

The Sentinel

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

VOL. 17.

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1902.

No. 2.

True Liberty

By A. T. Jones

LIBERTY is a great word. It means a great thing. That *word* has been made a great deal of, many times. That *thing* has been comparatively very little known, even by those who have made so much of the word. By the history of the world this has been made so manifest that by men it is well understood that there is, and that there must be recognized, a clear distinction between liberty and "Liberty!!!"

This distinction was understood, and was pointed out, long ago; and by eminent preachers of liberty. In the Scriptures it is written, by Peter, that there are those who promise to others liberty, while "they themselves are the servants of corruption" (2 Pet. 2: 19); and by Paul: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh." Gal. 5: 13. Whatever therefore may be claimed to be liberty, which at the same time is being used for an occasion of the flesh, as a means of indulging or expressing any fleshly trait, is not liberty at all. Whatever promise or claim of liberty may be made by those who themselves are the servants of corruption, that comes thus

hampered by any condition or trait of corruptness, or assertion or indulgence of selfishness, is a delusion and a snare; it is not liberty at all, however much it may be shouted as "Liberty!!!"

To-day anarchy is indulged, promoted and shouted under the claim and title of liberty, while on its face it is but the indulgence, to the very limit, of selfish propensity, and in essence, as in logic, is simply nihilism—nothingness. This is easily and directly deducible from the indubitable expressions of anarchy itself. Its sole and insatiable desire is to murder and to destroy, especially to murder rulers and to destroy government; and to destroy government by murdering rulers!

As certainly and as long as there are men on the earth, so certainly and so long there must be and there will be government on the earth. Government on earth begins with the individual man; he was made to govern himself. If the individual man will not govern himself, then he must be governed by government not of himself. And there are in this world such a multitude of people who will not govern themselves, and

the number is so fast increasing, that it is certain that so long as men are in the world there will be in the world government which is not of the individual. Therefore when any man starts out to destroy government, he simply starts out to destroy the human race.

This is evident also from the method employed to destroy government; that is, the murder of rulers. Government is so essential to mankind that it veritably inheres in mankind. Accordingly wherever men are found some sort of government is found. Also wherever government is found provision is always made, in the order of government, whatever that may be, for an orderly succession in the rulership. It is recognized that in this world men, even rulers, do die; therefore, in the very nature and order of government itself among men, there is always provision made for succession of rulers without any break in the order of the government, in case of death. Therefore whenever any one undertakes to destroy government by murdering rulers, again it is true that he simply undertakes to destroy the human race.

It is a principle of human society, as well as of Anglo-Saxon law, that "whoever has an associate has a master." And wherever there is mastership there is government. Therefore the direct logic of any scheme to destroy government among men is that every person must be destroyed but the one who invents and carries into effect the scheme. Nor does the logic, nor would the scheme carried into effect, stop even with the destruction of every person but the author and finisher of the scheme. For even when thus he found himself alone in the earth, he would actually find himself under the necessity of governing *himself*.

But he is inveterately opposed to government; and since in loyalty to his "gur-re-ate pur-rin-ciple" he has destroyed all the race but himself, shall he now annihilate his "pur-rin-ciple," and condemn himself in all that he has done? That will never do; he must not acknowledge that he is wrong; he must not condemn himself. That would be to recognize government, and to admit that government is right; while his "gur-re-ate pur-rin-ciple" is that government is wrong and must be destroyed. Therefore he must destroy himself; and this he will inevitably do, if he does not govern himself.

Therefore upon every count of the indictment the direct and inescapable logic of the anarchistic scheme, of destruction of government, is the destruction of the human race. It is simply nihilism—absolute *nothingness*. And however much it may be advocated and proclaimed in the name of liberty, it is nothing less than the annihilation of human liberty, in the annihilation of human existence. And this brings us again to our first proposition: That whatever promises or proclaims liberty, which at the same time indulges or expresses any fleshly trait, that contemplates any kind of harm to any human being, is not liberty at all. Liberty is only that which contemplates only good to every creature. He attains most nearly to true liberty who contemplates and works, *not* the most good to the *most* people, but most good to *all* people. And since this is found and can be attained only in the truest conception of Christianity, it follows that the only true liberty is Christian liberty.

And so, to Christians, of true liberty—Christian liberty—it is written: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to

the flesh, but *by love serve one another.*" That is to say, true liberty is *service*—heart-service, the service of love. True liberty, which is only Christian liberty, is the liberty by love to serve one another.

With *the world* it is not so. Worldly liberty is not true liberty. For there the ambition is to rule, to domineer, to *cause others* to serve. "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors [agents of good]. But *it shall not be so among you*: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be *your minister*; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be *your servant*: even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Thus true liberty is the liberty by love to serve. This is Christian liberty, and there is no other true liberty. There is no other, for this itself is the fulfilling of the perfect law of liberty, as it is written, and as we read more fully: "Brethren ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty as an occasion of the flesh, but by *love* serve one another. For all the law [of love and liberty] is fulfilled in this one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And again: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law"—of God, of love, of liberty. And therefore this is the only true liberty.

And this only is Christian liberty, and Christian liberty is only this, because it is revealed only in Christ, and is attained only by faith in Christ, as it is written: "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord

Jesus Christ: by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because *the love of God* is shed abroad in our hearts by *the Holy Ghost* which is given unto us." By being partakers of the Holy Spirit, we are partakers of the divine nature. By being partakers of the divine nature we can do the divine thing of loving *all men*, even our enemies, and of *serving them*; which is only the fulfilling of the law of love and of liberty; which is the only true liberty.

And in these days, just now, when violence and strife, and every work of ill to men, is growing more and more to the filling of the land, there is needed the widest possible proclamation of just this "liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." And precisely fitting to this time, and to this great need of the time, there is sent from God the blessed message of "the everlasting gospel," which itself is but the proclamation of this true liberty, "to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." And to every one who accepts this blessed message there is assured the *true liberty*, which is now so much needed; for the culminating word of the message is the declarative promise: "Here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." Rev. 14: 6-12.

Therefore, proclaim *this* liberty throughout all the world, to all the inhabitants thereof; and stand fast in *this* liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; for there is no other true liberty.

Why Sunday Laws Are Wrong

By A. G. Daniells

SUNDAY legislation is wrong. It can only work injustice to the citizens of the state. It is therefore to be condemned; and all movements seeking such legislation are to be condemned likewise. The following are some of the evils of Sunday legislation:

1. It is religious legislation.
2. It favors a class of citizens in matters of religion.
3. It invades the sacred precincts of the conscience.
4. It deprives men of their individual rights.
5. It leads to religious persecution.

This, we know, is a severe indictment against Sunday legislation, but we believe that each count can be sustained by plain, undeniable facts.

(1.) Sunday legislation is religious legislation. This is true from the fact that the Sunday institution is a religious institution. And it is on this ground that Sunday laws are made and enforced on the citizens of the state.

Said Joseph Cook in one of his Boston Monday lectures in 1887: "The experience of centuries shows that you will in vain endeavor to preserve Sunday as a day of rest, unless it is as a day of worship."

Dr. Evarts says of Sunday: "This day is set apart for divine worship and preparation for another life. *It is the test of all religion.*"

Of the basis on which Sunday legislation rests, the American Sabbath Union says: "A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land *except on the basis of religious obli-*

gation. Take the religion out and you take the rest out."

Section 1 of the present Sunday law of England and the colonies requires: "That all and every person and persons whatsoever, shall, on every Lord's day, apply themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately."

From these quotations it is plain that Sunday is a religious institution, that Sunday laws are religious laws, and that Sunday legislation is an attempt to enforce religion by the power of civil government.

(2.) Sunday legislation favors a class of citizens in matters of religion. All religious legislation discriminates in favor of a class. In no state are the citizens all agreed in matters of religion. Some are religious, and some are not religious. And those who are religious do not by any means all hold the same views of religion.

With reference to a day of rest there are at least three classes: Sabbatarians, Sunday observers, and those who do not believe in or hold any day as sacred. Sabbatarians observe the seventh day; Sunday observers regard the first day as sacred; worldlings, or non-professors, do not regard either day. It is as plain as facts can demonstrate that Sunday legislation discriminates in favor of a class, namely, Sunday observers.

But all such discrimination is unjust. It is contrary to the principles of good government. Religion is man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God. With this relation civil government should have nothing whatever to do.

(3.) Sunday legislation invades the conscience of the citizen. This is true of all religious legislation. Religion pertains to the conscience; it is a matter of faith. "Whatever is not of faith is sin." All true religious service must be voluntary. It must spring from the heart and be performed in love.

But men cannot love what they do not believe in, nor what they believe to be wrong. To outwardly observe any religious institution in which a man has no faith, or which he believes to be wrong, is hollow mockery. To attempt to compel men against their consciences to render such outward observance is to outrage the conscience. It is to rob men of their dearest and most sacred right.

There is no more reason nor justice in attempting to enforce Sunday or Sabbath observance than in attempting to enforce any other religious dogma. The Sabbatic institution, like baptism, is purely religious. The only authority for either is the Word of God. The moment it is conceded that it is the duty of the state to enforce the Sabbatic institution, that moment it must be conceded that it is the duty of the state to enforce baptism. Both institutions were established by Christ, both are enjoined in the Scriptures, both are religious, and both are a matter of faith with men. Neither can be truly and acceptably observed without faith.

Take the institution of baptism. Some believe in it; others reject it altogether. Those who believe in it differ as to what it is. Some hold that it is immersion; others hold that sprinkling answers every purpose. Every one can see that it would be monstrous for the legislative branch of civil government to pass a law commanding every one of its citizens to be sprinkled. What a pitiful specta-

cle it would be to see the police dragging unbelievers to the police courts to be prosecuted and fined for refusing to be sprinkled! What a travesty on religion! What an outrage on the conscience!

But what is the difference in principle between Sabbath laws and baptismal laws? Both are purely religious, and there is the same difference of opinion among men respecting each. Civil government by right has no more to do with one than the other. It is no more unjust to compel men to be sprinkled than to compel them to observe Sunday.

The great object of civil government is to protect men in the enjoyment of their rights. Freedom of conscience is one of these rights, and it is one of the dearest of individual rights. To enforce any feature of religion by civil law upon the conscience is not the protection, but the invasion of rights. This is a perversion of the power committed to civil government.

(4.) Sunday legislation deprives men of their individual rights. We have already shown that it invades the conscience and thus robs men of their most sacred rights. But it goes further and interferes with other rights. For instance, the fourth commandment of the decalogue says:

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. 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." Ex. 20: 8-10.

There are those who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week according to the reading of this commandment. Having refrained from labor on the seventh day, they have the right, according to this divine law, to pursue their vocations on the other six days. This is a right given them by

the Author of the Sabbath institution. It is not the design of the Creator that men should spend their time in idleness; hence He commands them to work six days. Now, when the state steps in and prohibits them from doing so, it takes away a right granted by the Lord of all.

Nor is that all. It interferes with their liberty to obtain the necessaries of life. Six days of labor are necessary to most men in order to properly provide for those who are dependent upon them. God has recognized this, and granted men the right to work six days. But Sunday legislation ignores this right, and seeks to prevent a certain class from doing so. This is clearly unjust.

(5.) Sunday legislation leads to religious persecution. It is an expression by one class of citizens that another class should, and *must* be religious, and that they must be religious according to the ideas of those who secure the legisla-

tion. Of the results of this theory, John Stuart Mill makes the following truthful remark in his essay on "Liberty": "The notion that it is one man's duty that another should be religious was the foundation of all the religious persecutions ever perpetrated, and if admitted, would fully justify them."

Law means force. The object of Sunday laws is to compel men to keep Sunday. Those who, from conscientious scruples, cannot do so are treated by their fellows as criminals. They are taken to the courts, prosecuted and fined. Thus they are deprived of their property or their liberty simply because they cannot agree with some of their neighbors on matters of religion. This is cruel; it is religious persecution.

Thus we find that on every count Sunday legislation stands condemned. Sunday laws cannot make men love Sunday.

The Christian Ideal of a Civil Government

By M. C. Wilcox

THERE is much that is called Christian in these days of large professions that will not bear the test of examination. Much is said of "Christian nations" and "Christian government" that is far wide of the mark set up by the Founder of the Christian religion.

There are only two distinguishing principles of Christianity—not institutions, ordinances, or observances, but principles—which can be applied to civil government, which, in fact, belong to the highest ideal of civil government, which are absolutely necessary to the best civil government. These principles are inherent in Christianity alone of all

the religions which earth has known, and in an outward way, apart from their inherent life, are *emphatically* distinguishing characteristics of the religion of Christ.

We do not mean that these principles are the only principles which distinguish Christianity from other religions, for they are not; but they are the only distinguishing principles which can properly be applied to civil government.

