration upon, which the provisional government was instituted, affirmed that they did "enter into combination and confederation, together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of the said gospel, is now practiced among us."

The charter of privileges of the province of Pennsylvania recites:—

Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to their religious profession and worship; and Almighty God being the only Lord of consciences, Father of lights and spirits; and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the minds, and persuade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare, etc.

In order to express the full thought and intent of this clause the Justice should have quoted farther and have shown that the declaration made is:—

That no person or persons, inhabiting in this province or territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, . . . shall be in any case molested or prejudiced, in his or their person or estate, because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice. . . . And that all persons who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions and practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve this Government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, etc.

Up to this point the quotations made are open and consistent expressions of the union of Church and State. The Justice then turns to the Constitutions of the United States and of different States, and quoting the references made in them to the Divinity or to moral duty,—whether they are recognitions of the truth that that which is God's must be rendered unto God, or whether they are the survival of Church and State doctrine, and demand that the things which are God's should be rendered unto the Government,—indiscriminately uses them all to show the continuance, without break, of the union of religion and the State. To him the expressions in the Declaration of Independence that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions," and "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other," etc.,—these impersonal words and the assurance in the First Amendment to the Constitution that Congress may not establish any religion, and similar expressions in State Constitutions are classed in the same category with such utterances as these from the Constitution of Maryland: "It is the duty of every man to worship God, . . . nor shall any person, otherwise competent, be deemed incompetent as a witness or juror, . . . *Provided* he believes in the existence of a God," etc. "That no religious test ought ever to be required . . . other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God;" or the provision in the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780, in which it is declared that the Legislature has a right to require the institution of the public worship of God and the support of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in cases where this is not done voluntarily; or the Constitution of Delaware, 1776, by which all public officers were required to subscribe to this declaration: "I, A. B., do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God blessed forevermore, and I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

In these conflicting provisions of religious liberty and of religious bondage Justice Brewer sees no dissonance. He says:—

Even the Constitution of the United States, which

is supposed to have little touch upon the private life of the individual, contains in the First Amendment a declaration, common to the Constitutions of all the States, as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," etc. And also provides in Article 1, section 7 (a provision common to many Constitutions), that the Executive shall have ten days (Sundays excepted) within which to determine whether he will approve or veto a bill. There is no dissonance in these declarations. There is a universal language pervading them all, having one meaning; they affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious Nation. These are not individual sayings, declarations of private persons; they are organic utterances; they speak the voice of the entire people.

Is there no dissonance here? There is as much dissonance as between the Mystery of Iniquity which had already begun to work in Paul's time, and continues its precedents to the present hour, and the gospel of Jesus Christ; as much dissonance as between the civil freedom which the Saviour preached, and the religious despotism of which the Pope of Rome is the exponent; as much dissonance as between God and Satan, for one line of thought represents the principles of one, and the other of the other.

This opinion quotes further legal decisions and opinions to the effect that Christianity is part of the common law, and also the Supreme Court decision in the Girard will case, when the court observed: "It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania," and emphasizes this by saying:—

If we pass beyond these matters to a view of American life as expressed by its laws, its business, its customs and its society, we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. . . . These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations, to the mass of organic utterances that *this is a Christian Nation*.

So the Supreme Court of the United States champions an establishment of religion. What next? W. H. M.

### The Animus of the Sunday-Law Movement.

THE *Christian Statesman* of March 26, 1892, gives vent to its malice in this manner:—

The New York *World* of Feb. 16, published the following absurd lie: "Certain clergymen of Keyport, N. J., have banded themselves together for the revival and enforcement of certain exceedingly Blue Laws that linger in the New Jersey statute book. They have decided to prevent the sale of newspapers on Sunday, to stop the delivery of milk and meat, to shut up the barbers shops and cigar stores, and to lay an embargo on the running of street-cars on that day. Further than this, they have decided to compel all the people of Keyport to attend church every Sunday on pain of imprisonment in their own houses, under an old provision of law which forbids men to leave their own houses on Sunday except to attend church or a funeral."

Now the editor knew, or should have known, that there was no law in New Jersey against the sale of milk (which is always considered as included in the excepted "works of necessity and mercy"), nor any law forbidding a man to leave his own house for other reasons than to attend a church or funeral. The editor would have a funeral of his own on hand if lying was punished as swiftly as in the days of Ananias.

This self-evident lie was repeated by the liquor-dealers *Sentinel*, and by the Seventh-day Adventist *Sentinel*, N. J., which have stood together once before maintaining equally absurd misrepresentations of Sabbath laws at the hearing on the "Blair Sunday Rest bill," in Washington.

This is only a fair sample of the way in which Seventh-day Adventists break the ninth commandment (they break the eighth also by selling their books through deception), in their zeal for their own mistaken interpretation of the fourth.

The writer is not aware of just what all certain clergymen of Keyport, N. J., have banded themselves together to do, but he has a copy of the New Jersey

Sunday law, which, by the way, exceeds three thousand words in length, and is aware that the editor-in-chief of the *Christian Statesman* is doing what he can to prevail upon ministers and others, in every city and hamlet in the country, to form themselves into "Rest Day Leagues" for the prosecution of violators of Sunday laws. In a lecture which said editor delivered at Hillsdale, Mich., not long since, he boasted of the "League" organized there being his 166th.

If any one will take the time to read the provisions on the statute books of New Jersey, regulating Sunday observance, he will readily see that they are not far removed in nature and kind from the so-called Blue Laws. Section one provides "That no traveling, worldly employment, or business, or ordinary or servile work, either upon land or water (works of necessity and charity excepted), . . . shall be done, performed, used or practiced by any person or persons within the State, on the Christian Sabbath, or first day of the week, commonly called Sunday" under liability of fine or imprisonment. The provisions of this same section are so magnanimous and liberal as to provide that "no person going to or returning from any church or place of worship, within the distance of twenty miles, or going to call a physician, surgeon, or midwife, . . . shall be considered as traveling within the meaning of this act"! It even goes further and assures the people of New Jersey that it will not meddle with *all* of their domestic and private affairs, by providing also "that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to prohibit the dressing of victuals in private families, or in lodging houses"!

