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Human jurisdiction extends only to outward acts, and to these only so far as they affect the rights of others.

A religious opinion is not any more entitled to the protection of law than is an opinion touching secular affairs.

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Every person's conscience is for himself alone, and if every person would be sufficiently conscientious for himself he would not try to become conscience for other people.

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"The general welfare" cannot be promoted by ignoring individual welfare. "The masses" cannot be reached by any good which goes over the head of the individual.

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Religious liberty is not license to trample upon the rights of our fellowmen. It is, however, freedom from interference in all matters of religious faith; and in all practice touching religion, not inconsistent with the equal rights of others.

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Opinions do not outweigh rights. Every person has a right to rest, and likewise a right to labor, on Sunday, or any day, and one person's opinion that

everybody ought to rest on a certain day cannot be of any binding force upon another individual.

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Civil government can have no rightful jurisdiction over the conscience, because of human limitations; and because to give it such authority would be to put it in the place of God.

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The rights of a thousand men are no greater than the rights of a single individual. Each one of the thousand has a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; but the individual has exactly the same right, and the thousand has it only because each individual in the thousand has it.

Is the Legal Sunday Civil?

It is denied by many that Sunday laws are in the nature of religious legislation. Indeed, it has been declared by some of the higher courts that statutes requiring suspension of secular labor or business upon the first day of the week are merely "police regulations," "sanitary measures," etc., and not in any sense violative of the American principle of total separation of church and state. This is an important question, worthy of the most careful and candid consideration.

PHYSICAL REST NECESSARY.

Of course physical rest is one of the necessities of human beings. Nor can it be denied that under certain conditions a regularly recurring weekly day of rest is most helpful to man. Rest seems to have been one of the objects the Creator had in view in giving the Sabbath, if not in the beginning before the fall, at least when He called His chosen people out of Egypt. See Deut. 5:14.*

SPIRITUAL REST PRIMARY.

But while the Sabbath gives physical rest, and was so designed, its primary significance is, and was designed to be, spiritual. The reason assigned in the divine Sabbath lawitself for observing the day strongly negatives the primacy of physical rest: "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, * * * for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." Ex. 20:8-11. Here the reason assigned for setting apart the Sabbath is plainly stated to be the fact of the Lord's rest upon that day after the work of creation. Then, too, it should be remembered that not only was the Sabbath given to the race before the fall, before man was subject to the necessity of wearing toil, but it will endure and be observed by the redeemed in the immortal state. See Isa. 66:22, 23.

THE SABBATH A MEMORIAL.

Thus it appears that first of all the Sabbath is a memorial, designed to keep fresh in the mind of man the great and fundamental truth that God is the Creator. It is not idleness, then, that is to be secured by the Sabbath, but holy meditation, as is plainly taught in Isa. 58:13,14: "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own way, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words; then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord."

This shows the highly spiritual nature of the Sabbath given to man by the Creator; and the fact that this spiritual significance is always and everywhere made prominent shows that it is an essential part of the Sabbath. Without this the most beneficial physical rest is impossible.

THE EVIL OF IDLENESS.

There is nothing worse for man than idleness. When hand and brain are not jointly occupied, the mind, during waking hours, should be employed with elevating thoughts; otherwise, better many fold that brain and body toil together, the former directing the latter in physical exertion until weary with labor they together find rest in "nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep."

IDLENESS PHYSICALLY HARMFUL.

Idleness is not restful. Nothing is so wearing to both mind and body as enforced inactivity. It requires only a few months' solitary confinement to wreck the average man both mentally and physically. Better far the wearing toil of the convict camp than the solitary "rest" of the dungeon.

What men in their waking hours need most is not inactivity, but change. From the merely physical standpoint the weekly holiday is vastly superior to the weekly "civil Sabbath," because it gives change of occupation; not change from *voluntary toil* to *enforced ulleness*. It exchanges the office for the tennis court, the factory for the excursion, the smoke and hurry of the city for a few hours in the purer and more restful atmosphere of the country.

So far as the merely animal nature is concerned, why is not the theater the peer of the church? the concert equal to the sermon? the excursion as good as the trip to meeting and return? the picnic as profitable as the regulation Sunday dinner?

THE CONTINENTAL SUNDAY.

If the advocates of Sunday laws are sincere in the profession they make, that they only desire to establish by law a "civil Sabbath"—to secure to the tired laborer needed rest, and that they have no wish whatever to force him to go to church by forbidding him to go anywhere else—if this be true, why do they demand the prohibition of Sunday amusements equally with Sunday labor?

The fact is, and it cannot be successfully disguised, that Sunday laws rest upon the supposed sanctity of the day, not upon the physical needs of weary toilers. The "civil Sabbath" is no more civil than would be baptism if it were enforced by civil law. It is simply a religious dogma enforced by civil penalties.

в.

Union of the State With Religion.

Very few people in this country will openly admit that they favor a union of church and state. The National Reform party, which has taken the lead in work that directly leads to such a union, is as much against the union of church and state—according to their definition of such union—as any other people are. They do not want the government to unite with the Methodist church or the Baptist church, or the Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Disciple, the Lutheran, or the Roman Catholic, or with any other denomination. They only want the government to become Christian, like an individual who accepts and practices Christian truths. The government should not unite with any church, they say, but it should by all means unite with religion.

Almost any intelligent person can define the evils of a union of church and state. But a union of religion and the state in this country would really be far worse as regards intolerance than a union of the state with any church. This is evident in the light of the fact that such a union would inevitably meet with the combined opposition of all the other churches, and would therefore be shorn of all power to enforce the will of the state church upon dissenters. Thus it is in England to-day; the state church is opposed by numerous non-conformist churches, as powerful as itself in their combined strength, and there is little if anything savoring of religious persecution in that country. The union is a mild thing because under the circumstances it cannot be otherwise. And the union of church and state in this country against which the National Reform party and its allies are so valiantly opposed, would necessarily be equally impotent.

But not so of a union of the state with religion. For religion, in such a case, would represent a combination of the leading churches, and not merely one of them alone. The religious tenets to which the state would hold in becoming "Christian" would be those upon which the leading churches are united in their religious belief. All the churches would work to this end, and undoubtedly all would be taken into the scheme to insure its success. Then all the leading and powerful churches would be equally interested in maintaining the state religion, and the opposition would be practically nothing. Dissenters would have no powerful opposing body to stand between them and the will of the church combination executed by the state, and the combination would feel no fear to enforce its religious will by vigorous decrees. Dissenters being comparatively few, would be despised instead of feared and would be ground beneath the juggernaut of the state religion as is always done to dissenters under such circumstances. Thus a union of religion and the state, where there are a number of powerful churches, would be the most intolerant union that could be formed. It would be church and state union in its worst form.