These principles are:

1. The equal rights of all men.
2. The absolute freedom of choice.

Every false religion of earth of any note has had its mitred priests, its

crowned prelates, its lord-bishops, its select few, its inner circle, or its cordon of ecclesiastical police to act as body-guard around its holy of holies. These religions have in this way been guilty of cruel oppression, unduly exalting the few and degrading the many.

Such was the teaching and practise of the Pharisees when Jesus came upon the world's stage. His disciples thought the same thing would continue with change of persons. Two of them even urged that they might occupy the highest position in Christ's commonwealth. Jesus rebuked them in these words: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But *it shall not be so among you*: but whosoever will be *great among you*, let *him* be your *minister*; and whosoever will be *chief among you*, let *him* be your *servant*." Matt. 20: 25-27.

Neither was this a matter of mere general, social or political equality; it pertained to matters ecclesiastical and spiritual. For on another occasion, as the proud Pharisee in his self-ordained dignity and pomp strutted before them, receiving the homage of servile minds, Jesus said to His disciples: "But be *not ye* call Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ, and *all ye are brethren*. And call no man your father upon the earth; for One is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for One is your master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant." Matt. 23: 8-11.

Thus the Teacher taught that the true measure of greatness is service rendered.

The apostle Peter, claimed by the Church of Rome as its head, thus instructed the church elders: "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am

also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed; feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." 1 Peter 5: 1-3.

The apostle of Jesus Christ was a servant, not a lord; an ensample, not an oppressor. Those who are truly Peter's followers will teach and work as did Peter.

Other Scriptures might be quoted, but these clearly evidence that one of the corner stones of Christianity is the equality of man in the exercise of his God-given rights; for "God is no respecter of persons." He has made no man the arbitrary ruler or oppressor of his fellow-men, either politically or ecclesiastically.

The second grand principle is the right of choice, the right to believe or disbelieve, to reject or accept without regard to what men might think, the individual responsible alone to God, the Supreme Court of the universe. Here is this glorious principle enunciated by Jesus Christ: "If any man hear My words, and believe not, *I judge him not*; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth Me, and receiveth not My words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the *last day*." John 12: 47, 48.

What Christ would not do Himself, he has not committed to erring mortals. Nay, more; He has precluded erring mortals from judging by appointing the evidence of condemnation, and the time of its application, "the last day." How dare men presume to elevate themselves

to a position which Christ would not take?

The apostle Paul, an ambassador of God for Christ, taught the true position of all Christ's servants: "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we *persuade* men." "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did *beseech* you by us; we *pray* you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." 2 Cor. 5: 11, 20. And again: "Not that we have dominion [lordship] over your faith, but are helpers of your joy; for by faith ye stand." 2 Cor. 1: 24.

The only service acceptable to the God of love is love, and love cannot be coerced save by love. Christianity, the very essence of which is the life of God, if received, will create love within the heart and render all service willing and acceptable. It cannot therefore be enforced. Every attempt to do this has resulted in developing tyrants on the one hand and slaves and hypocrites on the other.

These two principles are inherent in Christianity alone of all religions. Apart from divine power they have won the admiration of all liberty-loving hearts who have heard of them. In Christianity—Bible Christianity—these principles still abide. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. We may not find them in professed Christianity; their absence is proof positive of its perversion.

These principles may be applied to earthly governments; and it is a strange coincidence, looking at it apart from God's hand in the affairs of men, that one government only, of all the governments of earth, placed these great principles in the very charters of her existence. Nay, more; her existence grew from

these very principles in the hearts and minds of men. That government was the United States of America from 1776 to 1892. Embodied in the Declaration of Independence are the great principles of equality and the right of dissent. They were guaranteed by her glorious Constitution. A state was formed without a king, a church without a pope. These principles attracted to these shores millions of the best of liberty-loving souls from all parts of the old world, still wrapped in the superstitions of medieval night. Living, molding, they shaped the varied population into a homogenous mass, in which education, art, science, and religion made such progress as the world had never seen. Their blazing torches lighted the darkness of the Old World and made hideous to its inhabitants the oppressive laws, forms, and customs of the Dark Ages. Not fully operative here in the beginning, they molded public sentiment till they struck the slave shackles and gyves from every man and woman in America. And they would have continued even more mightily to bless the world had they been allowed to flourish unchecked, undimmed, in this government.

As long as the government held to these principles she was the nearest to what an ideal Christian, civil government could be. Held for their own inherent righteousness, she was meeting the divine command of a civil government; but as soon as attempt is made to enforce Christianity, the government becomes not only un-Christian, but anti-Christian. Repudiation of the equal rights of men is un-Christian. Repudiation of the right to choose or refuse any religious faith, tenet, observance, or institution, is un-Christian. More, it is anti-Christian. That government which

departs from those principles which were once her life, shall perish in her departure. Those men who are turning her from her primal, sacred path are luring her to destruction. But that is another story.

Intolerance—Past and Prospective

By M. E. Kellogg

THE persecutions of the Middle Ages were the result of the desire of the priests of the dominant church, as they conceived it, to improve the condition of the people. The system of reasoning by which they justified such a course was very simple. The church had come, or thought it had, to the perfection of light and knowledge both as regards this world and the world to come. The church conceived itself to be the divinely appointed teacher of the world. Whatever it thought was best to be done, should be done; and objectors, for the good of the state and the community, and for their own good, too, should be compelled, if need be, to do what the church held to be right.

To those resting upon this self-satisfactory basis all arguments in regard to personal accountability to God and of individual rights in religious matters had no effect. They appealed to infallible authority, to the Scriptures, which speak of evildoers being rooted out from the earth, and they regarded themselves as the appointed agents of the Most High to carry out the decrees of the divine will. Thus religious zeal became synonymous with human cruelty. The foulest deeds and the most pious phrases went hand in hand; prayer and torture became boon companions.

Strange as it may appear, persecuting heathenism was barely a thing of the past when its place was taken by

what passed for the church of Jesus Christ; all freedom of thought was repressed; and if a Savonarola saw a purer faith, or a Galileo discovered a new scientific truth, it could be advocated only at the peril of life.

This was in the days when one church—one vast system of religion—held all states and almost all people in bondage, making the acceptance of its dogmas, either willingly or by constraint, the price of every earthly blessing, and even of life itself. The physical agonies endured by the martyrs to civil and religious liberty in those dark centuries have occupied the thoughts, engaged the pen and aroused the sympathies of the philosophers and philanthropists of modern times; but who can picture the mental agony, the conflict of mind, when abject submission and credulous faith, with safety, were opposed by some illumination of the Holy Spirit or flashes of reason leading into paths dangerous to tread! How many human souls went through life groping in thick darkness, trembling before creed and dogma, until the man created in the image of God was made, by what claimed to be the church of God, but a lump of clay, without thought, inert, doubting the sincerity of his own faith, fearing the results of his own unbelief, trembling between hope and fear—how many such lives those ages afforded nothing but the recording angel's pen can reveal.

That deadly spell was partially broken in the sixteenth century. Men were no longer content to doubt and suffer in silence; they arose, and in a new-born strength begotten of God, who in His time bursts the captive's yoke, proclaimed soul-liberty. The spirit of liberty pervaded all nations. It crossed the ocean, and in the wilds of the American wilderness built a state, the national motto of which, "A new order of things," suggested freedom from both civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. For a time liberty became the watchword of the world; kings pretended to embrace it, or fell before it; popes were imprisoned, or fled from their capital as fugitives, and liberty everywhere seemed like a triumphant conqueror.

But again a change has come. Liberty is like the sea, which has its ebbing and its flowing time; its spring and its neap tides. Men still rave of liberty, philosophers describe her, poets sing her praises, statesmen descant upon her in legislative halls, and the church holds her as an ideal—but her face is turned from us. She is a beautiful, but a fading dream. How else can we account for the fact that in Europe kings are becoming more supreme and constitutions are little regarded; that the war-lord has become greater than the statesman; that the Papacy is slowly but steadily regaining her lost ground in all the so-called Protestant countries of Europe; that two of the greatest and most powerful nations of the world, in which civil freedom has in the past attained to the greatest fulness recorded in history, are cruelly smothering the cry for liberty on the part of weaker peoples; and that in this country, the home of religious freedom, the churches, which form the greatest motive power in all affairs, are

deliberately planning to enact laws which will abridge personal liberty in those things which relate to man in his individual relations to God?

The churches declare their intention of uniting so that they can be one church under one head, and so gain the control of the nation and dictate its laws. A religious journal compares the leading Protestant churches to the fingers of a man's hand, but as the open hand does not bring what the churches desire, it says: "What is needed is the compacting of fingers and thumb into a solid fist wielded by the controlling purpose of a single brain, and then something will drop, and drop hard."

What does this plan outline but a new Papacy? Surely something will then drop, and that something will be religious liberty. It may be said by some one, in extenuation of this utterance, that this proposed union, by which everything opposing is to be crushed, is only for the promotion of morality in civil things. But the pages of history are eloquent of the fact that when a great religious organization sets itself to work to carry certain ends it has very poor sense of discrimination in regard to what things are religious and what are civil; or, in other words, from its standpoint there is no dividing line. By a subtle alchemy of church policy religious things are transformed into civil, and civil things into religious. It was so when Rome persecuted. All her cruel, religious exactions were transformed into civil requirements. She shook her "fist of righteousness," through the civil power, at those who refused her dogmas.

Protestants, departing from the simplicity of their earlier days, are following her example. They are "compact-

ing" for that purpose. The open palm of friendship and invitation is tightening into the grip of despotic hate and fancied divine retribution. Tired of presenting the love of God, the church would appropriate his prerogative of punishment. This is the attitude of a large number

of the professed Christian ministers of America. In blind zeal they are crowding the nation nearer and nearer to the brink of a fearful precipice. Already we have seen some of the results of this misguided zeal; the future bids fair to reveal it in greater measure.

The Church and Sunday Opening

Editorial from the New York Tribune

IT is the opinion of *Zion's Herald*, an influential Methodist paper published in Boston, that an overwhelming majority of religious people are opposed to the opening of saloons on Sunday. This is especially true, it declares, of the three largest religious bodies in the country—the Baptist, Roman Catholic and Methodist Episcopal churches—while the clergymen who advocate Sunday opening number less than one in a thousand of the clergymen of the country. Only one Baptist paper, *The Watchman*, of Boston, advocates local option, which, of course, carries with it the possibility of Sunday opening. The Methodist papers and ministers, without a single exception, are opposed to the proposition. The Roman Catholic press also opposes the idea, and Archbishop Corrigan the other day, in addressing the triennial diocesan synod of the archdiocese, assembled in St. Patrick's Cathedral, pronounced against a "Continental Sunday" and condemned any change in the Sunday laws. Arguing from these facts, therefore, *Zion's Herald* declares, "no movement that cannot carry the Baptist, the Roman Catholic and the Methodist Episcopal churches can succeed with the legislature of any commonwealth in this land.

And when these three great bodies unite, as they now do, against the proposition for the Sunday saloon, it is doomed in advance."

Doubtless the opposition of these three great religious bodies ought to have and will have great weight when the question comes to be decided. But if religious sentiment opposed to Sunday opening is to be taken into account, it seems only fair that religious sentiment favorable to the measure should also be considered, even though it represents a minority of the religious people of the country. What all must desire is a settlement of the Sunday saloon question in accordance with the principles of justice and morality, and the minority which favors Sunday opening may conceivably have as clear a conception of the moral questions involved as has the majority. There is no inherent divinity in a majority, as *Zion's Herald* would doubtless be among the first to maintain if it found itself on the minority side of this question. Politicians may properly accept the decision of the majority on any such issue; but religious men are morally bound to ask if the majority rightly represents the essential justice and morality involved in an issue that comes up for decision. Now, whether rightly or

wrongly, many religious journals and representative religious men do advocate some form of Sunday opening. . . . Many prominent laymen have also taken the same ground. Are these eminent men wrong on this question? Do they misrepresent the church? These are questions which must be answered, and they are not answered by showing that a much larger number of religious people for various reasons think the other way.

Moreover, the fact must be noted that many, perhaps the majority, of the religious people opposed to Sunday opening base their opposition on grounds that cannot be recognized by the state. They declare that the legalization of Sunday liquor selling would be a desecration of the Sabbath. Now, the state has no right to legislate in favor of making Sunday a holy day of religion. It can take no cognizance of any alleged desecration of the day. That is an argument that has no place in secular legislation. Individual religious bodies can bind their members to any observance of Sunday that seems right to them. But the state can only regard Sunday as a legal holiday and see that nothing is

done on that day which will interfere with its due observance by the citizens generally, religious and irreligious. The question for the legislature, therefore, is not whether the Sunday opening of saloons would desecrate a holy day of the church, but whether it would disturb the peace and quiet of the day and prevent religious people from observing it according to the dictates of their conscience. It may be that Sunday opening would disturb the peace and order of the day for a majority of citizens. In that case the proposition should be opposed by all good citizens, even those who disbelieve in Christianity. That there is such a radical division of sentiment on this question among good people is, on the whole, a fortunate circumstance, for it insures a decision of the question on its merits. If all the religious people opposed the proposition there might be danger of the legislature enacting a law recognizing Sunday as a holy day of religion. But as it is, the real issue involved in the question will be brought out, namely, whether Sunday opening is demanded by expediency and justice, not whether it contravenes certain dogmas of religion.