Section four declares that "no wagoner, carrier, drayman, drover, butcher, or any of his or their servants, shall ply or travel with his or their wagons, carts, or drays" on Sunday under a penalty of two dollars.

Section three of the supplement to the New Jersey revised statutes of 1886, touching transportation on water, provides that certain trustees, directors, and managers shall have power "to regulate and restrain the landing on said premises, by either public or private conveyance, of any person on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, *except on errands of mercy, sickness, or death.*"

It is left to the judgment of the candid reader if the New York *World* greatly overdrew the picture, in classing such provisions under the head of "exceedingly Blue Laws," or seriously indulged in either absurdity or falsehood, in its statements concerning certain clergymen of Keyport, N. J., provided they are doing nothing more than to review and enforce the Sunday law of their State, which the *Statesman* did not deny.

The most interesting and noteworthy feature of the article above quoted is the peculiar turn which the writer gives to it in his concluding comments. The "absurd lie" which he quotes is from the *World*, for which the editor of the *World* is made responsible, but the reader will notice that the *Statesman*, by some process of transformation makes this a pretext to strike a blow at the Seventh-day Adventists, and calls them liars and thieves. He starts out with an alleged falsehood, upon the part of the editor of the *World*, and winds up with a venomous fling at Seventh-day Adventists.

Referring to the quotation from the *World*, the *Statesman* says: "This is a fair sample of the way Seventh-day Adventists break the ninth commandment . . . in their zeal for their own mistaken interpretation of the fourth." Samples are usually supposed to be taken from the same class or kind which they are set forth to represent. But we have not yet learned that the editor of the *World* has become a Seventh-day Adventist; and consequently how anything performed on his part can be taken as a "fair sample" of the doings of Seventh-day Adventists is not clear.

This peculiar wind-up is only another index to the fact that the whole Sunday-law movement is simply a religious one, prompted by religious bigotry and intolerance. It would smite everybody as dead as did the Holy Ghost Ananias and Sapphira, who dares to dissent from the wicked thing, and especially so those who differ with it upon religious observances and institutions.

The *Statesman* speaks of the Seventh-day Adventists' "mistaken interpretation" of the fourth commandment. The difference of opinion and practice, and the real cause of enmity in the case, is therefore a matter of interpretation of the Bible. But that civil government has no business whatever with Sabbath or other religious legislation, is evident from the fact that Seventh-day Adventists have the same right to interpret the fourth commandment and the Bible that any other people have. But we know we speak the sentiment of this people, as well as state a fact, when we say that Seventh-day Adventists do not interpret the fourth commandment. It needs no interpretation. They simply take it as it reads. It says, "The seventh day is the Sabbath," and that is the day they observe. It is only by "interpreting" it, and making it mean something it does not say, that it can be made to read or mean anything else. The *Statesman* interprets "the seventh day" to mean "the first day," the day upon which God rested and which he blessed and sanctified, to mean a day upon which he worked, and one he never blessed or sanctified. And because Seventh-day Adventists take the commandment as it reads, and are not willing to accept the *Statesman's* "interpretation" of it, they have a "mistaken interpretation" (!) and the *Statesman* proposes, by means of Sunday laws, inquisitors, and Sunday Rest Leagues, to bring their practice to conform to its interpretation of the commandment. Evidently it sees in the little company of Sabbath-keepers a Mordecai in the gate. Read the third chapter of Esther.

W. A. COLCORD.

### Uniting with Rome.

In the *Christian Statesman*, of March 26, I find the following statement taken from the *Catholic Universe*:—

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, the senior editor of the *Christian Statesman*, Pittsburg, evidently does all within his power to establish lines of common action in which Catholics and Protestants as Christians and Americans can join. It is a worthy programme, and our best wishes to our good friend in it.

What are the "lines of common action in which Catholics and Protestants as Christians and Americans can join," as presented by Mr. Crafts through the columns of the *Christian Statesman*? It will be readily observed by the readers of

the *Statesman* that the most prominent line followed by the editor is a demand for religious legislation, especially compulsory Sunday observance.

How have Protestants come to observe Sunday as the Sabbath? Let our Catholic friends answer:—

It is worth its while to remember that this observance of the Sabbath—in which, after all, the only Protestant worship consists,—not only has no foundation in the Bible, but it is in flagrant contradiction with its letter, which commands rest on the Sabbath, which is Saturday. It was the Catholic Church which, by the authority of Jesus Christ, has transferred this rest to the Sunday in remembrance of the resurrection of our Lord. Thus the observance of Sunday by the Protestants is an homage they pay, in spite of themselves, to the authority of the church.—*Plain Talk about the Protestantism of To-day*, page 213.

In the light of these facts it is easy to see why Catholics can unite with Protestants to enforce Sunday observance. It is also plain that it is not because the Catholic Church is changing her faith and adopting the Protestant principles of the Bible and the Bible alone as her rule of faith, but because on this line Protestants are adopting Catholic principles. I am not surprised that a Catholic editor should give expression to such words of commendation of the course being pursued by Protestants on this line; but that a Protestant editor can regard such remarks as complimentary is passing strange. Surely the time has come to inquire what is the character of this professedly Christian system with which Protestantism is about forming a coalition to advance the religion of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is a system of self-exaltation seeking worldly wealth and honor and power. "A system which, pretending to be that of Christ, suppressed the Bible, extinguished knowledge, locked up the human mind, amused it with the most ludicrous baubles, and granted official licenses to commit all species of crime and impurity." A system that, having departed from the plain word of God and adopted tradition in many of its observances, formed a creed and called upon the State to enforce it upon all its subjects under penalty of death. Under this system millions of Christians were put to death in the most cruel manner that it was possible to invent.

Such is the system that now praises a Protestant editor for doing "all within his power to establish lines of common action in which Catholics and Protestants as Christians and Americans can join." And this is not strange since these "lines" contain the very principles that have made this system the iniquitous thing that it is. To those who think that the religion of Christ would be advanced by forming a union with such a system on the lines of compulsory religious observance, I would submit the following facts concerning the character of the religion of Christ:—

Unlike all other founders of a religious faith, Christ had no selfishness, no desire of dominance; and his system, unlike all other systems of worship, was bloodless, boundlessly beneficent, inexpressibly pure, and, most marvelous of all, went to break all bonds of body and soul; and to cast down every temporal and spiritual tyranny. It was a system calculated for the whole wide universe; adapted to embrace men of all climes, all ages, all ranks of life, or intellect; for the rich and for the poor; for the savage and the civilized; for the fool and the philosopher; for man, woman, and child; which, recognizing the grand doctrine, that "God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, represented the Almighty as the Father, and all men as brethren born to one universal love, to the same inalienable rights, to the same eternal hope.