And, therefore, of all possible religio-political unions that are possible in this country, we want no union of the state with religion. s.

"Salvation," remarks the Sunday School Times, "is not putting a man into heaven, but putting heaven into a man. It is not putting a sinful man into a lawabiding community, but writing the law of God in his heart and mind. The real question is not, What will we do under outward compulsion? but, What will we do by inward choice? Salvation is not the change of circumstances, but that central change in us, that change of the heart, of its attitude, its intentions, of its choices, which will make it the conqueror, under all circumstances, in life's battles."

Those who are trying to usher in the kingdom of God by constitutional amendment, by civil enactments, and some even by force of arms, should make a note of this.

The Church and Its Power.

For more than three hundred years after Christ the church had to make its way by a struggle with the Roman Empire, which had adopted the policy of no toleration for new religions. The persecution waged against the Christian church was inspired by a false system of religion which enjoyed the favor of the state and in fact held the reins of government in the empire. This persecution was often severe in the extreme, and finally reached the climax during the reign of Diocletian, when an attempt was made to utterly exterminate Christians and blot out the church and Christianity, by destroying all the sacred books of the Christians from the face of the earth. The church did not lose heart in this contest; she knew that the Almighty was her source of strength and power. This fierce struggle ended in triumph for the church; for the real author of this last persecution so far relented and became softened by the power of Christianity as to join the Emperor Constantine in an act of toleration of Christians in the year 311. This edict acknowledged the failure of persecution to accomplish any good for the empire, which at the beginning of its opposition to Christianity was at its zenith, but now was tottering to its fall.

During this period of pagan persecution the voice of Christians was often heard in protest against the abuse of the power of the state, and in advocacy of the divine principle of religious liberty. Among the instances recorded in history are those of Justin Martyr, Turtullian and Lactantius. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this article to refer to one of these. Turtullian, addressing the Proconsul of Carthage, says of Christians:

"We are worshipers of one God, of whose existence and character nature teaches all men; at whose lightnings and thunders you tremble; whose benefits minister to your happiness. You think that others, too, are gods, whom we know to be but demons. However, it is a fundamental, human right, and a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions. One man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion, to which free will, and not force, should lead us; you will render no real service to your gods by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire of offering from the unwilling."

Lactantius and others plead with the heathen in similar language. All of which may be received as evidence that the early Christians taught religious liberty as a doctrine of Christianity.

It is sad, however, to note that the edict of Constantine was only the beginning of a transition to a new order of things; for, in the process of time, Christianity exchanged places with paganism. It became the religion of the state, and became possessed of all the power and privileges that had been enjoyed by paganism. Not alone did the church enjoy imperial protection, but the power to dictate the course of empire, and to her ministers was granted the right to assume the authority of sovereign bishop, not alone of the internal affairs of the church, but it soon extended to the affairs of the state.

No sooner had this new order of things become established than another spirit took possession of the church. Christian intolerance took the place of pagan intolerance, and greatly exceeded it in intensity and extent. Christianity aroused in men a greater depth of passion, and when the love inspired by true Christianity was turned to hate it knew no bounds, and woe to the individual that dared to attempt to withstand its will.

Heresy now became punishable by civil disability, confiscation, exile, and death; and new modes of punishment were added, as the hate of men led to new inventions for torture.

The union of church and state which began with Constantine benefited the church in no way, but exposed her to all the abuses of wealth and power, and conformed the kingdom of Christ, which is a kingdom of love and peace, to the kingdoms of this world.

The state was in no way benefited, for instead of its power being used in a legitimate way for the protection of society against the criminal element that is always present in the world, it was turned aside and made use of by the church for the punishment of offenders against a false standard of religion; and the purposes for which governments exist were entirely overlooked and the result was disintegration.

Notwithstanding the world and the church have these facts of apostacy and the terrible results before them, yet there are some even in our day that believe with Gregory XVI. that "religious liberty is the liberty of error," and "the most fruitful cause of evil with which the church is at present afflicted." And some seem to adopt the view further expressed by the same dignitary, when he said: "From this noxious fountain of indifferentism flows the absurd, erroneous opinion, or rather form of madness, which declares that liberty of conscience should be asserted and maintained for every one. For this most pestilential error that full and immoderate liberty of opinion paves the way which, to the injury of sacred and civil government, is now spread far and wide, and which some with utmost impudence have extolled as beneficial to religion."

These utterances are entirely at variance with the declarations of early Christians already referred to, and contrary to the teaching of Jesus Christ, the author of Christianity. After his resurrection Jesus said: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," and this power is for the church, not for the purpose of coercing men, but to convince them.

Nor is this power promised to the church through the medium of the state, for this would rob the author of Christianity of all the glory. The state exists for a different purpose; and besides it has become contaminated by contact with paganism. While the power of the church depends on her purity. Jesus could not accept the kingdoms of this world when offered him, because by doing so he would have lost his power to save men, although he might have had the power of universal empire. If it was not safe for the author of Christianity to accept of worldly power, it is much less so for the church to covet and accept such power. This is substantiated by all the history of the past.

But shall not the power of the state be sought for the enforcement of certain institutions of the church? It was precisely in this way that the church became involved in the fourth century. The principle once violated in the smallest degree severs the church from the source of divine power, and leaves it wholly dependent on the powers of this world. The power of the state is for mutual protection in things material; the power of the church is for individual upbuilding in things spiritual. The state is maintained by force; the church by love. The power of the state is the lesser power; that of the church the greater. When the church lets go the power of love and accepts the power of force, it must necessarily suffer loss, for it discards the greater for the less. When the state undertakes to do the work of the church, it must of necessity suffer loss, for in undertaking the work of the church its energies are diverted and criminals thrive and good men suffer as criminals.

When the church has lost its divine power it loses divine wisdom also, and virtues are made crimes and crimes are made virtues. Pius IX. said in his condemnation of the eighty errors of the age:

"It is a crime for private individuals to make no account of the duties of religion, or to treat different kinds of religion in the same way. The church judges it not lawful that the various kinds of divine worship should have the same right as the true religion."

If it is a crime it should be punished, but the church does not use force, therefore the power of the state must be sought to execute the judgment of the church. Thus we see the result of the church seeking to ally itself with the state. It condemns as a crime that which was extolled by Jesus and his early followers as one of the greatest virtues. Let the church of to-day take warning.

Allen Moon.

Simply the Name of them.