Religion and the State

By W. N. Glenn

WHILE the authority for civil government is derived from God, the power by which such government executes its decrees is physical force. This is indicated in the scripture which tells us that the ruler "is the minister of God," and that evildoers are to fear him because "he beareth not the sword in vain." The

last resort of civil government is the sword. Therefore, when God ordained such power in the hands of fallible man, it is clear that its jurisdiction was limited. Such government was made necessary in the earth by man's dropping below the condition in which he could be governed without force. That jurisdiction would naturally be confined to the terri-

tory where such conditions exist, and to such *acts* of violence as can only be restrained by force. As the civil, or secular, or human government is ordained to preserve order among men, by protecting all men in their natural, God-given rights, its manner of execution must of necessity be such as to compel the recognition of those who will not voluntarily respect the rights of others. All the moral influence that civil government can wield will be through the general knowledge that it has the physical power to sustain its decrees and polity by force if need be.

Therefore the civil government can not enter the domain of religion, excepting to curb the exercise of such religion as may contemplate a disregard of other people's natural rights. It may justly require that no one shall make his religion a pretext for crime against the good order and temporal welfare of the community, or of any individual in the community. When we allow that the propagation of any religion is an object or purpose of civil government, then all the laws necessary to enforce the observance of such religion follow as a logical result. They follow as a matter of necessity, for the government has no other means of carrying out any purpose. Then the teaching of any other religion than that inculcated by the government, or the teaching of that religion in any manner not in harmony with the governmental polity, becomes inimical to the purpose of the government. Thus the government becomes logically bound, in the furtherance of its purpose, to restrain such inimical teaching; and, having no other power for such restraint than physical force, it may not stop short of the full extent of that power—the penalty of death—if such extreme be

necessary to successfully accomplish the restraint. Then every movement in the exercise of a religious function by the government is an obstacle in the way of the free exercise of freedom of conscience. Every such movement tends to place the religious liberty of the individual at the option of the government. And this is the very essence of despotism; for civil liberty can exist only in name where religious liberty is denied.

If the principle of state-law religion is good in one country, it is good in another. The purpose and the principle of civil government is the same in Turkey, in France, in China, in Russia, in Afghanistan, or Japan, as it is in the United States. It was just the same in Rome in the days of Nero, when to preach Christianity was treason, as it is in the United States to-day. So that if the government may enforce one religion, it may with equal propriety enforce any tenet of any other religion, if the majority of the people adhere to such a religion or tenet.

The governments of the world have invariably been tyrannical in proportion to their disposition to direct the religious convictions and practises of the people. It matters not though the religion espoused has been the Christian religion, the enforcement of it by the secular power has proved oppressive. Referring to the well-known results of all attempts to propagate religion by means of civil law, Dr. Samuel T. Spear, in "Religion and the State," says:

"These facts prove most conclusively that civil government is a failure when it attempts to administer and regulate religion; and, hence, in the interests of pure religion, as well as those of good government, every Christian, every statesman, and every citizen should protest against any theory that carries even

a single drop of state religion in its veins. We cannot import rulers from the skies, or impart to earthly rulers the inspiration of infallibility. Governments must be managed by men; and, if history proves anything, it proves that men are very poor managers when they exercise the civil power in relation to religion. Their positions make them despots in theory, and in practise they often become demons incarnate, treading under foot the rights of conscience with a ferocity as reckless as it is cruel."

To this it may well be added that the world-wide failures of civil government to do any good in the realm of spiritual things furnish complete evidence that, however useful such government is in its legitimate sphere, its mechanism and its

only means of executing its purpose are unfitted to the furtherance of the Christian religion. Not only is the civil government in every way unadapted to the conduct of spiritual work, but any attempts to operate in that domain unfits it for its own specific work. No machinery can do any work that is radically different from that which it was designed and constructed to do. So a wholly secular or temporal machine can not do a wholly spiritual work; and the attempt to do a religious work (a Christian work) through the medium of a secular government is detrimental to both the religion and the government. Let the state attend to its own affairs, and the Lord, through His specially ordained agencies, will take care of His cause in the earth.

The Observance of Sunday

THE above heading in large type appeared on the first page of the *New York Tribune* of December 2, and following it came accounts of the state of Sunday observance and enforcement in the larger cities of America, and in some of the cities of Europe. The *Tribune* prefaced this Sunday observance and enforcement symposium by its representatives in the cities mentioned, with these words:

"There is a great deal of talk nowadays about New York's Sunday laws and the manner in which they are observed or disregarded, and the subject will probably receive considerable attention during the legislative session which opens in Albany next month. It is a big question, a serious question and an important question, and there cannot be too much light on it. From that point of view the *Tribune* herewith sets forth

to-day some facts about how Sunday is spent here and elsewhere—not with the view of influencing anybody's opinion, but merely to provide useful information without color or bias."

The enforcement of Sunday observance is indeed a "big question," in a sense perhaps that the *Tribune* does not realize. It is not merely a question of political expediency, but, from its very nature, it involves questions of far-reaching consequence and importance. We need not state here what these are, as no reader of this magazine can long remain in ignorance on this point. The importance of the principles involved in Sunday enforcement lends interest to anything pertaining to the subject, hence we deem it worth while to make the following extracts from the accounts given by the *Tribune*:

In New York City

"All labor is prohibited on Sunday in this city except works of necessity or charity.

"Persons who observe another day of the week as holy time and do no work on that day are allowed to work on Sunday, provided their work is not annoying to other persons who keep Sunday as holy time.

"By this exception of the law many small factories for the manufacture of clothing are run on Sunday.

"Works of necessity include 'whatever is needful for the health or comfort of the community.' Among them are:

"Running of street-cars and other conveyances.

"Deliveries of telegraph messages and collections of mail matter.

"Transportation of baggage, theatrical scenery, cattle and perishable articles of food.

"Repairs to pipes when water or gas is escaping.

"Public traffic, buying and selling are prohibited on Sunday, with the following exceptions:

"All articles of food, meats excepted, may be sold before 10 a. m., and places for the sale of tobacco, fruit, confectionery, soda water, newspapers, drugs, medicines and surgical appliances may remain open all day Sunday.

"Barber shops and public baths may remain open.

"Restaurants may remain open.

"The sale of liquors is prohibited on Sunday by the Liquor Tax law, except that liquors may be served with meals at places having hotel licenses.

"Theatrical exhibitions and all performances of the stage are prohibited on Sunday, except that sacred concerts may be given on Sunday at places licensed,

"All parades are prohibited on Sunday, except that government or State troops may march through the streets, and funeral processions may escort bodies on the way to burial.

"All the Sunday laws now in force in this city are laws passed by the State legislature at different times, and a large number of old city regulations which imposed penalties for 'Sabbath breaking' and many petty restrictions upon the liberties of citizens have become dead letters.

"In passing the Sunday laws the legislature took the ground that the first day of the week having been set apart by general consent for rest and religious uses, the laws should prohibit the doing of acts on that day which would be serious interruptions of the repose and religious liberty of the community.

"The Penal Code makes Sabbath-breaking a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding \$10 or by imprisonment not exceeding five days, or both, for a first offense, with double the penalty for a second offense. In addition to these penalties, a person who exposes goods for sale in violation of the Sunday laws risks the forfeiture of the goods."

"Liberality in the enforcement of Sunday laws has been the rule of the police in this city. Violations of the law by unnecessary work have been common, and have been allowed by the police to pass unnoticed, so long as they are not offensively public. On occasions when railroad companies have laid car tracks in the streets on Sunday to evade the service of injunctions, and in some other cases where it has been necessary to have gangs of men employed in the streets on Sunday, the police have been restrained by orders from making arrests.

"Groceries, bakeries, fish stores and milk stores are compelled to close on Sunday at 10 a. m. Since the passage of the special law affecting the sale of meat the butcher shops in the city have been shut all day Sunday.

"The most flagrant violations of the Sunday laws in this city have been in the sale of liquors."

Sunday in Chicago

"Such State laws and local ordinances as exist for Sunday observance are absolutely dead letters in Chicago. The saloons keep open so far as they find it to their advantage, and the authorities never interfere with them, except at the time of reform movements.

"Chicago is affected by two different laws that govern Sunday observance in Illinois. One is a State statute prohibiting the sale of liquor from midnight on Saturday till 5 o'clock on Monday morning. There is a local ordinance which provides for the closing of saloons from midnight Saturday till midnight Sunday. Neither of them is observed in Chicago, and it is said that the same independence pertains throughout Illinois so far as the State statute is concerned.

"There are no statutes or ordinances governing theatres, concerts, libraries or stores in Chicago on Sunday observance. Some of the theatres keep open, not the first-class houses, but they could do so if they desired, so far as the laws are concerned. The libraries keep open on Sundays. Such stores as desire keep open on Sundays, but for the most part these are restricted to tobacconists, candy shops and news stands."

No Enforced Sunday Observance in San Francisco

"There is practically no enforced ob-

servance of Sunday in San Francisco. All wholesale houses and a large part of the retail houses close on Sunday, but one who wishes to buy anything will have little difficulty in finding some store in some side street open.

"Corner groceries keep open all day and until midnight or later, and there are three thousand of them. Nearly all have saloons attached. There is an ordinance providing for closing saloons at 1 o'clock in the morning, but it was never enforced. Barber shops and boot-black stands are open until noon on Sunday. Drug stores are open day and night until midnight. Candy stores and many downtown fruit stands are open day and evening. In fact, there is no more enforced Sunday observance here than in the cities of Continental Europe.

"Church attendance is proportionately nearly as large here as in Eastern cities, but Sunday schools do not flourish as well. Most people go out to park or beach or other places of recreation on Sunday afternoon.

"The theatres are nearly all open on Sunday night and most of them give matinees on Sunday afternoon. All sporting events, except horse races, are held on Sunday just the same as on other days."

Sunday a Holiday in St. Louis

"Strict Sunday observance in St. Louis is a dream of churchgoers. It is true that business houses generally are closed, and that thousands of people attend service in the churches, but every theatre and concert hall is open on Sunday as on other days. Dance halls are heavily patronized at night, and the saloons are wide open all day and up to midnight, notwithstanding that there is a law on the statute books calling for their closing.

"Small stores of many kinds keep open until noon, notably the grocers, the bakers and many haberdashers. In the summer season baseball engages the attention of a large share of the citizens on Sunday, and in the fall and winter months football, coursing, shooting tournaments and skating."

Strict Enforcement in Massachusetts

"The Sunday laws of Boston are probably better observed than any similar requirements in any other large city of the country. The old laws of the colonies have become partly superseded, and, in some instances, repealed. In 1888 seventeen exceptions were inserted in the statute relative to the Lord's day. These embrace the following particulars:

"The manufacture and distribution of steam, gas or electricity for illuminating purposes, heat or motive power, the distribution of water for fire or domestic purposes, the use of the telegraph or telephone, the retail sale of drugs and medicines, articles ordered by the prescription of a physician, mechanical appliances used by physicians or surgeons, the letting of horses and carriages, the letting of yachts and boats, the running of steam ferryboats on established routes, or of street railway cars, the preparation, printing and publishing of newspapers, the sale and delivery of newspapers, the wholesale or retail sale and delivery of milk, the transportation of milk, the making of butter and cheese, the keeping open of public bathhouses, the making or selling by bakers or their employes of bread or other food usually dealt in by them, before 10 o'clock in the morning and between the hours of 4 o'clock and 6:30 o'clock in the evening.

"In 1898 the feature of the statute lim-

iting the running of steamboats on Sunday was broadened; and in the year following the sale of tobacco in hotels, eating houses and at news stands on the Lord's day was legalized.

"In 1895 the New England Sabbath Protective League was organized; and its first effort was made against secular entertainments in theatres on Sunday evenings. At that time several theatres were open, giving all kinds of performances. But the league succeeded in having a bill passed by the legislature, which became a law, prohibiting secular entertainments on the Lord's day, except 'a concert of sacred music or an entertainment given by a religious or charitable society, the proceeds of which, if any, are to be devoted exclusively to a charitable or religious purpose.'

"Last year fourteen different anti-Sunday law bills were introduced in the Massachusetts legislature, all of which were defeated by the league and its friends. One of these measures would have legalized golf games and other similar diversions.