He himself was the living personification of his principles. Demolishing the most inveterate prejudices of men, by appearing a poor man among the poor; by tearing away from aristocratic pride and

priestly insolence their masks of most orthodox assurance; by proclaiming that the truth which he taught should make all men free; by declaring that the Gentiles lorded it over and oppressed one another, but that it should not be so with his followers; by pulling down with indignation spiritual pride in high places, and calling the poor and the afflicted his brethren, and the objects of his tenderest regard, he laid the foundation of civil and religious freedom, of mental power growing out of unrestrained mental energies, and of love and knowledge co-equal in extension with the world. This perfect freedom of universal man he guarded by great everlasting principles, intelligible to the mind and the conscience of the whole human race; and on which men in all countries might found institutions most consonant to their wants. By declaring that wherever two or three were met together in his name, he would be in the midst of them, he cut off forever every claim, the most specious, of priestly dominance; and by expressing his unqualified and indignant abhorrence of every desire of his disciples to call down fire from heaven upon his enemies, or to forbid those to preach and work miracles in his name who did not immediately follow him, and conform to their notion, he left to his Church a light more resplendent than that of the sun, on the subject of non-interference with the sacred liberty and prerogatives of conscience.

God forbid that the Protestant Church should ever step aside from these pure principles of the gospel of Christ, and following the traditions of Rome, unite with her in demanding legislation in support of her holy days. The religion of love brought to the world through Jesus Christ, seeks no enactment of human legislators to give it success. Its power is from above. Trusting in that power though walking the narrow way in humility, under difficulties, every day's march is a march of victory, and her steady advance is the advance of a conqueror.

Entering the political arena, she separates from this power, lays aside her robes of victory, and like Samson who when shorn of his locks fell weak and helpless into the hands of his enemies, the Philistines, so the Church of Christ, thus separated from the source of her power, falls powerless into the hands of her great foe antichrist.

Let every true Protestant still protest against the traditions of the Church of Rome, and in harmony with the teachings of Christ still plead that the Church and the State be kept forever separate.

R. C. PORTER.

#### Legislative Religion at Washington.

PROFITING by the success gained from sharp legislative practice in the Legislature of New York, where the Sunday-closing clause to the World's Fair appropriation bill was carried through the Senate as a rider to the appropriation, those who are advocating the bill to prohibit the Sunday opening of exhibitions, where Congress has appropriated money, have forced the consideration of this measure upon the Senate Committee on the Quadro-Centennial. The committee has been compelled to give its time, to this Sunday closing discussion, in order to forestall the use of the question as an obstructive measure to prevent or hinder appropriations, necessary for the highest success of the Exposition, unless conditioned on Sunday closing. This bill, the enacting clause of which reads, "That no exhibition or exposition for which appropriation is made by Congress shall be opened on Sunday" was introduced in the House by Mr. Morse, of Massachusetts, and in the Senate by Mr. Colquitt, of Georgia. In the Senate the bill was first referred to the Committee on Education and Labor,—evidently from the force of habit, as Mr. Blair, formerly chairman of that com-

mittee, has heretofore been the father of, and sponsor for, all bills of this religio-legal character in the Senate. It has since been transferred to the Committee on the Quadro-Centennial, of which Mr. Pettigrew, of South Dakota, is chairman. It is said that the Senate Committee on Appropriations has determined to refer all questions of appropriations for the World's Fair to this committee, and give it absolute jurisdiction over all bills and resolutions in reference to governmental aid to the Columbian Exposition.

On March 24, the Senate Committee on the Quadro-Centennial gave a hearing upon this Colquitt bill, which would enact that the funds of the United States should rest from profit-making on Sunday, where they are appropriated for exhibitions and expositions. Those who addressed the committee were Rev. H. H. George, for the American Sabbath Union; Rev. T. P. Stevenson, for the National Reform Association; and L. S. Coffin, of Iowa, representing the Brotherhood of Railway Men. Mr. George presented religious and legal reasons for the Sunday-closing of the World's Fair, at Chicago, taking it for granted, evidently, as something beyond question, that this bill to close all exhibitions, for which the United States appropriates money, might be passed and affect retroactively the Columbian Exposition. Mr. Stevenson told the committee that the Christian people of this country made the Centennial Exposition, at Philadelphia, a success financially; and claimed that there were 18,000,000 of church communicants, and, with those under their influence, about 54,000,000 of people in the United States who demand the Sunday-closing of the Exposition, at Chicago. Mr. Coffin asked for congressional action as a moral support to the railway brakemen, whom he represented, and to assist them in making terms with their employers. He also said that the organization he represented proposed asking Congress to prohibit the Sunday running of interstate mail trains. Some questions elicited from Mr. Stevenson the information that he had reason to believe the Local Board was not in favor of closing the Exposition on Sunday, and on that account he came to ask congressional interference. One of the private reasons which he made public was that, as he said, P. D. Widner, delegate at large on the Exposition Board, from Pennsylvania, had declared that he would spend 50,000 to prevent the Sunday-closing of the Fair, and this because he was a large stockholder in a Chicago street railway company.

The committee is to give further hearing upon this subject, and have expressed a desire for an impartial discussion of the question and a presentation of different views.

THE hearing upon the Sunday-closing question before the Senate Committee drew quite a number of Sabbath Unionists and National Reformers to Washington, and among them was Col. Elliott F. Shepard, President of the American Sabbath Union. A reporter for the *Post* interviewed Mr. Shepard, and after giving a personal description, in which he seems to have been surprised that a man who is so many kinds of a crank could be at the same time so courteous and graceful a gentleman, reports him as saying:—

A good many of the States that have made appropriations for the Exposition have provided that

their exhibits shall not be open to the public on the first day of the week. Christian sentiment all over this Nation is against running the Fair seven days in succession. Did not the United States Supreme Court decide but a few days since that this was a Christian country? In the case of the minister who came to New York under an agreement with a congregation to act as their pastor, and was fined for violation of the law against contracts for alien labor, Justice Brewer very properly asserted from the Supreme bench that ours was a Christian land, and that such a construction of the law was contrary to public policy.