It is stated as a fact of actual occurrence in New York recently that two Christian Scientists made application at the Central Park zoo for permission to "treat" an elephant that the papers had reported sick. When they were told that it would not be safe for them to enter the animal's cage, one young woman said:

"That makes no difference; we can cure him at our home, which is near here, without going near him. We often have patients as far away as China."

That being true, which of course it was, that they could "treat" the beast just as well at home as at the zoo, why did they not do so without being to the trouble of going to the park at all? Why ask permission to do something that they could have done just as well without permission? and which even though it might be perfectly useless, as some would doubtless insist, could not possibly harm anybody, and least of all (if one can conceive of degrees of nothing), the subject of the "treatment?"

But the whole thing is too utterly absurd to even discuss. It is valuable only as an illustration of the unfitness of calling nearly everything "Christian." It emphasizes the fact that calling a thing "Christian" does not make it so. However, this is not understood by all the world and so the name has become a stench in the nostrils of a large part of the human family.

We have "Christian nations," and even "Christian wars," "Christian science," and "Christian" this and that until one involuntarily murmurs, "What's in a name."

The foregoing is suggestive of a story told of Boston when the city was not as large as it now is, and the farmers from the surrounding country used to bring wood to market on sleds.

Driving into the town with a load of wood one cold day in midwinter, an old farmer whose circulation was not as perfect as it once had been, and whose eye was dimmed by age, heard from the lips of an old colored man, the cheery cry, "Hot meat pies! Heah's yo' hot meat pies!"

Shivering with cold, but not daring to leave his team to go inside to get warmed, and thinking how helpful something hot would be to him just then, the old farmer removed his mitten, took a five-cent piece from his pocket, and transferring it to the extended palm of the dealer in pies, replaced his mitten, and taking up the proffered pie, now all his own, he regarded it for a moment with almost a look of affection, and then opening his mouth he took a liberal bite, which act, however, discovered to the now thoroughly indignant man that the pie was not only not hot but was actually frozen.

Demanding in stern tones an explanation from the ebony-hued pie vendor, he was met with a look of astonishment that any one should presume to call his business methods in question, accompanied with the exclamation, "Dat's de name of dem, boss; dat's de name of dem !"

And so we often think when we hear the name "Christian" so misapplied, "Dat's de name of dem, boss; dat's de name of dem." B.

A Tale of Two Nations.

MAGNIFICENT IMPERIALISM; TREMENDOUS EXPANSION.

Israel had desired a "strong central government," in order that they might maintain their standing among the nations. They thought that "the tribes must be united in a strong central government" or else they would not be respected by the nations round about them. God granted their desire, and with Saul as the first king monarchy was launched in Israel. At first the people had a voice in saying who their king should be, but even this degree of liberty was soon lost sight of and the monarchy became an absolute one, hereditary in the reigning dynasty.

The reign of Saul was not wholly an inglorious one. He was followed by David, whose reign, next to that of Solomon, who succeeded him, was the most glorious of all the kings of Israel. David was a man of war and he made war on a great many of the nations round about. These he conquered and brought them into subjection under his yoke. Thus at the same time that imperialism began in Israel, expansion also took place. There was a great era of expansion and all Israel thought that Samuel and the Lord must surely have been mistaken when they warned them against a monarchy. Surely, thought they, Israel has never been so great or so powerful as she is to-day, and her scepter sways over a far greater portion of the earth than ever before in her history. Thus the record was writ-"Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry. And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river [Euphrates] unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life. * * * He had dominion over all the regions on this side of the river, from Tiphsah even to Azzah, over all the kings on this side of the river; and he had peace on all sides round about him. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even unto Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."

Truly, halcyon skies seemed to be bending over Israel; the Elysian days must indeed have come. Everywhere their arms were victorious; everywhere kings bowed the knee and paid tribute at the feet of him who sat upon the throne of the Empire of Israel. Israel was now "a great world power." The desired goal had been reached; all nations respected her and counted her a factor in the management of international affairs. During his day there was no greater king than Solomon and all the kings of the East country and the Queen of Sheba came to see his greatness and the grandeur of his court.

"And when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers and their apparel and his cup bearers and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord; there was no more spirit in her."

Enormous public works were commenced. Thousands upon thousands of men were set at work; a magnificent temple was erected to the Lord; treasure cities were built.

The old simple, pastoral Israel began to be no more; and in its place grew up, as in a night, a magnificent empire, studded with handsome cities, jeweled with magnificent palaces, and adorned with all the precious things that tribute nations could bring.

The wealth of Solomon, as head of the Empire of Israel, was very great. The gold that was left to him by David amounted to 108,000 talents. In a single year, the gold that came to him was over 666 talents. In one voyage alone, his ships brought 420 talents from Ophir, and on another voyage they brought him 450 talents. The Queen of Sheba gave him 120 talents; Hiram of Tyre gave him 120 talents. All this was "besides that he had of the merchants, and of the traffic of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia and of the governors of the country;" that is, all of this was besides the regular customs, duties and taxes from his own kingdom. And all this was of gold alone, not accounting the silver, for silver "was nothing to be accounted of in the days of Solomon," he "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones."

Solomon was a great builder. He says, "I built me houses." And no building on earth has ever surpassed for beauty and glory the temple which he built for the Lord. No mention need be made of this, for the descriptions of it everywhere published are legion. Of his houses, the chief one was 150 ft.long, 75 ft. wide and 45 ft. high; and was in three stories. It had a grand porch 75 ft. long, 45 ft. broad. All the pillars, beams and floors of the house were of the finest cedar of Lebanon; and the pillars were so numerous and so costly and those in the porch so tall that the building was called "The House of the Cedar of Lebanon." Besides this, he built the "Porch of Judgment." There he placed his royal throne. It was built of ivory, inlaid with purest gold; having six steps with a footstool of gold; two graven lions on each step and one at each arm. The back formed a half circle and the seat was a golden bull. "There was not the like made in any kingdom." Near by was the "Tower of David" built for an armory. On the walls of this building there were hung "a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." Besides, there was the house of Pharaoh's daughter, his wife. These all were built with walls and foundations of costly stones, many of them twelve or fifteen feet in length. All were supported with pillars and beams of cedar and fir, decked with gold and silver, and the ceilings and walls were ornamented with beautiful stones, set with gold and silver, after the style of the temple. He also built a summer palace in Lebanon.

"He says, 'I made me great works.' He built 'Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.' 'And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities which he built in Hamath. Also, he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the nether, fenced cities with walls, gates and bars; and Baalath, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and all the chariot cities, and the cities of the horsemen, and all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and throughout all the land of his dominion.'

"'Millo' was a strong fortification, or tower, that protected the city of Jerusalem on the north.