"The feeling in Boston would not tolerate the opening of saloons on Sunday for any part of the day. In fact, the enforcement of the Sunday closing law in Boston is gratifying to its friends.

"It may be added that the exception relative to theatrical and musical performances has been the cause of occasional illegal and demoralizing affairs given generally in the name of charity. One of the favorite dodges of the amended statute is the 'sacred concert,' which is often neither sacred nor even a concert.

"The New England Protective League is closely watching these evasions of law, and frequently obtains conviction of guilty persons.

"There is a tendency on the part of certain merchants to sell some kinds of articles under the guise of 'licensed victualers,' but these are closely followed, and the frequent fining for such offenses keeps such violations well in the background.

"Libraries are generally open on Sunday, with limited hours, and no criticisms are heard. The Art Museum has open doors a few hours every Sunday."

Sunday Enforcement in Toronto

"Toronto is subject to the same laws respecting Sunday observance as any other part of Ontario. So far as Ontario legislation governing Sunday observance is concerned, it has of late years been somewhat less uncompromising in its interdiction of Sunday commerce. The courts seldom construed the law in favor of the Sabbath-breaker. One of the first of recent changes to cause a slight relaxation of this spirit was the electric railway line. Certain companies obtained a conditional concession in their charters permitting operation on the Lord's day. Thus, in the special act incorporating the Toronto Railway Company, which operates all the street railway lines within the city, it was provided that Sunday cars might be run if the citizens expressed their desire for such a service by vote. The matter was voted on three times, a strong campaign against the proposed innovation being waged by the Lord's Day Alliance. The last time, however, the majority was strongly in favor of Sunday cars. Sunday cars have been running for the last five or six years only. That they are popular is shown by the steady increase in their earnings.

"The ferryboats between Toronto Island and the city proper have also been

running on Sundays every summer for several years. This is not due to any relaxation in the law, but to such a construction of it as admits the Sunday trips to be a work of necessity. Last summer the captain of the Argyle left Toronto with passengers bound for a point on the other side of the lake. Immediately the Sunday law was invoked. The test case he thus invited was brought on. The police magistrate decided that the vessel came under the General Railway Act, a Dominion statute. There was no appeal. This decision led to the regular running of several vessels across the lake on Sunday trips. Yet the law expressly forbids Sunday pleasure excursions by rail or water.

"Under the Liquor License Act, all bars must be closed from 7 o'clock on Saturday night until 6 o'clock on Monday morning. All games and amusements are prohibited. Of places of trade only drug stores are allowed to be open. Cigar stores, barber shops, refreshment stands, etc., must keep closed all day on Sunday. Parks are open, but there must be no entertainment of any kind. Theatres are closed, as are all places of amusement. Toronto's Sunday is a very quiet one. Though undoubtedly the law relating to the sale of liquor on that day is far from strictly observed, it is not violated by any means openly."

Home Rule Principle Governs Sunday Enforcement in Scotland

"Sunday observance throughout Scotland is conducted on a home rule basis, the governing body of each municipality making such rules and regulations as it pleases, except in regard to the public houses, which must be kept closed from 11 o'clock Saturday night until 8 o'clock Monday morning. For instance, the street-cars in Glasgow are running to-

day, but in the other Scottish towns there are no Sunday cars. Confectionery and ice-cream shops are open in all the cities, but in some places, notably Dundee, there is an agitation in favor of closing these places.

"Although public houses are closed absolutely and unquestionably every Sunday in the year, it does not mean that liquor is not bought or sold on this day. Shebeens (speak-easies) are conducted here and in Edinburgh, Dundee and other towns in spite of police vigilance and heavy penalties. Another feature of the Sunday liquor selling is the clubs formed ostensibly for social or literary purposes, but in reality to do a public-house business on Sunday. Clubs are not licensed here, and the police cannot interfere with them unless there is disorder, or where it can be proved that liquor has been sold to non-members.

"No games or sports of any kind are permitted in Scotland on Sunday. The nearest approach to outdoor recreation or amusement—apart from walking, bicycling or driving—is the latitude al-

lowed here in permitting open air debates on Glasgow Green."

London and the Continent

"The Londoner goes to church on Sunday with great regularity. The King sets the example, and the classes and the masses follow it. Business is generally suspended, but the saloons are allowed to remain open in the middle part of the day. The museums are open, but the theatres are shut. The quieter sort of sports are winked at in the suburban 'resorts,' but reputable matches of cricket or any other athletic game are never scheduled for the first day of the week.

"On the Continent attendance at church is restricted in a great measure to the women, especially among that portion of society which belongs to the Protestant persuasion. At Berlin and in Paris Sunday is observed not as a day of rest, but as a holiday. It is the day *par excellence* of balls, dinner parties, luncheons and theatrical entertainments, and the principal race meetings, as well as the finest operas, are always given on Sunday."

A dispatch from St. Louis announces that the discussion which has been going on for some time for and against Sunday opening of the World's Fair to be held in St. Louis in 1903, was suddenly terminated by the publication of the rules which will govern the celebration, one of which was section 25 of the act of Congress making an appropriation for the Fair, which reads: "As a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation, the directors shall contract to close the gates to visitors on Sunday during the whole duration of

the Fair." It seems that this provision had escaped the notice of most persons. The assistant secretary of the World's Fair corporation, when asked regarding the matter, declared that the officials had no option in the matter, as Sunday closing was made imperative by the act of Congress. Thus Congress has followed the precedent established with regard to the Chicago World's Fair, and again enacted a law declaring Sunday to be a sacred day and to a certain extent compelling its observance. This is not in harmony with the Constitution.

Senator Hoar on Sunday Legislation—A Review

By the Editor

SENATOR George F. Hoar of Massachusetts is recognized as one of the ablest and most upright public men in this country to-day. His utterances on public questions are usually marked by more than ordinary ability and intelligence, and by a regard for those higher considerations that are too often ignored by public men in their devotion to the ways of expediency.

Therefore the recent article by the Massachusetts senator on the subject of Sunday legislation will no doubt receive greater attention and carry greater weight than do most of the utterances on this subject. The high reputation which Senator Hoar enjoys makes it especially important that his attitude on this subject should be examined, and, as we believe, opposed and refuted.

The article to which we refer was entitled "The Civic Basis of Sunday Laws," and was published in *The Defender*, the organ of the New England Sabbath Protective League, of which Senator Hoar is written down as president. We say *written down*, because we recognize the fact that while the name of Senator Hoar stands at the head of this much-officered organization, that, like the names of many other famous people which appear in its lists of "vice-presidents," "directors," "committees," etc., his name in this position does not signify all that it might. What is signified is that these people are willing that their names should be used by those who are the real promoters and controllers of this organization, rather than that they them-

selves are actively engaged in its work as their official positions in the organization would indicate. But to return to the article in question.

It is to the credit of Senator Hoar, and is in keeping with his reputation for intelligence and statesmanship, that in upholding Sunday legislation he seeks for it and attempts to establish it upon a basis that is consistent with the aims and purposes of civil legislation. Evidently his mind is too thoroughly imbued with the genius and essential principles of American institutions to countenance the appeals and arguments that overwhelmingly predominate in the language and literature of those who are chiefly interested in Sunday legislation. He has nothing to say of "the claims of the Fourth Commandment," of "the sanctity of the Sabbath," the "necessity of preserving the Lord's day," the "requirement of the Lord of the Sabbath," the "divine authority and universal and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath," the "divine appointment behind this question," the "sovereign rights of God over us," the necessity for a "suitable expression of our Christianity in our fundamental laws," etc., etc. He declares that "it is no good reason for maintaining our Sunday laws that it is believed by a large number, or even a large majority of the people, that to keep the Sabbath day holy is a divine command."

This is unquestionably sound doctrine; a doctrine which not only accords with American principles of government, but with the divine principles of the Chris-

tian religion as well. But this is a doctrine that is trampled upon by every Sunday law, and that is repudiated sooner or later by every advocate of such legislation. We are sorry to note that this doctrine is not adhered to in the article that we have under consideration.

The "Civic Basis" for Sunday Laws

But to come to what the Senator declares he understands to be "the true principle upon which what are known as Sunday laws can be maintained without violation of religious freedom." He says: "We have a right to establish holidays, and to secure them against disturbance. We have the right to limit the hours of labor. And we have the right to secure our dwellings against disturbing noises in the street or on other men's premises. We have the right to secure the quiet of the night. Nobody questions the lawfulness of this exercise of power by the State, and nobody deems it an undue restraint of individual conscience or individual liberty. Now the Sunday laws must rest upon this principle, if at all. If in any particular they go beyond it, they are so far, I think, illogical, and should be amended to conform to it." The Senator also says that "experience has convinced a majority of our people that a rest from labor of one day in seven is not only desirable but is essential for the mental and bodily health of men and women in general," and that "the State has the right to secure this period of rest by law." The curfew law, the law which secures the Saturday half-holiday for workmen, and the laws prohibiting disturbances at night, are all referred to as illustrating and justifying the principle upon which Sunday laws rest. It is also intimated that it would not be an act of tyranny for the legisla-

tive power to require the public to abstain from ordinary business on the day of the funeral of some great public man, and that "the State has the right to compel the citizen, within reasonable limits, to respect the holidays of the majority of the citizens."

Everything that can possibly contribute to the plausibility of the "civil sabbath" argument is here brought to light, but not a single one of the things referred to presents a parallel to Sunday legislation. We are not well versed in the legislation which has to do with preserving quiet at night, nor with that which limits the hours of labor, but it requires no very great knowledge of such legislation to discover the wide difference between it and Sunday laws.

Sunday Legislation and "the Right to Establish Holidays"

Doubtless the State has the right to establish holidays, but we are not ready to concede that there is no limit to that right. The pertinent question in this connection is, Has the State the right to compel a religious observance of holidays, to prohibit labor on such days, under penalty of fine and imprisonment? We think not, and we do not believe that there is any law with reference to holidays in this country in which any such right is assumed. Senator Hoar says he supposes "nobody would have deemed it an act of tyranny for the legislative power of the State to require the public to abstain from ordinary secular business on the day of the funeral of Lincoln or Garfield or McKinley." Perhaps not; but was such right assumed by any State on these occasions? It certainly was not on the day of the funeral of the late President. Business was suspended in the great cities of the country *just five minutes*, and that by *voluntary*

agreement. We believe that had any State prohibited labor on that day under fine and imprisonment, as the article that we have under consideration intimates that it would have had the right to have done, that such legislation would have been pronounced by no inconsiderable portion of the people an unwarrantable exercise of power. And we believe that this view would have been correct. The Senator says the State "would not claim the right to compel men to profess to reverence the dead President whom they did not reverence, or to pay any hypocritical tribute to his memory," but that "the right of citizens in general to pay such tribute cannot be exercised while secular business is going on," and that therefore the State would have the right to compel men "to desist from ordinary business." It is true that on an occasion of this kind preference should be given to those who desire to pay tribute to the dead, and the State would undoubtedly have the right to prevent any disturbance or interference with the services and exercises of those who desired to pay such tribute; but ordinary labor and business could not constitute such an interference, as we think is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that no law has ever been enacted prohibiting labor and business on such an occasion. Those who desired to quietly follow their ordinary pursuits would not interfere in the slightest degree with those who desired to honor the dead, and who would ever dream of demanding a law that would make it a crime for a man, on such an occasion, to be at work in his office, plowing in his field, or driving his loaded wagon along the highway? As the State has no right to attempt to compel men to show reverence to the dead President, it has no right to compel them

to cease labor on the day of the funeral, for such enforced cessation of labor would be nothing else but an enforced act of reverence.

Sunday legislation is *not* the establishment of a holiday; it is the enforcement of a *holy* day. There is no similarity between a holiday and the enforced Sunday. A holiday is suggestive of freedom; it implies the absence of restraint, release from care and toil, and the opportunity of doing anything that may conduce to one's recreation and pleasure. It is a day usually of picnics and excursions. How different though is the enforced Sunday! It is a day on which a person's conduct is determined not by himself, but by the legislature; a day on which an act perfectly innocent in itself may cause him to be landed in jail; a day of exactions which make even the days of toil seem like freedom itself. If a man, in seeking pleasure and recreation in his own way, undertakes some little job at his home, to make some improvement, to hoe his garden, to pull the grass and weeds from his flower beds, and many other things equally as harmless that we might mention, he runs the risk of being arrested and imprisoned for having overstepped the bounds that have been set up by legislation, not to protect the rights of citizens, not to protect *them* in the enjoyment of a holiday, but to protect the holy day, Sunday. What a man may do on a holiday he cannot do on Sunday in this country.