The President of the Sabbath Union and all other religious legislationists may well plume themselves upon this decision from Justice Brewer; in it he has given expression to opinions which as coming from the Supreme Bench will have no small bearing upon the enforcement of religious law in this country.

As has always been the case with the yearly agitation of the different phases of the Sunday question before congressional committees, so this year the desire to concentrate upon congressmen the multiplied force of ministerial eloquence has brought to the committee rooms and the corridors of the Capitol, a contingent of visiting clergymen. Opportunity is thus made for their voices to be heard, upon the subject of religious law and its enforcement, in the different churches of the city. At the present time, Rev. Mr. Stevenson and Rev. Mr. George have both spoken with a certain voice. Mr. Stevenson makes a noble and eloquent appeal for the Sabbath of the Bible, shows its inviolability, and that it is an eternal sign between God and his people, his memorial, and then descending to pathos,—and to Sunday,—says:—

My State, Pennsylvania, is in danger of losing her Sabbath this present session of Legislature. Shall we as a Nation have a Sabbath? It is the living issue in every State. We are asked to say before the world,—before fifty-eight nations,—“We have no Sabbath.” It is the duty of Government to preserve the Sabbath, it is made to protect Sabbath rights.

Mr. George says that the question whether we shall have a Sabbath is to be settled in 1893; the alternative, in his mind, being that the opening of the Fair on Sunday will do away with the Sabbath. It is evidently part of the general programme that Washington pulpits shall be occupied from time to time by different clergymen of prominence in the Sunday-law movement.

The District Commissioners, in order to keep in sympathy with a Presbyterian administration and the rapidly growing political influence of the National Reform Association, have openly favored the rigid application of the Sunday laws for the District of Columbia, now in force, and the addition of others which may be more readily enforced. The various bills presented by recommendation of the Commissioners for the regulation of the liquor traffic in the District have always contained a close Sunday clause though with wide open privileges for the rest of the week. Their last order is to compel all proprietors of billiard tables, pool tables, bagatelle tables, Jenny Lind tables, or other like tables, shuffle boards and bowling alleys for public hire, in the District of Columbia, to remain closed during the twenty-four hours of Sunday.

THE political strength which the party of religious legislation is gathering, is well exemplified by the position on the Sunday-closing of the Fair, with which Senator Matt. Quay, of Pennsylvania, is credited.

According to the newspapers the name of Quay has for years been synonymous with utter lack of political conscience; but now a conscience has been found for him in reference to Sunday at the World's Fair. He is reported as being much shocked at the idea of opening the Fair on Sunday, and as saying, “No I am not in favor of it; no possible good could be accomplished by keeping the Fair open on Sunday, other than increase of revenue, and the opinions of those who are opposed to such a course should be respected. I am personally opposed to keeping the Fair open on Sundays.”

Mr. Quay is a politician from Pennsylvania, and the law and the politics of that State is now very largely religious. The Pennsylvania politician who should array himself against religious laws at the present time would commit a grave error of judgment, politically speaking. The era of religion in politics is now well under way.

Washington, D. C.

W. H. M.

### Does the End Justify the Means?

ONE argument advanced in support of Sunday laws is that—

the Nation can not be preserved without religion, nor religion without the Sabbath, nor the Sabbath without laws; therefore, Sabbath laws are enacted by the right of self-preservation; not in violation of liberty, but for its protection.

This is plausible, but none the less fallacious. A like argument might be made to justify State support, or patronage, of religion; for instance: “The Nation can not be preserved without religion, nor religion without general Christian education; nor can such education be given to all unless the State does it; therefore, the State should teach religion for its own preservation. The State teaches religion by the right of self-preservation, not in violation of liberty, but for its protection.” This is substantially the argument used by Emperor William I., in 1878, when in writing to the Marquis of Roon, he said:—

This denial of God goes hand in hand with social-democracy, and here in the midst of peace we have arrived at a condition which the French Revolution reached at its most horrible stage, *i. e.*, the abolition of God.

A few months later, alluding to the revival of faith in God which he conceived to be politically essential, the Emperor wrote:—

A beginning has been made through the new law, but the shattered foundations of the Church must now be strengthened.

With William I. the question of religious education of the people was purely political; it was for the preservation of the State; and why was not the argument just as good and just as valid when applied to the matter of religious education as when applied to Sunday laws?

The same reasoning is in Russia used against that most exemplary of Russian sects, the Stundists. In the *Finsk Tidskrift* for February, B. Estlander says:—

The situation of the Stundists became very much embarrassed in the seventies, when the nihilistic propaganda was on the increase. In 1884 the Bishop of Mohlieff reported to the Synod that “the influence of the Stundists is very injurious to the people's religious faith.” “They create discontent among the people against the existing authorities of the State.”

Of course the State had to defend itself against a people that threatened its very existence; hence, the repressive measures adopted against those very pious and inoffensive people.

Self-preservation of the State also is

urged by William II. in justification of his Educational bill.\* In May, 1889, the Emperor said:—

That the school may be made serviceable throughout its various grades, in working against the spread of socialistic and communistic doctrines, is a thought with which I have been long occupied.

The school must endeavor to impress the conviction on young minds that the teachings of Social Democracy are not only contrary to the law of God and Christian principle, but are unpractical, and dangerous in the sequences to which they lead, both as regards the individual and society.

For these reasons the Emperor has been lending his influence and power to bring about a closer union between the Church and the school. His object is not religious but civil; for while the authority of the Church over the school is largely increased, it is only for political purposes, and with political results. Says the Countess Von Krockow, in the *Independent*:—

Whatever success has been achieved by enforcing the authority of the school with that of the Church, has been a success strictly and purely political. Neither religion nor morality has been conclusively advanced by the plan. Morality is no higher than in countries where the Church is independent of the State; and all lay interest in Church affairs is even sunk below that which is found in States with secularized schools.