"'The wall of Jerusalem' began at Millo, and extended entirely around the city; and upon it were sixty towers.

"'Hazor' was the principal city, and the stronghold of the whole of North Palestine. It lay in the territory of the tribe of Naphtali, 'apparently on the high ground overlooking the lake of Merom.'

"'Gezer' was also a fortified city, that commanded the Mediterraean coast road of communication between Egypt and Jerusalem. The king of Egypt had taken it from the original inhabitants of the land—the Canaanites—and had given it as a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife. At the taking of it, Pharaoh had burnt it and left it in ruins.

"The two Beth-horons—'the upper' and 'the nether'—lay on the boundary line between the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin, and guarded a pass on the road from Gibeon to the Philistine plain. Through this pass was the main way into the country of Israel from Philistia on the west, and from Moab and Ammon on the east.

"'Tadmor,' called also Palmyra, was built in an oasis in the desert of Hamath on the east. It was 'two days' journey (about 120 miles) from upper Syria, and one day's journey from the Euphrates and six long days' journey from Babylon the great.'—Josephus. This city was built that Solomon might control the caravan trade from the East. Even the *ruins* of Tadmor are a wonder, and what magnificence must have been displayed when it stood in its splendor!

"'I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits.' Literally, 'I made me *paradises*'—beautiful parks for pleasure grounds. The principal one was at Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem. To this place he would go in the morning, in stately progress, dressed in snow-white raiment; riding in his chariot of state, which was made of the finest cedar, decked with gold and silver and purple, and carpeted with the costliest tapestry worked by the daughters of Jerusalem; and attended by a body-guard of sixty valiant men, of the tallest and handsomest of the young men of all Israel arrayed in Tyrian purple, with their long black hair, freshly sprinkled with gold-dust every day, glittering in the sun.

"'I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees.' These were necessary to keep his parks fresh and beautiful. There were three notable pools built in the side of the valley of Edom. The upper pool was 380 feet long, 236 feet wide at the eastern end and 229 at the western, and 25 feet deep. One hundred and sixty feet from this was the middle pool, 423 feet long, 250 feet broad at the eastern end, and 160 at the western, and 30 feet deep. Two hundred and forty-eight feet from the middle pool lay the lower pool, 582 feet long, 207 feet wide at the eastern end, and 148 at the western, and 50 feet deep. They were partly hewn out of the solid rock, and partly built of masonry. All were lined with cement; all had flights of steps from top to bottom; and all three were connected together by conduits, and with Jerusalem by an aqueduct, so that not only his paradise at Etham, but also the city of Jerusalem, was supplied with water from them.'"

Solomon spent twenty years in building his own royal house and the temple of the Lord. Never had Israel seen such a glorious era. Never had times seemed so prosperous or prospects for the future so bright. Empire brought a desire for conquest; conquest brought wealth; wealth brought magnificence; wealth and magnificence brought luxury; luxury bred vice; and vice gave birth to ruin. And in a few brief years the magnificent fabric of governmental power which Solomon had built up lay bleaching on the sands of time, a stranded, dismantled hulk.

P. T. MAGAN.

The Creator is the only being in all the universe who has any right to require of any man the doing of anything under penalty of sin.

"Republic or Empire?"

May 24 ex-Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts, a life-long Republican, eighty-two years of age and of course with no political ambition, made a speech in Cooper Institute, New York, in which he uttered some truths well worth repeating—truths which should be carefully considered by everybody without partisan prejudice.

Governor Boutwell did not content himself with a statement of abstract principles. He doubtless felt it necessary to make the application to men and parties as they exist and as they have ranged themselves, or are now ranging themselves on the question at issue.

So far as we are concerned we care nothing about men or parties. The Sentinel has no political ax to grind. We do, however, believe that the nation is in great danger of taking a step that will be fatal to republicanism—"government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—and which will bind us as a nation for all time to military imperialism.

"There are indications," said the venerable ex-Governor, "that attempts are making to so construe the Constitution as to justify the policy of seizing, through war, foreign lands and alien peoples, and governing them as they might be governed if the Constitution of the United States did not exist. It is the manifest purpose * * * to seize and to hold countries and to govern races and communities outside of the jurisdiction of the Constitution. Thus is the administration creating a power in the president and Congress independent of the Constitution, and over which the people can have no control. It is with that usurpation that I am now to deal. The question before the country is this: Republic or empire?"

Coming at once to the real question at issue, Governor Boutwell said of

THE JURISDICTION OF THE CONSTITUTION:

"Of many propositions that may be laid down concerning the Constitution of the United States, no one can be more worthy of universal acceptance than this, namely: The Constitution cannot, of its own force, apply to territory that is not of the United States.

"A second proposition, which seems to justify itself without argument, is this: The Constitution by its own force applies equally and everywhere and always to every part of the United States.

"In elucidation and support of the first proposition, if that proposition is open to debate, it may be said that it was not in the power of the men who made the Constitution, nor of the people and states that ratified it, to have it applicable to Great Britain, to the Philippines, or to the island of Porto Rico, that was then under the dominion of Spain.

"If, then, the first proposition must be accepted as an indisputable truth, it follows, inevitably, that the Constitution does not give power, and, in fine, that the Constitution could not have given power to Congress to legislate for territories and peoples that then were or that thereafter might be outside of the jurisdiction of the Constitution itself. The power of legislation, which subsists in the Congress of the United States, is a derived power, and it is subject to one inherent limitation—its powers cannot exceed the powers possessed by the body of authority—in this case the Constitution—from which its own powers are derived. If, upon argument, this proposition might be open to debate, it remains to be said that the Constitution has fixed the limit of legislative power. As a declaration of a limitation of legislative power in Congress, the provision is superfluous, but its value is now to be appreciated in the enforcement of a manifest truth which otherwise, in these times, might be resisted stubbornly.

CONGRESS CAN NOT GO BEYOND CONSTITUTION.

"Following the preamble to the Constitution, and standing at the head of all things and of all declarations else, are these words: 'All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.' Hence it follows that Congress must find authority in the Constitution for each and every of its legislative acts.

"In vain will be the search for authority to legislate beyond the jurisdiction of the Constitution. No attempt has been made in the Constitution to give such authority, and such authority could not have been given. The limits of legislative powers in Congress have been fixed by the Constitution, and they are fixed, irrevocably fixed in the nature of things.

"As a nation we are to obey the Constitution and to apply these truths. If Porto Rico is of the United States, then its ports are ports of the United States, and its inhabitants are citizens of the United States, and they are endowed already with all the rights and privileges of citizenship. If Porto Rico is not of the United States, then the attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the island through the lawmaking power is a gross usurpation abroad and a violation of duty at home, which cannot be defended and which ought not to be tolerated."