That Sunday is in a sense a holiday, we do not deny; but that special legislation is needed for the protection of the right to observe it as such, and that Sunday laws are due to this necessity, we do deny. Sunday legislation is not based upon the character of the day as a mere holiday, as may be readily seen by refer-

ring to any Sunday statute. The absolute futility of appealing to the holiday character of Sunday in defense of Sunday laws can be readily seen by glancing at other religious holidays that are observed in this country by as large a proportion of the people as is Sunday. On the 25th of last month occurred a religious holiday that is almost universally observed in this country. On the 28th of the preceding month occurred another religious holiday that is also observed by the great majority of the people in this country. Now if the State has the right "to establish holidays and to secure them against disturbance," in the manner in which Sunday is established and secured from disturbance, why is it that the observance of Thanksgiving Day and Christmas is not enforced upon the people by legislative enactment? If the State must compel the citizen "to respect the holidays of a majority of the citizens" in the manner in which the citizen is compelled to "respect" Sunday, why is it that labor and business on Thanksgiving and Christmas days are not made criminal offenses? Does not every reason that is given for legislative protection of the Sunday "holiday" apply with equal force to these other religious holidays? If it is necessary to have a law like the Massachusetts Sunday law, which makes it a crime for a man to engage in labor on his own premises, or wherever else his services are desired, or for a man to employ others who are perfectly willing to work for him, in order for the clerks at Jordan & Marsh's (to recur to Senator Hoar's illustration) "who want the religious holiday to get it," why should not similar laws be enacted with regard to Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, St. Patrick's day, or any other holiday that people desire to observe?

The State does undoubtedly have the right to protect people in their right to the observance of holidays. But it must stop with such protection; it has no right to go further. It has no right to trample upon the rights of those who do not want to observe a holiday in order to protect those who do desire to observe it in that right. And there is no necessity whatever that it should do so. Everybody is protected in this country in the right to observe Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, St. Patrick's day, etc.; but this protection does not require any such legislation with respect to these days as that which is enacted in behalf of Sunday. Who is so blind as to argue that his right to observe Christmas is interfered with because his neighbor who goes quietly about his usual vocation on that day is not subject to arrest and imprisonment?

This whole holiday argument with reference to Sunday enforcement proves entirely too much. The fact that the great majority of the people observe a holiday, instead of arguing that such observance needs the protection of law, argues the very opposite. If this holiday argument with reference to Sunday enforcement is sound, it means that the State has the right to compel the cessation of all secular business on Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, Easter, St. Patrick's day, and any number of other holy holidays, on the ground that they are religious holidays which the citizen must be made to "respect." We believe that this doctrine of enforced holidays is utterly at variance with true American principles and the dictates of justice and common sense. We do not believe the State has any right to compel the observance of Christmas and St. Patrick's day. We believe that an act pronoun-

cing labor on these days a crime would be an act of tyranny, an unwarranted interference with the liberty of citizens; and therefore we see no defense whatever for Sunday legislation in this holiday argument.

Sunday Legislation and "the Right to Limit the Hours of Labor"

We come now to the other features of this "civic basis" argument, and will have to consider them briefly. The next point is the right of the State to limit the hours of labor. We are not disposed to say that the State has no such right, but we are sure that there are limits to this right, and that its exercise is justifiable only for the protection of human rights and the prevention of injustice between man and man. Legislation limiting the hours of labor in factories, etc., is not enacted with reference to the "protection" of time and days; it has to do with the protection of men, women and children. The law which prohibits the factory owner or railway company from keeping their employees at work more than a certain number of consecutive hours is designed to protect workmen, and especially women and children, from the imposition of heartless employers. It has no such idea connected with it as that there are certain hours in the day when it is proper to carry on secular labor and certain other hours that need to be "protected" from the "encroachments" of such labor. The laws limiting the hours of labor differ from Sunday laws in that they have as their object the protection of rights which it seems are defenseless without such special legislation, while Sunday legislation is designed to protect a day regardless of human rights. The one limits the hours of labor; the other prohibits labor entirely. The one is passed in response to the requests of those who

can show positively that without it their rights will be infringed and they will be reduced to a situation little better than that of slaves; the other is passed and is maintained in response to the demands, not of workmen, but of those who cannot show that their rights are menaced in the slightest degree by the absence of such legislation. The one rests upon the broad foundation of human rights; the other rests upon the irrational subterfuge that a day needs the protection of law.

But this matter of regulating the hours of labor is a very delicate one, and any fair minded person will acknowledge that such regulation must be done with the greatest care. If the object—the protection of rights—is lost sight of, the way is open for grave abuses. Such legislation is justifiable only when it is unmistakably in behalf of human rights. The law in such cases may require that employees shall not be required to labor more than a certain number of consecutive hours each day, but it has no right to make labor itself a crime, and to compel a man to be idle when he desires to work. Such an act is beyond the reasonable power of the State, and therefore Sunday legislation is beyond the reasonable power of the State.

The law which secures the Saturday half-holiday to workmen is similar to the legislation above referred to, but it has no similarity to, and affords no justification whatever for, Sunday legislation. We are willing to agree with Senator Hoar that to the extent that the State has the right to secure the Saturday half-holiday to factory employees that just to that extent it has the right to secure the Sunday holiday to them, if they desire it also. But as the State has no right to make labor in itself a crime on Saturday afternoon, and

to compel the whole population of the State to desist from all secular business, it has no right to do this with reference to Sunday.

Sunday Legislation and "the Right to Secure the Quiet of the Night"

The laws securing the quiet of the night and prohibiting disturbing noises in the streets are passed, too, with the idea of protecting the rights of men. Men have the right to sleep, and to be in their homes free from disturbances. But because a man has the right to sleep and to be secure from disturbances, he cannot require that everybody else shall be made to sleep under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Certainly if there is a time when nature and reason require that men should not be disturbed, and therefore a time when there may be some reason in legal prohibition of disturbances, it is at night. This is the only sabbath that nature has appointed for human beings, and if the law has anything to do with protecting sabbaths this is the one that it should protect. But strange to say, notwithstanding the fact that all manner of business is carried on at night, the trains run and the whistles blow, and in the cities the night is almost as noisy as the day, there is no demand for any such legislation with regard to the night as that which applies to Sunday. If men should demand legislation prohibiting such "disturbances" in the dead of the night as are prohibited in the broad daylight of Sunday when people are supposed to be awake and doing something, they would be laughed at. The man who, imitating the example of Sunday enforcement advocates, pretended that he was not protected in his right to rest at night because all the industry in the State was not completely prohibited, would be regarded as unsound of

mind, and yet he would be far more in accord with the dictates of nature and of reason than are those who insist that the right to rest on Sunday requires a law proscribing the right to work on that day.

Sunday Legislation and "the Mental and Bodily Health of Men and Women"

With reference to another point in this "civic basis" argument, we will say that we do not believe that experience has demonstrated that a rest from labor of one day in seven is essential for the mental and bodily health of men and women in general. But even conceding that it has, we can see no justification in this fact for enforced idleness on Sunday. Is it the business of the legislature to enforce the practise of everything that experience has shown to be essential to mental and bodily health? It is essential to mental and bodily health that men and women take so much nourishment daily, that they have so many hours sleep, that they bathe at frequent intervals, and do many other things, but is it the right of the legislature to prescribe these things and to fine and imprison all persons who fail to conform to its prescription? Whatever may be the physical benefits of one day's rest in seven, and we have no doubt that there is some benefit, especially for those who have failed to obey the laws of nature during the week by working when they should have been resting and by being awake when they should have been asleep, there is one thing that experience has abundantly demonstrated, and that is that exercise, *work, labor*, are essential for the mental and bodily health of men and women in general. From this there will be no dissent. Is it therefore the right and the duty of the legislature to compel

people to work because it benefits them physically? From the standpoint of physical health a law compelling people to work, and prescribing when they shall work and what they shall do, would be far more sensible, in our opinion, than a law compelling them to be idle, and we are certain that it would be no greater invasion of their rights.

Sunday Legislation Absolutely Distinct from Other Legislation

We have now tried to examine this matter of Sunday legislation in the light of purely civil considerations, upon which Senator Hoar declares it must rest if at all. In our opinion, considered wholly from this standpoint, there is no adequate basis for Sunday legislation. Such legislation goes entirely beyond the principle upon which rests the legislation establishing holidays, limiting the hours of labor, securing the quiet of the night, preventing disturbances, etc. When Sunday laws are amended to conform to the principle and the purpose of the legislation mentioned, as Senator Hoar says they should be, we believe that there will be very few of them left on the statute books. But we have not yet come to that which most certainly and unmistakably shows the wide difference between Sunday laws and this other legislation, and which demonstrates beyond question the fallacy of this "civic basis" idea with respect to such laws. That which stamps Sunday legislation as absolutely distinct from all this other legislation is that *religious sentiment is its basis and the maintenance of a religious observance and institution is its object*. We know that this is denied, as it is partially denied by Senator Hoar, but there are some things which are denied that remain facts just

the same, and this is one of them. The history of Sunday legislation and the tenor of every Sunday statute stands in emphatic contradiction of every denial of its religious character. We cannot enter here into a full consideration of this point, but inasmuch as Senator Hoar has not avoided this phase of the subject we shall have to enter into it to some extent in concluding the examination of his position on this question.

The Senator says: "The people of Massachusetts do not mean to compel any man to any religious observance by law, or to prevent by law any religious observance which the conscience of any person demands of him, unless it interferes with the rights of others. No church, sect, doctrine or creed is to be permitted to wield the power of the State." And further: "I do not undertake, in advocating moderate and reasonable Sunday laws, to put any restraint upon the conscience of my neighbor or to compel him to any religious observance which his own conscience does not demand of him. I do not enter into the question of whether the Fourth Commandment was a divine command at all, whether it was for Jews alone, or whether it relates to the seventh or the first day of the week. I concede that the legislative power of the State has no right to be discussing such questions or acting upon such reasons."

The True Character of Sunday Legislation Revealed

This is good, and of course if it means anything it means that a religious rest day should not of itself become a matter of State legislation. But unfortunately this principle is not adhered to by Senator Hoar, if we read his article correctly. He says: "A great many persons think that that day [Sunday] of rest ought to

be devoted to a consideration of spiritual interests, or the relation of man to his Creator and the hopes of a future state, to the religious training of the young and the religious improvement of persons of mature age. The State has the right, I think, to secure this period of rest by law." Again: "Now, to secure the opportunity for that large proportion of the people who desire to devote one day in seven to rest, to religious study and meditation, or religious instruction of their children, *it is not enough to enact that they shall not be disturbed in their houses or their churches.* If business be permitted to go as usual, if the factories and shops may be opened, if teams are to go along the streets, and every kind of secular business may proceed at will of the individual, it will be impossible for those who want the *religious* holiday to get it." And again: "The State has the right to compel the citizen, within reasonable limits, to respect the holidays of a majority of the citizens, *and it may require a like respect for the holy days,* whether other men consider their observation a religious duty or not, *I consider it a religious duty,* and also a necessity of my spiritual, moral, and indeed, of my physical nature." (Italics supplied.)

Certainly there is no concealment here of the religious basis of Sunday legislation. The Senator makes it very plain that it is the religious character of Sunday observance which calls for special legislation with regard to the day. He virtually admits that people are as secure in their rights, are as much protected from disturbance "in their houses or their churches" on Sunday *without Sunday legislation* as they are on all other days. Sunday legislation is not needed for these purposes; it is not needed to protect people in the right to perform re-

ligious duties, to devote themselves to a consideration of spiritual interests, the relation of man to his Creator and the hopes of a future state, to religious study and meditation, or the religious training of the young and the religious improvement of persons of mature age. All these privileges and duties are performed on other days when no such special legislation applies, and yet the absence of such legislation does not render such right insecure, nor admit of any interference with these privileges. No, it is not the security of the right to engage in any of these religious duties and privileges that calls for this special Sunday legislation, as we think is perfectly apparent from a careful examination of the quotations we have given above. This special Sunday legislation is for the purpose of securing the *religious* holiday; it comes not because a great many people are interfered with in their right to engage in worship, but because "a great many persons think that that day [Sunday] of rest *ought to be devoted* [by everybody] *to a consideration of spiritual interests,*" etc. This great number of persons, believing that Sunday *ought to be devoted* by everybody to a consideration of spiritual interests, etc., do not believe that it is enough that they themselves should be protected in the right to consider these spiritual interests, and that they themselves should be undisturbed "in their houses or their churches," but, having the power, they will stop "all *secular* business," and thus go as far as they can toward compelling everybody to devote Sunday to a consideration of those spiritual interests to which they believe everybody *ought to devote* the day. And thus, even if the people do not do what "a great many persons think" they *ought to do* on Sunday, they

are at least compelled to "respect" the "holy" day; and whether they consider the observation of this "holy" day a religious duty or not, the people who compel them to "respect" it, "consider it a *religious duty*," and also a necessity of their spiritual and moral nature. If this is not the logic of these quotations that we have given from Senator Hoar, and if they do not show that Sunday laws *do compel men to a religious observance by law*, then we utterly fail to understand them. They seem to us to be fatal to the contention of a purely "civic basis" for Sunday legislation.