And again, the same writer says that

the idea is to enforce the injunctions of His Majesty, to purify the school of unacceptable teachers, and to impress upon every child born in the kingdom the fear of God (*Gottes furcht*; “fear,” mind you; these military statesmen say nothing of love). . . . The influence and power which is lent to the two chief churches of the country is lent upon the assumption that both are inimical to Democracy. . . . Prussia calculates that Evangelicals and Catholics will march divided, but strike united.

The scheme is to give the churches, Protestant and Catholic, control of the schools; the churches in return to give the empire the full weight of their influence in opposition to Socialism, which in the Emperor's view would mean nothing short of social anarchy; hence, to his mind, the measure is one of self-preservation for the empire, and so, fully justified in the very nature of things.

Something of the extent of the power given to the Protestant and Catholic churches, may be estimated from the fact that there are 66 per cent. of schools with only one teacher, and the Emperor proposes to give the priests and clergymen the right of withholding from teachers the privilege of giving religious instruction, that is to say, the right to be teachers at all, for a “teacher publicly branded as unfit for giving such instruction becomes done for,” as a German writer has expressed it.

Thus the power of the Church over the school is to be made absolute for civil purposes; the Church and the State in Germany are to be more firmly united than before, but only for political reasons. Is it, however, any the less a union of Church and State because the State, and not the Church, is to be the chief beneficiary?

Another point of interest in this matter is the fact that in this more perfect union of Church and State, the school being the connecting link, the point of contact, the union of the State is not with a single sect, but with several. But does that make it

\* Since this article was put in type the Educational bill has been withdrawn, but only because of the strength of the opposition to it. The conflict between Monarchy and Socialism goes on just the same; and the principle remains unchanged. For the present that particular measure has been defeated, but as long as the principle that civil government may, for political purposes, champion religious institutions and enforce religious dogmas and observances, is admitted, the danger will remain. The contest is probably only begun in Germany. A truce has been declared; the real battle may come later.

less a union of Church and State? In this country those who demand what they call a union, not of Church and State, but of religion and the State, are wont to define a union of Church and State as a union of a sect and the State; but is it any less a union when the whole body of believers, as nearly as may be, are made one of the parties to the union?—Certainly not; on the contrary it adds to what is at best an adulterous union, the wickedness of polygamy.

The history of the first union of Christianity and the State, in the Roman Empire under Constantine, is simply repeating itself in Germany. William II., like Constantine I., is seeking to strengthen his empire by uniting, for a common purpose and a common cause, all the discordant elements of religion. The result will be that he will either bind the German Church as a whole, Catholic and Protestant, to his chariot wheels, or else the churches, having learned their united strength will use it to enslave the civil power as did the Papacy in the Dark Ages. Will this country learn wisdom from the history of the past, and from the living object lessons of the present, and instead of uniting Church and State under the misleading name of a union of religion and the State, make still wider the separation which has hitherto been maintained between them by our national Constitution? C. P. B.

#### That Pittsburg Convention.

THE Western Pennsylvania Sabbath Association, so-called, the second annual meeting of which, in Pittsburg, on the 29th ult, was referred to in these columns last week, is an auxiliary of the American Sabbath Union, and of course indorses the principles of the parent association, and adopts its methods, but with a good deal of energy added.

THE Pittsburg meeting was not large, but its morale was, from a National Reform standpoint, excellent; and the spirit that pervaded it could but impress the observer with the fact that the men who are pushing the Sunday movement in the western part of the Keystone State, though very much mistaken as to the nature of their work, are very much in earnest.

Presbyterian influence is strong in Western Pennsylvania; and, so far as the writer could judge, it is strong in the so-called Sabbath Association. Presbyterians are, for the most part, theoretically very loyal to the Decalogue, and especially is this true of the United, and the Reformed Presbyterians. For this reason they say less than some others about the "civil Sabbath," and base their demand for Sunday laws squarely upon the divine law, as they understand it. This was very noticeable in the Pittsburg meeting.

ALMOST the whole burden of the Convention was the enforcement of the "Sabbath" laws of the State, and the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday. Only one speaker seemed to discern the real difficulty, and suggest the only effective remedy. His words are quoted on another page.

In his statement of the work done by the Association during the year, the chairman, Rev. Dr. Robinson, of Allegheny City, said that an attempt had been made

to repeal the "Sabbath" laws of the State, but that it had failed. The Association, he stated, had caused "1,500 letters to be written to the members of the Legislature asking that our Sabbath laws be not repealed, for they are most excellent." How excellent they are may be judged from the fact that even conscientious observers of the seventh day have been fined and imprisoned under them; and the same thing is liable to occur again, and certainly will occur if Mr. Robinson and his co-workers are successful in maintaining the law.

A GOOD deal of stress was laid upon the fact that they only asked that men be required to obey the law, and that the law had come down from Penn's time. But both of these pleas have been put forth in justification of persecution in every age. The Papists only demanded that the heretics whom they burned should obey the laws, some of which were even more venerable than is the Sunday law of Pennsylvania; and yet these very men, who in Pennsylvania are insisting upon obedience to an oppressive Sunday law, as they say because it is a law, honor the memories of men who died by the fagot and the rack for disobeying law. Can they not see that a law must stand, not upon its age, nor upon the fact of its existence, but upon its merits?

MR. CRAFTS is an important person in so-called "Sabbath Reform," in Pittsburg. When the American Sabbath Union virtually dropped him because of his "jingo" methods, he took Mr. Greeley's advice and went West. There he gathered around him a goodly number of better men than himself whom he has been able to use to good advantage in furthering his purposes.

MR. CRAFTS is fertile in expedients, and though after organizing the American Sabbath Union, the control of it was wrested from him, and he himself systematically snubbed at the annual meeting of the Union, in Philadelphia, December 1890, in less than a year he had gathered around him a following larger than before, and had by a *coup d'etat* captured the *Christian Statesman* and removed it to Pittsburg. The energy of the individual accounts in no small measure for the activity of the Western Pennsylvania Sabbath Association, as does also Mr. Crafts' intolerant and inquisitorial disposition account very largely for the spirit of intolerance that pervaded the Pittsburg Convention. "Sabbath Reform," so-called, as it exists in Pittsburg to-day, is a creation of the present editor of the *Statesman*, and it is so like its creator that there is no mistaking either its origin or its purpose.