HEREIN IS USURPATION.

Referring to the advocates of imperialism, the speaker said that "through two steps in an argument" they "have deduced an erroneous conclusion from an admitted truth: (I) Our government, in common with other sovereignties, has a right to acquire territory. (2) That right carries with it the right to govern territory so acquired.

"From these propositions they deduce the false conclusion that Congress may indulge in a full and free discretion in the government of territories so acquired. Herein is the error, and herein is the usurpation. By their acquisition the territories have become a part of the United States. As a part of the United States the Constitution extends to them, and the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution are their possession, as they are the possession of the pre-existing states and territories. In these features of our system of government is the security that this nation cannot at the same time play the part of empire and of republic. "We have the right to acquire territory, and we have the right to govern all territory acquired; but we must govern it under the Constitution, and in the exercise of those powers, and those only, which have been conferred upon Congress by the Constitution. Any attempt further is a criminal usurpation.

* * *

A CLAIM TO UNLIMITED POWER.

"The claim that Congress may extend the Constitution to the new territories is only a restatement of the claim that the Constitution does not apply of its own force to our newly acquired possessions, and that the power of Congress over such possessions is an unlimited power.

"Congress is to obey the Constitution. It has no power to increase or to diminish the scope of that instrument.

"Whenever a territory is acquired, either by purchase or conquest, the Constitution becomes immediately and by its own force the fundamental law of such acquired territory, or it must remain forever outside the Constitution, and consequently outside of the jurisdiction of Congress, inasmuch as Congress cannot legislate beyond the jurisdiction of the Constitution, the source, and the sole source, of its legislative authority. The inquiry thus made leads to these conclusions, namely:

"I. Whenever territory is acquired, whether by conquest or purchase, such territory becomes subject to the Constitution, and that without the aid or agency of any branch or department of the government of the United States.

"2. The power of legislation by Congress over such territory is fixed and limited by the Constitution.

"3. That power is so limited that the 'duties, imposts and excises' must be the same in the newly acquired possessions as they may then be in pre-existing states and territories at the same periods of time.

"4. The claim that Congress may govern territories and provinces that are not within the jurisdiction of the Constitution, or that Congress may extend the Constitution over Porto Rico, or the Philippines, or Japan, is an assumption of arbitrary power that must prove fatal to our republican system. These conclusions are in harmony with the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, with the opinion of Chancellor Kent, with the decision after argument of an international tribunal, in which the United States was a party, and in harmony with the opinion given recently by Judge Lochren."

JUSTIFICATION OF IMPERIALISM CONSIDERED.

"I am now to consider some of the pretexts that are tendered in justification of the policy of imperialism," says Governor Boutwell.

ism," says Governor Boutwell. "If we pass by Shakespeare, Milton and Pope, our own poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, may be classed among the leading philosophical writers of the modern era, in whatever relates to the passions and weaknesses of mankind. Holmes has named sin among the diseases that are catching. America has caught from England the disease of land-grabbing, of thirst for the subjugation of inferior races, all tributary to empire building, the crowning sin of dead nations and the peril of struggling nations that yet exist."

WHEN TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG.

Referring to the advocacy of "a warlike undertaking ostensibly for the extension of our trade with China," the venerable speaker said:

"China and Russia are combined, and nothing of trade facilities with China can be secured by force or by threats of force. The authorities of China have given notice that further territorial concessions will not be The recent speeches of the Chinese minister made. should be accepted as a declaration that trade with China is to depend upon friendships, agreements, reciprocal relations, and that nothing will be conceded to force. England and the United States, acting separately or combined, have not the power to dictate a commercial policy to China. Russia has gained more in the last five years by peaceful means and agencies than England has gained by war in the closing quarter of this century. Russia has connected its vast Siberian empire with the great Pacific sea on the east, and with the Persian gulf and the Indian ocean on the south.

"The British empire in India is now embraced in the arms of Russia. That country has allied itself with China on one side and with Persia on the other, and with openings to the sea through each country. Thus Russia is to control a third of the population of the globe, and, if we are to enjoy the benefits of trade with the millions of the East, we are to secure that trade by the profession and the practice of the principles and the arts of peace. Thus, again, it may appear that the maxim, or saying, that trade follows the flag is true only when the flag is the emblem and herald of peace. Legitimate and systematic trade shuns the flag in times of war.

THE MOST DISGRACEFUL CHAPTER OF ALL MODERN HISTORY.

"Of all modern history, the most disgraceful chapter is that which the American nation is now writing. At the opening of the last third of this century we abolished slavery in America, and at the end of this century we are making war for the establishment of a system of slavery in Asia. The crimes of England, in the Sepoy war, on the upper Nile, in South Africa, are trivial offenses against justice and humanity when compared with the crime of subjugating and enslaving 10,000,000 people.

"In four years the doctrine of the right of selfgovernment has been repudiated in Washington. * * * The downfall of Rome, as described by De Vertot, was not more rapid than the change that has taken place in the capital city of America."

The remedy suggested by politicians is of course the overthrow of those now in power, of those who are directing affairs. But this is a superficial view. The fault is not in officials alone, but in the people. As a nation we have ceased to prize liberty as we ought. We have become careless, and what wonder if rulers are also becoming corrupt—what wonder if the political "boss" usurps the place once given to fundamental

principle. The true remedy is in calling the people back to the true principles of liberty.

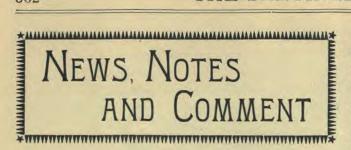
A correspondent of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, writing from Madrid, says:

"There will be no good education in Spain so long as clericalism retains its power. I speak not of the Catholic church, but of that peculiar religio-political amalgam which is the enemy of progress everywhere. The Carlist party was supposed to be the depository of this in Spain. But Carlism is declining fast; there is but one Carlist deputy in the Chamber. No chance whatever of any serious Carlist rising. How then is it that clericalism still holds its head high? The liberal reply is that the queen regent is more clerical than the Carlists, that she is responsible for this backward current, that she openly patronizes it and works for it in all those secret, quiet ways which 'constitutional' sovereigns know how to apply. I do not assert this of my own knowledge. I merely repeat common talk among the liberal deputies and journalists of Madrid. Until this reactionary factor is broken, there seems little chance for the liberation of the popular intelligence of Spain. I repeat this has nothing to do with genuine religion, for the Spanish churches in their general emptiness bear testimony to the fact that real devotion is no more widespread than in Italy. At high mass at Segovia on Sunday I counted less than fifty persons; I only noted one service well attended anywhere in Spain and that was by peasants. There is immensely more outer regard for Catholic rites in France than in Spain, while, of course, there is no comparison between the zealous and educated priesthood of France and the dull, and in many cases worse parish clergy of Spain."