The Senator says that he does not enter "into the question of whether the Fourth Commandment was a divine command at all, whether it was for Jews alone, or whether it relates to the seventh or the first day of the week," and that he concedes "that the legislative power of the State has no right to be discussing such questions or acting upon such reasons." This is good, but that is a strange position which holds that the legislature may enforce respect for, and the observance of, a religious institution and yet that it has no right to inquire into and to discuss questions that are perfectly proper in connection with such institution. While the connection may be somewhat remote, we are reminded strongly by this of that habit of ostriches whereby they avoid disagreeable and dangerous situations by hiding their heads behind rocks and in crevices, fondly imagining that by refusing to look at the danger that it no longer exists. The fact that a legislature ignores and refuses to consider the religious character of an institution which it enforces upon the citizen does not alter in the slightest degree the character of such legislation.

The "Civil" Rest Day "a Day for Religious Uses"

In striking contrast with the statement of Senator Hoar that the legislature has no right to concern itself with religious questions and observances, however large may be the majority which believes in them, are the declared objects and purposes of the organization of which he is president and in the interests of which he has written this article on "The Civic Basis of Sunday Laws." The New England Sabbath Protective League declares itself to be "the only organization for the defense of the *Lord's day* in New England." It declares its object to be "to maintain *the observance of the Lord's day* as a civil rest day and a day for *religious uses*," and that it is to be defended "against the encroachments of business and pleasure." In appealing to its friends for assistance it declares in italics that "the interests of the '*Lord of the Sabbath*' demand your practical sympathy." And with these avowed religious motives and religious ends in view it works for "the protection and enforcement of Sunday laws."

Everything goes to show that the predominating object and purpose of this organization is the maintenance by civil law of a religious institution. This is too plain to admit of question. The very name of the organization—"Sabbath Protective League"—stamps it as distinctly religious in character and purpose. Can any one look at its long roll of officers, with the lists of "reverends," "bishops," etc., and have any further doubt as to its real character? Think of maintaining "the observance of the Lord's day as a civil rest day!" Can any one fail to see the preposterous character of the object here avowed? But notice the full statement: "Its object shall be to main-

tain the observance of the Lord's day as a civil rest day and a day for religious uses." Notice how the "civil" part of this object is sandwiched into the religious part, which constitutes the real object. Can any one fail to see that this expression, "a civil rest day," is employed because of the effect it will have in promoting the real object of the organization—the securing of civil legislation in behalf of a religious institution? Can any one fail to see that this whole "civil rest day" idea is but the rest, the support, the basis upon which the teeter of enforced religion, with the observance of "the Lord's day" at one end and "a day for religious uses" at the other, may be balanced, and thus be given the appear-

ance of conforming to the general public sentiment which does not look with favor upon the bald enforcement of religion by law? The two ends of the teeter mean the same thing, and with the observance of "the Lord's day" at one end of the legislative plank and "a day for religious uses" at the other end, and the plank nicely balanced upon the "civic basis" that has been manufactured for it, it makes little difference which end is up or which is down, the religious institution is always in the ascendancy. This "civic basis" argument for Sunday legislation is a shrewd and skillful invention, but it will deceive no one who looks at the matter with his eyes open.

While in Fresno, California, recently I learned of a movement in progress in that city for the Sunday closing of stores. It was being pushed by what was called the "Clerks' Union." It was a movement to have all stores closed on Sunday, "so that the clerks can have a day of rest." As the movement progressed an additional feature came in; that was to induce the people to boycott every store that kept open on Sunday. One man especially was not frightened by the threats. Those fighting on the "Sunday scheme" had a wagon rigged up to traverse the streets bearing a sign requesting the people not to trade with this man who kept his store open on Sunday. This did not have the effect that it was designed to have, for the man's trade was so much increased that some of the citizens said it would be "a good scheme for him to hire those people to keep that boycott wagon running all the time."

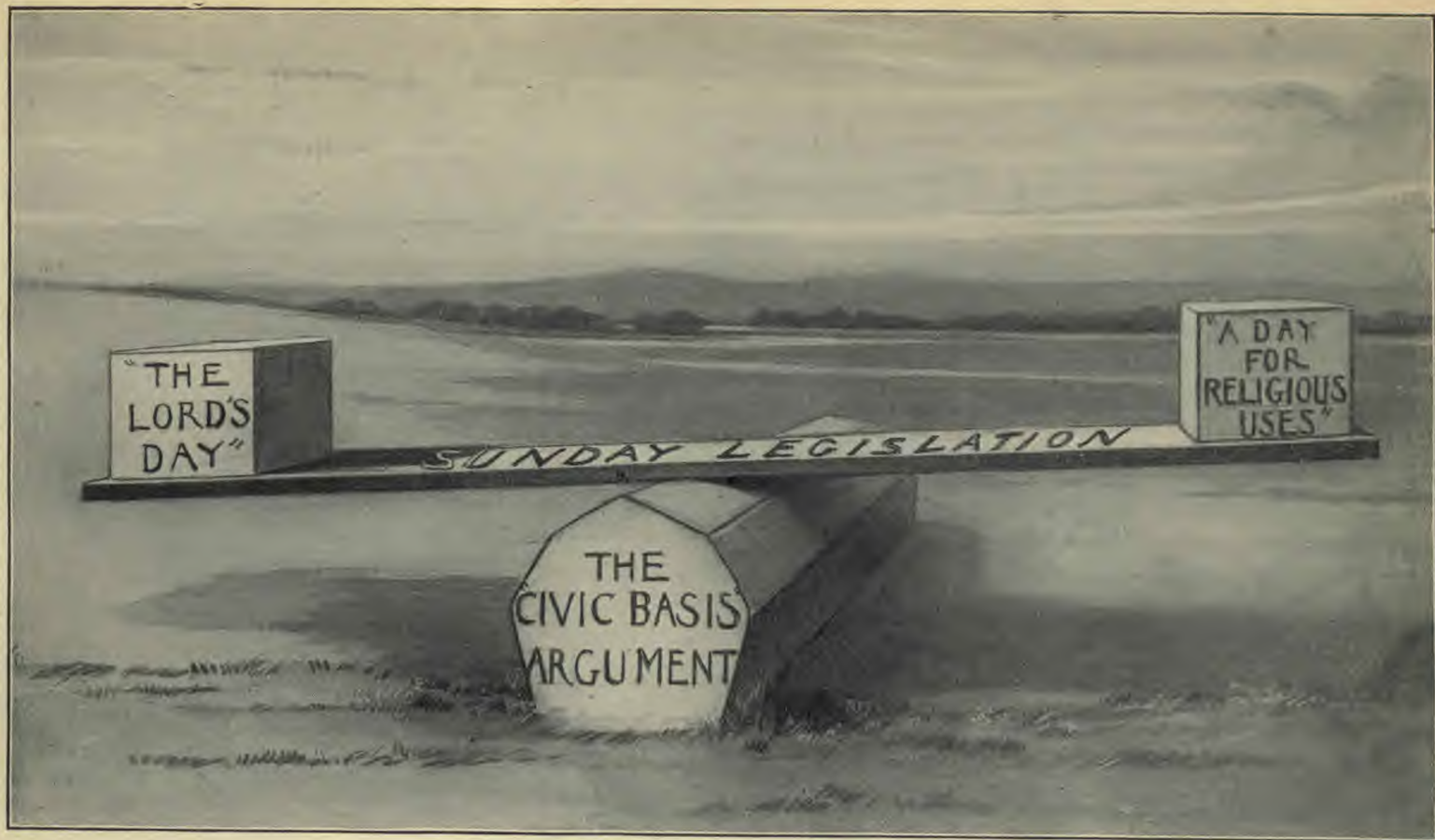
Finally a citizens' meeting was called,

which was addressed by different persons. Some said the movement was not a religious one. From the legal profession came the declaration that the movement was not a political one. Finally the ministers of the town had their say. They stated that "as the movement was one to honor the Lord, the ministers could join in with it."

As it was urged that not only the open Sunday store, but those who patronized it, should be boycotted, some one raised the question as to whether this was "a movement for liberty or slavery; whether people had a right to trade where they pleased, or must be in bondage to other people's ideas."

Strange it is that people have to resort to so many ways to dodge the real fact that Sunday laws and Sunday enforcement is an attempt to bind the consciences of other people, and is outside the sphere of civil laws and regulations.

J. N. Loughborough.



The Sunday-Enforcement Teetor

There is a strong and growing demand in these times for the enforcement of Sunday observance by civil law. Such enforcement is of course the enforcement of a religious observance and institution. American public sentiment, while it does not always come up to the standard of true American principle in this respect, is not ready to give its endorsement to the bald enforcement of religion by law. Hence there has been developed in behalf of Sunday legislation what may be called the "civic basis" argument, which essays to justify such legislation upon civil grounds, and thus secure for it the support of public opinion. The practical effect of this argument is shown in the above illustration. The character of the legislation and its effect remain the same; the religious institution and observance is still supported and enforced by law; the only difference is that there is substituted for such legislation a "civil" instead of a religious basis. The history of religious persecutions shows that with very few exceptions they were all conducted upon a "civic basis."

The Sentinel

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

Set for the defense of human rights from the standpoint of Christianity. The only periodical in the United States wholly devoted to exposing and opposing the increasing movements and tendencies of the present time which either directly aim at or logically tend to the employment of the power of law in the domain of conscience, in subversion of the Christian and American principle of complete separation of church and state.

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Entered as Second-class matter at the New York Postoffice. (See close of reading matter for terms of subscription, etc.)

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 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 God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship at all if he so chooses.

We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to oppose and prevent religious legislation, to the end that every individual may enjoy the inestimable blessings of liberty.

VOL. 17. JANUARY, 1902. No. 2.

The man who is perfectly free cannot knowingly encroach upon the liberty of another.

The enforcement of religious observances is a very poor way to advance the cause of temperance.

There is something the matter with that legislation which "protects" days at the expense of human rights.

The preservation and protection of one right does not require the proscription and abolition of another.

A "civic basis" for enforced baptism would be as substantial a foundation as is the "civic basis" for enforced Sunday observance.

Statutory religion has been responsible for as great evils as the open saloon, and nothing is to be gained to the cause of righteousness by exchanging one for the other:

There is a natural alliance and friendship between all forms of evil, and because of this the saloon can never be seriously injured by those who oppose it with Sunday legislation.

The law which assumes the right to compel men to rest one day in seven has in it the assumption upon which may be based the "right" to compel men to work the other six days of the seven.

That is a peculiar sort of a holiday which comes fifty-two times in a year, and which is carefully guarded by religious people for religious reasons from those things that are most characteristic of holidays.

There is no law in the universe which assumes to *compel* men to rest one day in seven but the Sunday law of human invention. The divine Sabbath law appeals to the conscience; it leaves the individual free to say whether he shall heed it or not.

When a "civic basis" can be found for a measure which extends special favors to a class of citizens in a matter of religion, invades the sacred precincts of conscience, denies to citizens the most

elemental of civil and natural rights, and leads to religious persecution—then there will be something in existence that corresponds exactly to the “civic basis” for Sunday laws.

The right to work is as sacred as the right to rest, and the man who wilfully assumes that his right to rest requires the abridgement of another man’s right to work, and proceeds to act upon that assumption, is assuming a responsibility that he had better get along without.

The sentiment which pervades the ranks of those who are most set in their opposition to any modification of the laws requiring saloons to be closed on Sundays, is a sentiment which means a great deal for the cause of enforced religion and precious little for the cause of temperance.

The suggestion which comes from certain opposers of the legal opening of saloons on Sunday, that beer and other intoxicants can be purchased by those who wish them and kept at home for Sunday consumption, is in thorough accord with other indications which go to show that the prevention of dissipation and drunkenness is not the absorbing thought in the minds of these people.

The “Continental Sunday” is a living specimen of a man-made sabbath. It is the logical and inevitable result of the attempt of man to take the place of God with reference to the Sabbath. It tells of ecclesiastical tampering with the law of God, and of legislative enforcement of “Sabbath” observance. Sunday enforcement, instead of preserving the Sabbath, will simply hasten the complete reign of the “Continental Sunday.”

There is and always has been in the world a strong tendency to make realities—verities—mere words, and to make mere words realities and verities. This is how truth perishes and error flourishes among men. Thus the great thing liberty has been reduced time and again to a mere word, and then that word has been made to mean in reality slavery and despotism. And this tendency is still operating among men.

Christianity needs no “expression in fundamental law.” Long ago, at Sinai, it was expressed, as much as it can be in law, in a law so fundamental that not one jot or one tittle of it can pass away so long as heaven and earth endure. Christianity is the law of life, and it can be truly expressed not in law, however fundamental, but in living deeds. Christianity calls men to the work of securing its expression in the lives of men, not in their laws.