THE purpose of the Western Pennsylvania Sabbath Association is clearly to secure a more general and rigid observance of Sunday; not by educating the individual, not by appealing to the conscience, but by enforcing the law of the State, and by means of fines appealing to the pockets of those who refuse to observe the day set apart, not by divine authority, but by human custom.

THE methods of work adopted, not only by the Pittsburg Sunday boomers, but by the National Reform cohorts of whatever name everywhere in this country, are both easy and effective. Formerly they circulated petitions for individual signatures.

Now Mr. Crafts urges all to adopt the "new method of petitioning," namely, by vote and indorsement. Churches, Sunday schools, Young Men's Christian Associations, Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, Young Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, Young Peoples Christian Endeavor Societies, etc., etc., indorse the petition by vote, then the officers send it in as the voice of the entire membership. In this way very many are counted who would not take interest enough to sign a petition, and equally as many are counted more than once, for in these days of multiplied associations there are few who do not belong to more than one organization. This method is entirely worthy of its author, whether it is understood as originating with the editor of the *Statesman*, or with the father of all deception and double dealing.

ANOTHER method of petitioning, highly recommended by the *Statesman*, is by personal letters to members of Congress and of Legislatures. Our law makers are to be given no rest until because of weariness if for no other reason they yield to the demands made upon them in behalf of the Sunday Sabbath. Truly, those who are engineering the Sunday-law campaign are an exemplification of the correctness of the conclusion of the wise man: "Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions." And in it all they think that they are doing God service. What a terrible mistake!

C. P. B.

APROPOS of our article of last week, on "Liberty Indeed," is a paragraph from the *Sun*, of March 27, concerning President Eliot's Salt Lake speech, in which he likened the Mormons to the Puritans, and for which he has been roundly berated by the Gentiles of Utah. The *Sun* says:—

We are not at all sure that his comparison of the Mormons with the Pilgrims is not fair. Neither the Mormons nor the people of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay had the slightest idea of religious liberty. The immigrants to Massachusetts came to a new country for the purpose of worshipping God in their own manner, and raising thunder with any other form of worship. . . . Indignation created by the polygamous practices among the Mormons, drove the colony westward, and there a theocracy was founded just as a theocracy had been founded in Massachusetts two hundred years before. . . . The fatal weakness was in assuming that it was in illustration of religious liberty. Both the Mormons and the founders of New England were exemplars of religious despotism.

And such must be the verdict of every unprejudiced person who familiarizes himself with the history of these peoples—the Puritans, and the Mormons. It is high time that we cease to hear either of them extolled as defenders of liberty of any kind; nothing could be farther from the truth. That both the Puritans and the early Mormon emigrants had certain sterling qualities, can not be denied; but those qualities when controlled by a false and misdirected religious zeal, only made them the more relentless persecutors. Let us have done with the sickly sentiment, that clothes the Puritans with a sanctity they never possessed, just because they settled New England two hundred and seventy years ago. As for the Mormons, it is not likely that anybody outside their own ranks, excepting always, of course, the President of Harvard College, which has several Mormon students, will see in them defenders of religious liberty; there are too many living witnesses of their intolerance.

## NATIONAL Religious Liberty Association



### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ.  
We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

We believe in supporting the civil government, and submitting to its authority.

We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions.

We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every man to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation by the civil government; that we and our fellow-citizens may enjoy the inestimable blessings of both religious and civil liberty.

#### OFFICES:

48 BOND ST., NEW YORK CITY.  
1235 T ST., N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.  
28 COLLEGE PLACE, CHICAGO, ILL.  
12TH AND CASTRO STS., OAKLAND, CAL.  
267 WEST MAIN ST., BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

R. C. PORTER . . . . . PRESIDENT.  
A. F. BALLENGER . . . . . SECRETARY.

CONGRESSMAN CAMPBELL, of this city, on the 4th inst., introduced a bill into Congress which provides for the cancellation of all taxes and assessment of any kind or nature, now or heretofore levied by the District upon the building and ground actually occupied and used by the House of the Good Shepherd of the City of Washington.

ACCORDING to the *Mail and Express* the street-car companies of Chicago will not take any part in the agitation of the Sunday-closing of the World's Fair, either for or against. This destroys a sensational point made by Rev. Mr. Stevenson, in a late hearing before the Senate Committee on the Quadri-Centennial, in which he declared that a representative of the Chicago street railroads had said that fifty thousand dollars would be spent, if need be, to compass Sunday opening.

AMONG those "under conviction" at Algona as a result of the revival in that city, is a barber who has informed the church of his choice, that if they will close the other barber shops of the place on Sunday, he will join their church and close his shop. His proposition has been accepted, and action has been taken in due form. But the other barbers have employed the usual tactics of retaliation and seek to close the butcher shops, restaurants, livery stables, and news stands. We await results with interest.—*Workers' Bulletin, Des Moines, Iowa.*

THE following extract is from the proceedings of a recent session of the city council of Atlanta, Georgia.

"I have here a petition touching the switching of cars on Sunday, and an ordinance on the same subject," said Mr. Turner, chairman of the electric light committee.

"The ordinance permits railroads to switch trains arriving in the city after midnight Saturday from that hour up to 8 o'clock Sunday morning, and again after 10 o'clock Sunday night, when the cars are loaded with live stock or perishable stuff."

"Isn't that against the State laws?" asked Mr. Woodward.

"No," answered Mr. Turner, "this is in conformity with the State law. By our city laws all switching of freight trains must stop at midnight Saturday, and remain standing until midnight Sunday. This new ordinance permits roads to switch live stock and perishable stuff up to 8 o'clock Sunday morning, and again after 10 o'clock Sunday night. That in no way affects the men and still gives them an opportunity to go to church."

The ordinance was adopted.