Such facts, and they are known by everybody, ought to convince even the most obtuse that there is not only nothing to be gained but much to be lost by uniting church and state, or as some prefer to speak of it, "religion and the state." But no matter what it is called, it is always and everywhere the same baleful thing, ruinous alike to both parties to the unnatural and adulterous union.

"The Jewish or Hebrew Sabbath," says the Defender, organ of the "Sabbath Protective League" of New England, "was a memorial of the release of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage,—a sign and promise of weekly rest of body, mind and soul."

Very good; and does not every Christian belong to Abraham's seed (Gal. 3:29)? and if an individual is a son of God (2Cor. 6:18) has he not been called out of Egypt (Matt. 2:15)? Are not the ten commandments addressed to those who have been brought out of Egyptian bondage (Ex. 20:1-17)? and is not deliverance from bondage the first experience of every Christian? Then why should not that ancient Sabbath memorial be observed by Christians today?



The New England "Sabbath observance" organ notes that nearly all the religious bodies in that section "have recently passed strong resolutions in favor of Sabbath observance."

The Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette of May 14 reports the breaking up of two Sunday ball games on the previous day by the marshal of that city. There are many who still insist that Sunday statutes are merely civil. If so, on what grounds can base ball and other similar games be prohibited on that day? The fact that not only work but play is forbidden on Sunday proves that the object of the law is to compel its observance as a religious institution.

* *

The members of the classis of the Dutch Reformed Church of Parmus Valley, N. J., were bickering recently before Vice-Chancellor Pitney for possession of the church property. The Chancellor listened for a time, then turning to the quarreling members, he said:

"My advice to you, reverend gentlemen, is to go home and stop fighting. You are deeply injuring the cause of religion by your actions. The classis seems determined to impoverish this church. Go home and show more Christlike forbearance in your dealings with each other."

This was good advice, but it ought not to have been necessary for a civil officer to give such counsel to ministers of the gospel.

* * *

The situation in China looks at this distance very much like anarchy. The conditions are certainly serious and are doubtless causing uneasiness in many capitals. It is true that so far as China herself is concerned there is no more cause for alarm now than in the past. The Taiping rebellion of forty years ago was more formidable than is the "Boxer" outbreak of today; but the hungry European powers were not then in a position to take advantage of the situation as they are to-day. Russia, for example, now has several thousand within striking distance of Pekin. Other European powers and even the United States are represented by war vessels, with other forces within easy call. At present England is too fully occupied in Africa to be able to take any active part in the partition of China, but from present indications the South African war is practically over and Lord Salisbury may think it an opportune time to strike while such a large army is several thousand miles nearer the scene of prospective operations than under ordinary conditions. Or should the South African war continue the Czar may conclude that he has nothing to gain but much to lose by delay. Viewed from any reasonable standpoint the outlook is ominous for China.

"It is refreshing," remarks the Chicago Record, "to find a case of consistency where money is at stake. The Haines Gauge company of Philadelphia declines to furnish apparatus for the ships of the United States navy on the ground that the proprietors are members of the Society of Friends and are opposed to war. This is the first case of the kind on record."

A minister of the Christian denomination in Toledo, Ohio, has inaugurated a crusade "against the aristocracy of the churches and the insolent attitude they assume toward the poor." He says:

"By the practice of the church more people are doomed to eternal perdition than were ever doomed by the saloons or any other influence. Place no faith in your churches; the clergy preach against raffling in saloons for chickens or turkeys for the poor, and a few days later they advertise a lottery for a fancy quilt or an embroidered sofa pillow for the rich. Mark my words, that there will be a reformation that will shake the religious world to its foundations. Isms and schisms will be parts of a broken parachute. Churches in New York and other cities receive direct rentals from the liquor traffic."

It is announced that this minister proposes to arrange for a church with regular church services, and will have on the side billiards, pool, bowling, and other games in the way of amusements, but no liquor or tobacco.

A Freethought paper suggests that "if this venture at mixing religion and diversion proves successful some of the Toledo saloons may back-cap the Rev. Mr. Patton by hiring a minister and advertising billiards and pool with preaching on the side."

It must be admitted that there is far too much truth in Mr. Patton's arraignment of the churches, but the remedy will not be found in "billiards, pool, bowling, and other games" as an adjunct to the church. The people want not more amusements, but more of Christ. Apropos of the demand of a New York clergyman that negro slavery be restored in this country is this from the Truth Seeker:

"Mr. Frank in his solicitude for the negro forgets the white man, and hence overlooks the fact that slavery is always degrading to the master, however elevating it may be to the slave."

It must be admitted that in this instance the Freethought editor shows a clearer moral insight than the minister.

The National Christian Citizenship League recently sent to a number of persons the following questions: "Is the church Christian? Does she stand for the things for which Jesus stood and teach the truths he taught?"

Among the replies received was one from the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton, rector of All Souls church, who said :

"If by the question is meant, Is the church as an organization Christly, possessed of the spirit and organized upon the principles of Christ? I am afraid the answer must be no. The teachings of the church for the most part are far from following the teachings of Jesus—nay, they are far from recognizing what those teachings are. The organization of the church is planned and patterned upon a policy which is the very antithesis of a true society of Jesus? Commercialism dominates the organization and conventionality tyrannizes the pulpit. The law of the market rather than the law of the Mount is accepted by the church at large."

And who will dare deny that Dr. Newton told the truth. Clearly the church has departed very far from the simplicity and doctrine of the apostles.

Worse if Possible than Drunkenness.

Under the heading, "Drunkenness in Manila," the New York Christian Advocate of the 9th inst. says:

"Through private sources the Advocate has been given a special glance at the liquor evil in Manila, and is constrained to allow other eyes to share the vision.

"To begin with, our far-away informant seems to be under great constraint lest the military authorities in Manila may find out who it is that's giving out information. The press censorship is very strict, and even the private correspondence of individuals is closely watched."

Then follows a statement of the evil effects of liquor drinking, especially on the soldiers, many of whom have died of drunkenness and "scores if not hundreds have gone insane" from the use of a native liquor called "vino."

But what must be thought of a censorship which is so strict that private individuals do not dare

even to have it known that they write to their friends a true statement of the conditions in Manila?