The “Continental Sunday” is declared to be a day of idleness, drunkenness and irreligion. Idleness, drunkenness and irreligion are the direct result of attempts to enforce the observance of a sacred day. Men cannot be compelled to worship God, and the attempt has just the opposite effect from that intended. When the attempt is made to compel men to observe a sacred day, the result is that they have less respect for the day and all that it professes to stand for than they had before.

The reason why Christianity brings to men the only true liberty is because it makes them free by releasing them from the bond of selfishness, which is the root of all despotism. Love fills the life, and instead of the desire to *rule* others, comes the desire to *serve* others. Do you

say that there are no persons who are thus free? Then there are no persons who have Christian liberty in its fulness. But beware of hasty judgment in this matter, for this is not a liberty which proclaims itself abroad. It dwells in the heart, and its outward manifestation is often imperfect because of the imperfection of the instrument through which it is manifested.

The great object of civil government is to protect and maintain the rights of individuals. But perhaps as long as civil government exists there will never be complete unanimity as to just what these rights are. But one thing the world has learned, and that is that freedom of conscience is a human right. And the world knows that the enforcement of any religious institution or observance is an invasion and a denial, not a protection, of this right. It is on this recognized and well-established ground that we declare Sunday legislation to be an invasion of human rights, and on which we deny the assertion that it is needed for the protection of any human right.

Do you realize that the question of Sunday enforcement is a very live one just now? You will when you have finished reading this number of *The Sentinel*, which might very appropriately be called a "Sunday Enforcement Number." So much is being said just now, and so much needs to be said, on this subject that we have been obliged to omit our "Note and Comment" department, and even then have not had sufficient space for all the matter relating to this question of enforced "Sabbath" observance that should have appeared. When you read this number of *The Sentinel* you should also realize that *now* is the time to circulate this magazine. If you desire to

use extra copies of this issue for distribution, send to the publishers, who will furnish you with any number that you may desire at very reasonable rates.

Why We Oppose Sunday Legislation

We oppose Sunday legislation because we oppose Sabbath legislation. We oppose the enforcement of any weekly day of rest.

We oppose Sabbath legislation because the Sabbath is a religious institution, in the observance of which legal mandates can accomplish nothing, but only "faith which worketh by love," as declared in the Scriptures.

We oppose Sabbath legislation not because we do not want people to rest one day in seven, but because Sabbath rest ought not to be and can not be secured by civil enactments.

We oppose Sabbath legislation not because we have any sympathy with the course of greedy corporations or employers in "robbing" the workmen of a day of rest, but because we oppose laws which rob people of their right to work upon any day they may choose, and of their liberty to choose for themselves whether they will keep the Sabbath or not.

We oppose Sabbath legislation not because we do not want people to be free to obey the dictates of conscience in regard to Sabbath rest, but because we want them to obey the dictates of conscience rather than the dictates of law. They cannot do both; and just to the extent that Sabbath observance is dictated by law it fails to be dictated by conscience.

We are opposed to Sabbath legislation not because we want people to be robbed of their manhood, but because we want

them to have manhood enough to do right from the love of right, to act from principle rather than from policy. The more a person leans on the law to help him do right the more will he fail to develop moral backbone.

We oppose Sabbath legislation, in short, because compulsion is opposed to freedom in the service of God; because it is opposed to natural rights; because it usurps the place of conscience and weakens moral independence; because it is against the rights both of man and of God, to whom all forced service is an abomination; because, in a word, it is against the highest welfare of man and contrary to the ordinances of God.

L. A. S.

There can be no doubt that Sunday laws and other religious legislation spring in some degree from the sense of responsibility which men feel for the spiritual welfare of their fellow-men. This sense of responsibility is proper and right, and so long as it operates in proper channels, is in the highest degree commendable. But such is the weakness of human nature that too often men attempt to discharge this responsibility in ways that transform it into a curse for men instead of a heavenly blessing, as it was designed to be by Him from whom this sense of responsibility comes. Thus John Stuart Mill was led to say: "The notion that it is one man's duty that another should be religious was the foundation of all the religious persecutions ever perpetrated, and if admitted, would fully justify them." This is true, and it is not true. This notion has been at the foundation of most religious persecutions, but it does not justify them. It is one man's duty that another should be religious,

but it is no man's duty to invade the rights of another in performing this duty. But this is just what Sunday and all other religious legislation does. The duty which one man has to promote the spiritual welfare of another is too high and too sacred to be performed by the rude machinery of government; it can be discharged only by love, tenderness, and self-denial.

The Sunday Question in New York

While there is a vigorous discussion going on at the present time throughout the country over the matter of Sunday observance and enforcement, occasioned by the present excise situation in New York, it is a fact that the real, fundamental question that is involved in Sunday legislation is seldom touched upon. Those who advocate the legalizing of open saloons in New York on Sunday do not once raise the question as to the right of the State to legislate in behalf of a religious institution. On this point there is nothing to indicate but what they are perfectly agreed with their most zealous opponents who denounce the proposition to open the saloons at any time on Sunday as "a blow at the sacredness of the Sabbath."

As it appears to us, that which gives life to this discussion on one side and in which the strength of that side lies, is the overwhelming desire of a large portion of the population for intoxicating beverages, and their determination not to be deprived of the privilege of securing these beverages whenever they want them. This may seem rather blunt, but nevertheless we are persuaded that it is true. Of course we are aware that many of the men who lead in the movement for Sunday opening are not pos-

sessed by any such desire as this, and are as heartily in favor of temperance as any one. But there are some things which they regard as being as bad or worse than the legal opening of saloons on Sunday. And if in order to secure sufficient co-operation among the masses of the people to get rid of these other evils it is necessary to legalize the opening of saloons on Sunday, they are in favor of its being done. This is, of course, in a large measure, a yielding to the desire of which we have spoken. And this seems to be the position of one side in this matter of changing the Sunday closing law in New York. The question is not treated from the standpoint of principle, but of expediency. There is no denial of the principle of Sunday legislation; there is the utmost willingness to concede everything to the friends of enforced religion that can be conceded and yet retain the co-operation of those who insist upon the privilege of securing beer and other drinks on Sunday. It is proposed to open the saloons only a part of the day, and to keep them tightly and absolutely closed during the hours of church service.

Yet, while it is true that the real and fundamental question which is involved in Sunday legislation is scarcely raised in this discussion, it is probable that the religious character of such legislation was never more plainly revealed. The sentiment which gives life to the other side in this discussion, and in which the strength and vitality of the opposition to Sunday opening is to be found, is the very sentiment upon which the whole superstructure of Sunday legislation is erected, and the longer this discussion goes on and the warmer it becomes the more clearly and unmistakably is this sentiment revealed—which is nothing more nor less than the senti-

ment of Sunday sacredness and the passionate zeal to have this "sacredness" maintained by legislation. This is plain to any one who has taken time to make even the most hasty examination into the matter. Not only is this evident from the great bulk of the matter that is appearing in the religious press on this question, but it appears as well in many secular papers. We have received during the past month a great many clippings of editorial comment on this question from newspapers in smaller cities and towns of the country, and we find that almost without exception where a stand is taken against Sunday opening it is because of the editor's desire that the "Sabbath" shall be upheld by law.

Thus, while from one viewpoint there is involved in this present discussion of New York's Sunday legislation very little that touches the vital principle in such legislation, on the other hand it affords an exceptional opportunity for calling attention to this vital principle and making plain the motive and purpose of those who demand Sunday legislation and enforcement.

In a recent lecture at Cooper Union, in this city, Professor Wm. H. Mace, of Syracuse University, declared the American Declaration of Independence to have been the grandest and best charter and declaration of human rights ever penned and promulgated by the founders of any human government, and that the realization of its principles should be the high ideal and endeavor of civilization to the end of time. In answer to questions from the audience he declared that the holding of negroes in slavery was of course inconsistent with and violative of the principles of the Declaration, and that he saw no reason for the idea that Jefferson and those who pro-

mulgated that Declaration got their ideas concerning human rights from the philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau. There might have been some ideas derived from this source, but the principles of the Declaration grew naturally from principles that had long marked English history, and such a declaration was just what might have been expected from Englishmen under such circumstances. Professor Mace evidently does not belong to a certain school of religio-political thinkers which has in recent years been very much in evidence in this country.

The Last of the Insular Decisions

On December 2 the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision in the last two of what are known as the "insular test cases." One of these involved the relationship of the Philippine Islands to the United States, and was familiarly known as the "fourteen diamond rings case," having grown out of the seizure by custom officials in Chicago of fourteen diamond rings that had been purchased in the Philippines and brought to this country subsequent to the ratification of the peace treaty by which the Philippines were ceded to the United States. Pepke, the owner of the rings, contended that the imposition of duties upon merchandise brought from the Philippines after the ratification of this treaty, which, he claimed, made the islands territory of the United States, was unconstitutional, and therefore in this particular instance was in violation of his rights as a citizen.

The Court sustained this claim, holding that the Philippines became American territory at the ratification of the Paris treaty and the payment of the

stipulated \$20,000,000, and that no duties could be collected on goods coming from the islands until Congress had enacted special tariff laws. On the point of what the Treaty of Paris meant for the Philippines, the Court said:

"The Philippines thereby ceased, in the language of the treaty, 'to be Spanish.' Ceasing to be Spanish, they ceased to be foreign country. They came under the complete and absolute sovereignty and dominion of the United States and so became the territory of the United States, over which civil government could be established. The result was the same, although there was no stipulation that the native inhabitants should be incorporated into the body politic, and none securing to them the right to choose their nationality. Their allegiance became due to the United States, and they became entitled to its protection."

The Court held that the fact that in the case of Porto Rico the inhabitants offered no resistance to the control of the United States, while in the case of the Philippines the inhabitants fought against such control, made no difference whatever in the status of the territories involved. Cession and possession were held to be identical. The Court said on this point:

"The sovereignty of Spain over the Philippines and possession under claim of title had existed for a long series of years prior to the war with the United States. The fact that there were insurrections against her or that uncivilized tribes may have defied her will did not affect the validity of her title. She granted the islands to the United States, and the grantee in accepting them took nothing less than the whole grant. If those in insurrection against Spain continued in insurrection against the United

States, the legal title and possession of the latter remained unaffected.

"We do not understand that it is claimed that in carrying on the pending hostilities the Government is seeking to subjugate the people of a foreign country, but on the contrary, that it is preserving order and suppressing insurrection in territory of the United States. It follows that the possession of the United States is adequate possession under legal title, and this cannot be asserted for one purpose and denied for another."

The second case involved the constitutionality of the collection of duties on goods shipped from this country to Porto Rico. As in the cases decided last spring, it was held that so far as tariffs and other duties are concerned Congress can legislate as it sees fit for these island territories, without reference to the provisions of the Constitution. The duty in this case having been collected under such an act of Congress it was declared to have been lawfully collected.

In both cases there were dissenting opinions concurred in by four of the nine justices of the Court.

The real significance of these decisions, as of those rendered last spring, is contained in this remark of the *New York Times*: "*The judicial branch of the Government has in all the insular cases sustained the policy of the executive branch.*" Therefore what the policy of the executive branch of the Government has meant in this matter, these decisions of the Supreme Court mean.

It will be remembered that about two years ago Sbarretti, of the papal delegation at Washington, was made bishop of Havana, especially on account of his "thorough understanding of the United

States Constitution"! And now this bishop of Havana has been appointed by the Pope apostolic delegate to the Philippine Islands. If there is any one who cannot see that back of that there is also a "thorough understanding" of something that is *not* the United States Constitution, then it must be difficult for such a person to see how that two and two make four.

The "Conservative" Position

The *Christian Advocate* quotes approvingly from Senator Hoar's recent article on Sunday legislation, and remarks that the stand taken by him in this matter is "the position of conservative citizens with regard to Sunday laws." We are reminded by this of the position of the "conservative" citizens of Massachusetts in the days of Roger Williams. They no doubt thought that John Cotton and other of the religious leaders were a little extreme and mingled a little too much religion in the matter. But as for themselves, without regard to the especial religious phase of the matter, they were convinced that, as the majority of the people (that "large proportion of the people," of which Senator Hoar speaks) did not believe as Williams did and were "disturbed" (as the Sunday-keeper is "disturbed" by Sunday labor) by the fact that Williams believed and worshiped differently from themselves, that the presence of Williams was the occasion of civil discord and disturbance, and was detrimental to the interests of the commonwealth. Hence they, the "conservative" citizens, while they did not especially object to his believing as he did, and would not by any means interfere with his freedom of conscience, could not afford to allow the peace of the commonwealth to be en-

dangered. Hence they were in favor, when it came right to the point of dealing with Williams, of doing the very identical thing that Cotton and the rest of the intolerant leaders of the day were demanding should be done. And it was exactly on this ground, which represents the position of the "conservative" citizens of his time, that Williams was driven in midwinter from Massachusetts.