For sometime past the railroads have been prohibited from doing any switching or other work in

Atlanta, on Sunday; but because of the difficulty of enforcing this restriction the Common Council now passes an ordinance permitting switchmen and other railroad employes to desecrate a portion of the day, and then have "an opportunity to go to church" for confession. If the day can be desecrated have they not violated its sanctity just as much as if they had worked the entire twenty-four hours? Such ordinances as this should convince thinking people that this whole Sunday-law movement is gotten up by a set of religionists that have lost their faith in God and his power to act upon the minds and consciences of men, and so they go about to establish laws to compel men to appear to be religious, and construct these laws to suit the various kinds of hypocrites that they create.

Elsewhere in the same State a similar course has been taken by the "city fathers," as is shown by this special from Savannah:—

Nothing could be bought openly in Savannah today except drugs. Everybody closed up. Even the barbers, despite the city ordinance giving them the right to keep open in the morning, thought it best to shut up their shops. The news stands followed the example of the others, and one newsboy was arrested for selling papers on the street. It is the first time, at least since the war, that business has been so generally suspended on Sunday.

The South is proving a good field for religious law. It has ever been that the climatic indolence induced by a southern sun has bred that moral inertia which leads people to formulate their conscience into a civil law, and file it away in the proceedings of a city council, as a handy weapon to have ready for use in a moment of hot blood.

THE Freedom of Worship bill before the New York Legislature was "killed" in the House on the 6th inst. by a close vote. Mr. Connolly stated that the object of the bill was to permit the observance of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the House of Refuge on Randall's Island. The Catholic Church demanded this "as a right."

General Husted said that he was opposed to the bill under any circumstances. "It is an un-American bill," he said. "It's not the State's business to enforce any form of worship on anybody. I believe the Church and the State should be kept apart, and that religious bills should be kept out of the Legislature. State interference with religion never did any good."

### Progress of Religious Legislation at Washington.

THE city of Washington has been for some weeks, and still is, besieged by "National Reformers." The committees which have in charge the religious measures,—the bill to forbid expositions opening on Sunday, to which the Government has made appropriations; and the Sunday law for the District of Columbia,—have had these measures made more prominent to them than any other matter presented for the consideration of Congress. Every senator and representative has been sounded as to their individual opinion on these questions by the *New York Mail and Express* and *Independent*, and the result has been followed up by persistent personal interview, until now the advocates of legislative religion are beginning to know their political friends; those whom they can use, whom cajole, whom intimidate; and now the progress of political religion is marked by all the organized form of a regular political campaign, and accompanied by all its accessories of wire-pulling, shrewd legislative methods, and appeal to personal interest and reputation. It is the fixed purpose of those who are attempting to close the World's Fair on Sunday, by congressional action, to block legislation upon the World's Fair, if possible, unless their requests are complied with. Their fervor upon the question is rising almost to the height of a mania. Hundreds of thousands of petitions are being sent in to congressmen asking that no appropriation be made

unless the Sunday-closing provision be inserted, so that every issue of the *Congressional Record* shows a large proportion of the petitions presented to be for that purpose. So many are they that even the *Christian Statesman* is satisfied, and cries that at last the petitions are coming. The committeemen are overwhelmed with them and are asking, Are there none on the other side? None which show that a few at least of our constituents understand that this is not a matter which properly calls for congressional legislation?

When congressmen yield to the insistency of these mistaken religionists it will be against their own private convictions, in the majority of cases.

THE churches are, of course, being used to their utmost in the effort to mold public opinion, and reach the ears, also, of the church-going congressmen. On Sunday, April 3, at the First Congregational Church, Rev. H. H. George, Mrs. M. E. Catlin, and the lady secretary of the petition branch of the Sunday-closing department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, spoke on the subject of the Sunday closing of the World's Fair and the efforts to attain it by the help of the Congress of the United States. Mr. George repeated the usual appeal for the laboring man, and for respect to the demands of this Christian Nation, of which three-quarters, as he claimed, were professing Christians. He inveighed against those who oppose legal and legislative action on these questions most bitterly and intensely, saying that the time was coming when that small minority which is dissatisfied with the present Sunday laws will have to leave this country and go where there is no Sabbath, and there live with a continental Sunday, and die there, and go to the place where they belong.

The place where they belonged seemed so definite in his own mind that it apparently did not occur to him to elaborate any further, so his hearers filled that out according to their individual tastes.

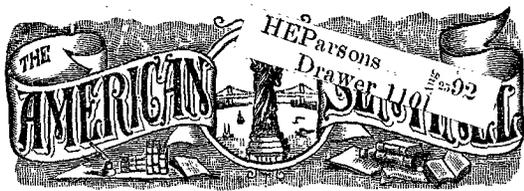
Mr. George had evidently read Justice Brewer's presentation from the Supreme Bench, of the history of the establishment of religion in this country, for he coincided with him as to the religious significance of the discovery of this continent, and said that Columbus took the New World not only in the name of the Queen of Spain, but also set up the cross and took it in the name of Jesus Christ as well.

Mrs. Catlin told of the petitions which she had received and transmitted to Congress during the month of March, amounting to one hundred and eighty-six thousand, asking that Congress take measures to close the World's Fair on Sunday. The lady secretary gave complete statistics of their whole petition work.

It is remarkable how every bill to license the liquor traffic always has the sop of a Sunday-closing clause thrown in. Every session of Congress sees three or more of these offered for the District of Columbia. The last one is a high license, calculated to make whisky selling a gilt-edged business, and highly moral, because in the hands of a select class of Sunday-keeping Christian saloon-keepers. When Satan makes his final visit to this world and announces himself a strict Sunday observer, what a cry there will be that he is not so black as he is painted! W. H. M.

THE *Michigan Sabbath Watchman* says it "feels called upon to say that the time has arrived when every Ministerial Association, Conference, General Conference, Synod, and Assembly, Sabbath School Convention, Epworth League Chapter, Christian Endeavor Society, Young Men's Christian Association, the Good Templars, Sons of Temperance, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the American Sabbath Union, and all other organizations effected for Sabbath observance should resolve and declare that if it is ultimately decided to open the gates of the Exposition on Sabbath, or to permit the sale of intoxicating liquors on the grounds, that the Exposition is absolutely unworthy of their respect, and that they will not patronize the Exposition in any way whatever."

Look at the list! What an array of religious organizations! And yet we are told that this movement for enforced Sunday observance is not for religious ends, and Sunday laws are not religious laws!