There can be but one reason for such a censorship, namely, to keep the people of this country, and possibly even the administration, in ignorance of the real conditions in the Philippines. How much better is this than Spanish methods? But censorship, not only of the press but of private correspondence, is inseparable from military imperialism. If the people will have the "glory" they must pay the price. B.

Political Alliance Suggested by an Ecclesiastic.

At the recent Methodist conference in this city, Thomas Allen, D. D., fraternal delegate representing the English Wesleyan Methodist Church, said:

"During the last twenty-five years a new sentiment has grown up in our midst. I refer to imperialism. It is by no means a party sentiment, because it has captivated men of various types of political thought.

"It was this sentiment which found such dramatic expression in our diamond jubilee a few years ago. The central figure of that great demonstration was our venerable and beloved queen, and she acted her part with a reverence, a thoughtfulness, and a sympathy which left nothing to be desired. This new

SENTIMENT HAS REVOLUTIONIZED OUR COLONIAL POLICY.

Time was when our colonies were regarded as a burden, and Parliament would not have shed tears if some of them had set up housekeeping for themselves. But that day has gone by forever. The colonial troops now fighting for us in South Africa have awakened extraordinary enthusiasm. One compensation for this terrible war will be that the bounds of friendship between the colonies and the mother country will be strengthened. Having been united in sacrifice, they will not easily be separated in the time to come.

"What the ultimate outcome of this new sentiment will be it is hard to say. Sometimes I have been afraid that it may lead to a series of wars like that which marked the time of the colonization of the New World.

"Anyhow, I feel that the Christian church has a duty to perform in relation to this new sentiment. Her duty is to chasten it, to purify it from all inferior elements, to sanctify it; and then it will help us to consolidate the empire and to build the

KINGDOM OF JESUS CHRIST.

"I believe in the election of nations to work out definite purposes of the divine mind. The Hebrews served the purposes of revelation and religion. The Greeks furnished the world with an example of intellectual and artistic culture. The Romans developed the principles of law, government, and order. And England's mission seems to be to serve the purposes of colonization and Christianity.

"England has not forgotten the spiritual needs of her colonies. The evangelical revival produced our modern missionary societies, and at the beginning of this century these societies sent forth brave men, not only to preach the Gospel to the heathen, but also to supply the early settlers with ordinances of Christianity. * * * These men laid the foundations of our colonial churches, and they are worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance.

"Such is the providential mission of England, and because she has fulfilled it with success she has excited the jealousy of the old powers of Europe. They talk about perfidious Albion, and they call us land-grabbers and all manner of hard names.

A RULING AND COLONIZING RACE.

"I do not say that we have always had right on our side. We are a ruling race. * * * The French people say that we are always professing that we do not want territory, and yet we are always taking it. They say that we regard heaven as a British possession. But there is more sincerity in our professions than there seems to be * * * Our greatest inter-est is peace. We are colonizers. * * * There would have been no war in South Africa if Englishmen in the Transvaal had been treated as Dutchmen are treated in Cape Colony. The political rights which Mr. Chamberlain claimed for the Uitlanders were essentially reasonable. Europe said so, and if they had been conceded, the South African Republic would have renewed the lease of its life and prosperity. But instead of making any concession President Kruger sent us that precious ultimatum-an ultimatum that was worthy of Napoleon himself. There was only one addition that could have been made to it, and that was, All Englishmen must clear out of South Africa in six months. We are not fighting for the enfranchisement of Johannesburg. It is a question of supremacy between the two races. You cannot have two masters in one house. Seeing that our territory has been invaded, that our colonists have been plundered, and that our men have been slain, you may depend upon it that we shall not sheathe the sword until the union jack waves over Pretoria.

A POSSIBLE ALLIANCE.

"The help of Canada and the sympathy of America have given us the warmest satisfaction and pleasure. When America went to war with Spain on behalf of Cuba we gave her our blessing, and she has repaid us with interest. You have departed in one way from the Monroe doctrine. You have adopted a foreign policy, and if you intend to continue on this line, you will find it necessary to consider the question of alliances with other powers. And what is so natural as that a new friendship should be established between Great Britain and America? We are allied in blood. Our principles of self-government are the same. Our interests are identical in various parts of the world; and these are strong reasons why we should be friends, and why we should co-operate for the advancement of civilization and for the triumph of Christianity throughout the earth."

It is thus that ministers of the Prince of Peace identify themselves with human governments and help to keep alive and to fan into intensity the war spirit, than which nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of Christ.

Again, notice how the sentiment in favor of an alliance between this country and Great Britain is cultivated. Notice the mingling of the secular and the ecclesiastical, of the material and the spiritual—in short, of the sacred and the profane. Our material interests are the same, therefore "we should co-operate for the triumph of Christianity throughout the earth."

And what sort of Christianity is it that thus triumphs throughout the earth? So far as the government is concerned it is a Christianity that forces opium upon China at the cannon's mouth and that sends to every heathen land ten gallons of rum for every Bible.

Christianity is all right; and Anglo-Saxon civilization is far in advance of the civilization of Asia or Africa; and the political systems of Europe and America are far ahead of those of other parts of the world, but it is a misnomer to call them "Christian." It is impossible for any people ever to highly esteem any religion that has been forced upon them by the sword. It is possible "to build the kingdom of Jesus Christ" only by preaching the gospel of the Prince of Peace.

в.

Bread-selling a Crime.

"It has become a crime to sell bread on Sunday in the city of New York," says a weekly paper published in that city. "On May 21 four men were arraigned in Essex Market police court on the charge of having committed that offense. The arresting officer looked ashamed of his position, and the magistrate inquired, 'Can't the police find any more serious crime down this way?' Then the officer told how he came to make the arrests. 'It isn't my fault, judge,' he said; 'I acted under orders. A minister has been complaining about me allowing the law to be violated. He comes to the station house frequently and insists that we arrest these desecrators of the Sabbath. I only obeyed orders. He is the Rev. Malcolm A. Birnie, and he is connected with a mission at 280 Rivington street.'

The accused men were discharged, but when the Rev. Birnie was seen he expressed a determination to keep on calling the attention of the police to the violations of the law.

Birnie is chairman of the 'Committee on Good Citizenship of the First District of New York City Christian Endeavor Union,' and causing the arrest of men who sell bread or ice cream and of boys who sell flowers is in the line of his work, which he says is done in the interests of Sunday school children. He stated to a reporter: 'We want the streets of New York so quiet on Sundays that children attending our Sunday schools may go to and from their homes undisturbed by unholy thoughts. There are plenty of bakeshops open on Saturdays where people can buy their bread for Sundays.' To this statement the Rev. Birnie has the irony to add: 'We do not want to deprive anybody of his rights!'