NEW YORK, APRIL, 14 1892.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

COMMENTING upon a recent sermon by Dr. Parkhurst of this city, an editorial writer for the *Sabbath Recorder* says that—Dr. Parkhurst believes that the government of the city of New York is one of the matters which concerns the kingdom of God on the earth as much as a revival of religion in his church does, and the displacement of a ring of bad men belongs as truly to the advancement of righteousness, which is a part of the kingdom of God, as does the conversion of a man to Christ.

And it seems from the connection that the editorial writer, who is also a minister, agrees with the Doctor.

How any minister can entertain such views is beyond our ken. The kingdom of God on earth is simply, as the apostle declares, "to take out of" the nations "a people for his name." How, then, "the government of the city of New York," or any other city or nation, even, can be "one of the matters which concerns the kingdom of God on earth as much as a revival of religion," is quite beyond the understanding of any body except National Reformers. One of two things is true, either the estimate placed upon the government of the city of New York is entirely too high, or that placed on the nature and value of the kingdom of God is infinitely below what it ought to be.

"THE displacement of a ring of bad men" is always desirable, and civilly it is highly commendable; and so is the displacement of dishonest and inefficient employes by private corporations; but to assert that it "belongs as truly to the advancement of righteousness as does the conversion of a man to Christ," is in effect to assert that temporal and civil things are of equal importance with eternal salvation.

THE question was once asked, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Hitherto it has remained unanswered, but in the new light which now shines from the pulpit of the Doctor and the pen of the editorial writer, the answer is easy—get right politically. The Creator himself could devise no means for the advancement of righteousness in the earth except by giving his Son, that through faith in him men might become righteous; but now it is discovered; and the "displacement of bad men" from

office stands on a par with the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ! What may we not look for next?

THE Aldermen of this city do not propose to be left behind in the mad rush to do honor to Sunday if they can help it; and so on the 5th inst., the Board gravely determined to do no business "on any Monday that falls on Sunday." The action was on this wise: The Consolidation act sets forth that the assessment rolls must be received by the Board on the first Monday of July. This year the Fourth falls on this particular first Monday. In order to get around the difficulty the following resolution was offered and soberly (in the sense of gravely) adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the State Legislature be and is hereby respectfully requested to pass an amendment to said act enabling the Board of Aldermen, whenever the first Monday of July shall fall upon a Sunday or legal holiday, to meet at noon on the following day for the purpose of receiving said assessment rolls.

And thus another "safeguard" has been thrown around "our American Sabbath."

At the so-called Sabbath Convention in Pittsburg, on the 29th ult., Rev. S. M. Bell, of Butler, said:—

We have not so much to fear from foe as from friend. The great foe of the Sabbath is the corruption and apathy of the individual conscience. It has come upon us little by little. We have gone through the years until the individual conscience—I will not say the public conscience, for the public has no conscience—has become weak. Very largely the individual has committed his conscience to his party or to his church. We have formed a sort of conscience trust. We pool our consciences and pay for the relief by our votes. We do about the same thing in the church. I want to say that the great peril of the Sabbath is the corruption and the apathy of the individual conscience. There are some that can not get along without the Sunday paper; some think it no violation of the old law to pump the oil or the salt well. This thing has not come from without but from within. I would have no fear for the Sabbath if the individual conscience were right. I have no hope of saving the Sabbath except as we revive the individual conscience.

And the Convention said "Amen," and went right on clamoring for civil laws to compel Sunday observance. But civil law can never reach and revitalize the individual conscience. The people can never by law make themselves better than they are.

THE *Methodist Record*, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, advises this Nation, through the President, to withhold its money from the management of the Exposition, if the gates of the Fair are not "closed on the Sabbath." The *Michigan Sabbath Watchman*, the American Sabbath Union organ for the State of Michigan, is more ardent, and says:—

The *Watchman* advises more than this. It asks this Nation to withhold from this Exposition, its Christian, moral, and patriotic manhood, with what money such persons would otherwise carry to the Fair, if the gates are not closed on Sabbaths.

This is simply advising Sunday keepers, by a system of boycotting, to coerce this Nation into the observance of Sunday. Who can not see that this spirit which thus seeks to carry its measures by threats and intimidations, will ere long say that

no man can buy or sell, save he who keeps Sunday, and is a pretender to religious piety, however hollow the pretension? Read Rev. 13:16, 17.

#### A Valuable Book.

THE most valuable book which has recently come to the notice of the writer is "The Two Republics," by Alonzo T. Jones. Of course, the book deals with Rome and the United States. There have been other republics, but these are pre-eminently the two republics of all history—Rome in ancient times, the United States in modern; Rome in the Old World, the United States in the new; Rome, a republic in name, a despotism in fact, the United States, "a Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," in its inception, but with its history only partially made, and its story not yet fully told. What the finale of that story is likely to be is not stated in Mr. Jones' book, and yet the reader is scarcely left in doubt upon the subject.

The book contains nearly nine hundred pages, and is divided into twenty-eight chapters; and the reader will naturally divide it into three parts, first that treating of Rome, second that devoted to the great apostasy of the Christian Church resulting in the Papacy, and third the influences now at work having a tendency to produce a like result in our own country, and in the not distant future.

From the first chapter to the last paragraph, "The Two Republics" is not only readable, but it is intensely interesting, presenting, as it does, not disconnected historical facts, but a connected story of the development of the Papacy, with the moral of every step so plainly pointed out that every one can see just the bearing that it had upon the final overthrow of liberty of conscience. And not only so, but the principles are made to stand out in such bold relief that one wonders why it is that they have been so imperfectly understood, and so little appreciated.

The persistent efforts to bring about what some are pleased to call a union of religion and the State in this Republic, gives an added interest and point to this book that it could not otherwise have. Indeed, it is safe to say that but for so-called National Reform the book never would have been written. But it has been written none too soon; and now that it has been published, it should be given the widest possible circulation. No one can carefully and candidly read "Two Republics" and not be convinced that a very grave danger threatens civil and religious liberty in this country. The book ought to be placed in the hands of hundreds of thousands of thinking men and women, and it ought to be done speedily.

C. P. B.

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