"In discharging the bread sellers Magistrate Crane said to the officer:

"'When the minister makes a complaint against you send him to me, and I guarantee that I will read him a lecture that may interest him and do him good. I do not blame you, but I feel that I am doing a Christian act when I discharge these poor people, who themselves are trying hard to earn bread for their families. Now I want you to see this minister and tell him before he makes any more complaints to see me. I would like to talk with him a while.'

"It is well to talk to Birnie, although he is probably impervious to reason—either too fanatical or too rascally to allow words to affect his conduct; but the persons responsible for the Sunday law are the real culprits who have placed in Birnie's hands the power to gratify his bigoted and persecuting propensity. A law enforcing the observance of Sunday is as wildly out of place on our statute books as it would be if it enforced the rite of baptism. Nobody can point to any good coming from the law that could not be realized without it, and it ought to be forever repealed. When that is done we shall be through with such miscreants as the Rev. Birnie and the gang of conspirators against liberty who employ him as their agent."

The paper from which the foregoing is taken is the Truth Seeker, whose editor is an agnostic. Now isn't it too bad that he has opportunity to record such unchristian acts on the part of a minister of the Christian religion? It certainly is.

But it should be remembered that this man Birnie is no worse than the system which he represents. It is the law that is at fault, and consequently the sentiment back of the law; and yet that same sentiment is by some called "Christian sentiment." But "by their fruits ye shall know them."

Persecution Ended in Triumph.

The readers of the Sentinel remember that not long ago a Seventh-day Adventist minister was banished from Kharput to Equin in Asia Minor. The Armenians had stirred the government against him at Kharput, that he might be sent away, that nobody might come to the knowledge of the truth. But God took their plan and used it to the salvation of others. The minister after gaining his freedom in Equin began to teach in the Protestant church.

This was a unique opportunity offered to us by Protestants in Turkey. He labored several months without any success, the people seeming very indifferent to what was preached. But in these later days

all at once several souls have been awakened to study the Bible, and two men and four women have begun to keep the Sabbath. One of the women is the teacher of the orphanage school opened by American missionaries after the massacre. She is teaching the truth to the orphans also, and a good interest has been awakened among the children. She is sure that as soon as the missionaries hear about her obedience, she cannot longer stay there. Another sister is the wife of the master of a factory running with the capital given by missionaries. Her husband also is very friendly to the truth. These things will surely arouse antagonism from the missionaries and jealous souls. Let us see what will happen next.

Z. G. BAHARIAN.

Constantinople, May 17, 1900.

An advocate of Sunday observance by law says of a recent Sunday theatrical show in Boston, Mass., "Of all the Sunday entertainments I have witnessed, this was the most disgraceful." We recommend that next time he stay away from the show, and thus set a good example before others. The disgraceful show would not exist if there was no public demand for it; and as long as there is such a demand the show will find some means of existence. Continuing, this observer says that "there was no pretence, even, of anything sacred, and every number was a vaudeville act or a comic opera scene, and identically the same as presented at week-day performances, excepting costumes." If this is so, then identically the same reason exists for its suppression on "week days" as on Sunday. If such shows interfere with the rights of the people they should be prohibited; but as nobody is obliged to go to them, it is difficult to see how they constitute an infringement of rights. They are of course very degrading and demoralizing spectacles, but the law cannot go outside the sphere of rights. Only in that sphere can it be effective. In the sphere of morals the law is without a guide-a juggernaut running wild and doing incalculable damage. The natural rights of mankind are self-evident, and with them the law of mankind can safely undertake to deal. In the sphere of morals one must have the guidance of Omniscience. which can be secured only by the individual act of faith.

The death list of American soldiers in the Philippines has passed the 2,000 mark. Two full regiments of American soldiers have gone down to death since the beginning of the present war, and the end is not yet.

The character of anything is not fixed by the name that is given to it. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

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St.

We devote considerable space this week to matter bearing more or less directly upon the question of imperialism. We do not do this from any political motive, or for the benefit of any candidate or party, but because a vital principle is involved directly affecting the formation of individual character.

It is said of man, "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." Therefore it is not a matter of indifference what one thinks upon any question of vital principle. Just views of individual rights are conducive to a just appreciation of individual responsibility; and to know and feel individual responsibility toward God is the very foundation of all right character. Wrong think ing is sure to react disastrously upon the character; therefore we should cherish right principles, whether our own liberties are involved directly or not. The vital question with each individual is not so much, What principle will the government cherish? but, What principle shall I cherish?

36

A religious institution does not become civil simply because recognized and enforced by civil statute. Prayers and sermons paid for by the State are not civil. Who ever read that a session of the Senate was opened by a "civil prayer," or the "civil services" are conducted on board a certain battle-ship every Sunday bythe chaplain?

A

The claim made in behalf of Sunday is that it is the Sabbath of the Lord, enjoined by the fourth commandment of the decalogue. It has even been styled "the test of all religion." Dr. W. F. Crafts says concerning it: "Taking religion out of the day takes the rest out." While Joseph Cook, in one of his Boston Monday lectures, in 1887, said: "You will in vain endeavor to preserve Sunday as a day of rest, unless you preserve it as a day of worship." This claim alone should at once remove the day from the sphere of human legislation. It is not the province of the state to enforce religious institutions.

30

Religious legislation now generally takes the form of statutes requiring the observance of Sunday. The people are told that this is not religious legislation, and that such statutes are designed "to protect the workingman." The fact, however, is that Sunday laws are always and everywhere designed to protect not the *man* but the *day*. That this is true is shown by the form of the charge against those who disregard the law; they are uniformly charged with "Sabbath breaking," "violating the Lord's day," "profaning the Sabbath," etc.

Exhaust all the arguments ever urged in behalf of "civil Sabbath" statutes and the fact remains that but for the supposedly sacred character of the day there would be no Sunday law. Nobody is required to observe a purely civil day. Who ever heard of a law forbidding anybody to do as he sees fit on the 22d of February, the 30th of May, the 4th of July, 10th of September, or even upon Thanksgiving or Christmas?

.52

All religious legislation—legislation touching religious questions—is dangerous for the reason, if for no other, that it furnishes precedent for other similar measures.

We do not see the reason for so much fear as is expressed touching the secularization of the "American Sabbath." If the Sabbath is American, it will not be any less American when it is made wholly secular, for secular things are as truly American as anything can be. It will still be the "American Sabbath," and why should not every American institution be what the American people wish it to be? With the "Sabbath of the Lord," of course, the case is different; but that is no more American than it is German or French.

38

Among the supporters of Sunday laws are always to be found those who are themselves persistent violaters of the law—they want such statutes for others, not for themselves.

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