The editor of the *Advocate*, who is a valiant demolisher of all forms of superstition from ghosts to "Christian Science," would no doubt say that the "conservative" citizens of Massachusetts in the days of Roger Williams were too superstitious when they supposed that his dissent from the prevailing religious opinions and practises was disturbing to the civil order of the commonwealth. And this is no doubt true; but nobody has yet discovered, nor is likely to discover, any distinction between the superstition of the "conservative" citizens of Massachusetts in those days and that of the "conservative" citizens of these days who imagine that the interests of government and of civil order require the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws. The one is just as great a superstition as the other, the only difference being that those who cling to the latter do so regardless of the lessons taught by the former and in spite of knowledge and enlightenment that the people of Massachusetts did not possess two hundred and fifty years ago.

It is not a sufficient justification of Sunday legislation to say that it serves a civil purpose. It must be shown to serve the purposes of civil society to such an extent that it counterbalances and justifies the inconveniences and hardships which arise from such legislation. What civil purpose does Sun-

day enforcement serve that it justifies legislative regulation of the conduct of all citizens on Sunday that would be deemed intolerable on any other day—a regulation which virtually amounts to legislative confiscation of one-seventh of the time of all the citizens? What are the civil benefits of Sunday observance that it justifies a legislative fiat by which thousands of honest and legitimate occupations are made criminal? What is the civil benefit to society which justifies and counterbalances the injury and the injustice of a measure which compels all persons whose consciences require them to observe some other day of the week, in addition to the inconvenience to which they are already subjected by differing in practise on this point from the great mass of their fellowmen, to sacrifice one-sixth of their time to the interests of the state?

Has the civil benefit of Sunday legislation ever been shown to be such that it justifies these stern and extreme measures?—*No*. On the contrary, that legislation which has to do with Sunday that is enacted simply because the day is Sunday, and all Sunday legislation is of this character, has never been shown to serve any end of government, not even the most insignificant and inconsequential. It is to no purpose that "conservative" citizens consider Sunday legislation justifiable on civil and economic grounds, because there is not a single civil or economic end that is subserved by such legislation. This civil and economic argument is no more to the point than was the idea of the "conservative" citizens of Massachusetts that the presence of Roger Williams meant the subversion of "the fundamental state and government of the country." When men proceed to do exactly what intoler-

ance demands it is to little purpose that they declare that they are perfectly free from all intolerant motives. The man who is arrested and imprisoned for working on Sunday, on the ground that the civil interests of society require and demand the suspension of all secular business and pursuits on that day, suffers just as flagrant an interference with his natural rights, and is as much the victim of religious intolerance, as if he were imprisoned for not attending church or being baptized on the ground that people who attended church and were baptized made good citizens.

It is high time that sensible men were freeing themselves from the idea that any legitimate interest of society or government is served and advanced by making honest labor a crime.

In stating "the simple and fundamental distinction" which it declares must be borne in mind by all who would avoid perplexity in understanding the decisions of the Supreme Court with regard to the insular possessions of the United States, *The Outlook* uses italics just as they are given in the quotation elsewhere. It was declared some time ago by many who saw the real meaning of the trend that had then set in that there would result such a condition as would make necessary the acknowledgement and recognition of this distinction "between *subjects* of the United States and *citizens* of the United States," and it was declared that such a condition would be a condition of *imperialism*. *The Outlook* scouted this prediction and anticipation as but the emanation of groundless fears and diseased imaginations. *Now* it calls attention with particular emphasis to the distinction that *exists* between *citizens* of the United States and

subjects of the United States. This condition is a condition of imperialism, and we call attention to what *The Outlook* has said and does say for no other purpose than that it may be more plainly evident to the reader that such a condition exists. This fact should be seriously borne in mind by every person, not for the purpose of finding fault with a single human being, but that every person may, for himself and for the benefit that he can be to others because of such knowledge, more clearly understand the present situation not only of this nation but of every nation of the world.

Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, of Brooklyn, the well-known clergyman and writer of helpful religious books, expresses himself with regard to the Sunday opening of saloons in the Christmas number of *The Evangelist* of this city. The article is entitled "God's Day and the German's Beer," and its general character may be gathered from these statements: "A conflict is waging in this city of Greater New York which, as the sailors say of a storm, 'will blow harder before it blows less.' It concerns one of the fundamentals both of civic morality and spiritual religion. God's Book and *God's day* are the two pillars on which Christianity rests; everything that tends to undermine the Sabbath, undermines both church and commonwealth. *God owns* the one day in seven; to steal it is a robbery of our Heavenly Father; it was 'made for man,' not only for rest to his toiling body, but salvation for his immortal soul. In fighting against open dram-shops on God's day we have got to plant ourselves on this solid bed-rock, or we shall be overthrown. . . . To sacrifice the authority of God's day and the moral interests of multitudes simply that a German can have his lager *fresh*

would be rather a costly experiment. . . . Our worthy German citizen ought to understand that we must not legalize a tremendous desecration of God's day . . . simply that he may have his lager-beer fresh 'on draught' at his Sunday table."

The earnestness and sincerity of Dr. Cuyler in this matter cannot be questioned, but it is a matter of sincere regret to us that one who has had such clear views of many of the truths of God's Word, and who has so beautifully expressed them for others, should be possessed with the idea that *God's day* needs the support and protection of *human laws*. If God's day is one of the two pillars on which Christianity rests, and the preservation of this day is dependent upon a law closing dram-shops or any other human law, what a pitiable plight is Christianity in! Surely Dr. Cuyler believes that Christianity and God's Book and God's day are altogether independent of human legislation.

"Stylus," a regular contributor to the *Christian Advocate*, delivers himself thus at the prospect of a partial repeal of the Sunday excise law: "If, as the result of the overthrow of Tammany Hall at our recent election, we are going to have the saloon open on Sunday for even a part of the day, 'Stylus' is sincerely sorry at Tammany's defeat! It is better to have sin committed in defiance of the law than under the support of the law. To distinctly violate a divine commandment, and to do so under legal protection, is a crime of more shocking magnitude than words can express. If the dethronement of Tammany's rulers means the upheaval of Mount Sinai, better a thousand times to have Tammany remain. A legalized violation of one of God's commandments is dreadful even

to contemplate. And if this is carried out, our victory at the polls was the worst defeat good government ever experienced."

While this item is not apt to enlighten any one as to the connection between Mount Sinai and the Sunday laws, it should leave no one in doubt as to what is the true attitude of the larger portion of the religious forces in this matter of Sunday saloons. They are not concerned over the evils of the liquor traffic, but at the "shocking" crime of "a legalized violation of one of God's commandments." They tremble not at the woe of men, women and children because of the liquor traffic, but at the "dreadful" contemplation of the "upheaval of Mount Sinai." Rather than have any of the legal props and supports removed from beneath the Sunday institution, they would much prefer that Tammany and all its iniquities should remain undisturbed. And this from the people who have long been proclaiming the doctrine of "civic righteousness." Is the enforced observance of a religious institution the ideal of civic virtue? Mount Sinai would not be disturbed a particle if every vestige of Sunday legislation were swept from every statute book in the world. The only disturbance that would be created would be among those people who suppose that religious observances should be enforced by statute, and who, in the face of plain and positive facts, deliberately assume that Sunday observance is one of the requirements of the moral law.

There are some sentences in the editorial from the *New York Tribune* on "The Church and Sunday Opening," which we publish elsewhere, that cannot be repeated too often in these days of agitation for enforced "Sabbath" ob-

servance, and we will repeat them here: "The State has no right to legislate in favor of making Sunday a holy day of religion. It can take no cognizance of any alleged desecration of the day. That is an argument that has no place in secular legislation." This is sound American, Christian doctrine, and it is a matter of ill omen that it is a doctrine for which the great religious bodies of this country seem to have not the slightest respect.

Vice, Not Virtue, Aided

"In any community, no matter how far it may be from being a cosmopolitan city," says the Providence (R. I.) *Journal*, "the moment the law against Sunday liquor selling is completely enforced the question must arise whether it is not better to legalize such selling in some form and to some extent." This is undoubtedly true to the facts, and it very forcibly suggests such questions as these:

Why should there be Sunday enforcement with reference to useful industries and occupations when it is not tolerated with reference to such an evil as the saloon?

Is the right to sell and purchase liquor more sacred than the right to labor?

Is it more beneficial to society that men should be intoxicated and should spend for drink the money needed to provide the necessaries of life for themselves and those dependent upon them, than that with unclouded brain and honest purpose they should devote themselves to useful industry that they and their families may be a blessing and not a burden to society?

Why should the virtues of men be treated as crimes if their vices are not to be repressed?

The failure of the Sunday law to stop the sale of liquor on Sunday leaves such legislation without excuse. If it accomplished the closing of saloons one day in the week there would be something to its credit, but as it does not accomplish this there is absolutely nothing left to counterbalance its evils.

The very fact that the saloons cannot be effectively closed on Sunday argues most forcibly against Sunday legislation. Both from the standpoint of good government and of good morals, there should be no enforced idleness, no prohibition of useful industry on Sunday. The honest occupations of men, instead of being repressed, should be encouraged; instead of being treated as crimes, they should be commended as virtues. The saloon should not have the whole field to itself; it should be made to suffer the competition of every honest and upright industry in which men are wont to engage. If vice must not be restrained, why should industry be shackled hand and foot?

Every dictate of common sense declares that the practical effect of Sunday legislation is just the opposite of what it is declared to be by many ministers and a few statesmen. It *does not* subserve the interests of good government or conduce to the welfare of society. It compels men to be idle, and in the cities enforced idleness with many men is nothing more nor less than enforced drunkenness. If the saloons are open they will be thronged by the idle; if they are closed their opening will be demanded, and, whether according to law or in violation of law, men who desire to spend their unoccupied time in saloons will secure entrance to them.

The fact that the idle Sunday is a day of drunkenness and crime beyond any

other day of the week is a melancholy but striking and conclusive proof of the fallacy of the idea that Sunday enforcement promotes the true ends of civil government and the moral welfare of society. The living facts declare the very opposite.

In connection with that noble and memorable declaration that "the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge," the Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia, in 1776, declared that "the only proper objects of civil government are the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence, the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens, and to *restrain the vicious and to encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws*, equally extending to every individual."

Certainly these declarations will stand undisputed, and if they be true how can Sunday enforcement be among or accomplish any of the proper objects of civil government? Sunday laws are not a restraint upon the vicious; they are a hardship upon the virtuous.

In a recent address in this city Bishop Potter, of the Episcopal Church, spoke the following words with reference to the question of the Sunday saloon, that are much more to the point than most of the utterances that are now coming from religious sources on this subject. They strike the key-note of the situation:

"The secret of the solution of this problem lies in Christ's power to transform men—to make them clean and not wanton, to make them sober and not drunkards. Whatever is done in this city or in any other city for the right, for

purity and for temperance, it is first necessary to bring men under the saving and transforming force that will touch the springs of their conscience and make them better and nobler. I want you all to carry away with you these words, 'put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.' It is personal duty to the personal Master that makes personal freedom."

One Pretense Unmasked

"It is better to close the saloons one day in the week than not at all," has long been the favorite reply of the friends of enforced "Sabbath" observance when asked why they treated the saloon as if it were so much more criminal and wrong on one day of the week than on the others. This pretense on the part of the advocates of Sunday enforcement, of aiding the cause of temperance by making it criminal for the saloons to operate a part of the time while virtually endorsing them the remainder of the time, is being fully unmasked by the present turn of events in New York.

It is well known that the present Sunday-closing law does not secure the absolute closing of the saloons, and that a large portion of them are open all the time on Sunday. It is therefore being urged by representative men whose sympathy with the cause of temperance is not questioned, and some of whom, in fact, formerly advocated Sunday closing as a temperance measure, that it would be better to have the saloons closed absolutely a part of the time on Sunday than to have them open more or less all day. It is proposed, therefore, that it be made legal for the saloons to be open from one or two o'clock in the afternoon to eleven in the evening on Sundays.

As will be seen this harmonizes per-

fectly with the principle laid down in the statement that "it is better to close the saloons one day in the week than not at all." This principle is flexible; it means, if it means anything whatever with reference to the prohibition of the sale of liquor, that the saloons shall be closed just as large a part of the time as they can be—as public sentiment will allow. They may, according to this principle, be closed three days, two days, one day, or where, as in New York, it is not possible to secure complete closing one full day, they may be closed only a part of a day during the week. This, we submit, is exactly in accord with the principle laid down by those who would advance the cause of temperance by means of Sunday legislation.

Yet, strange to say, the proposed application of this principle in New York is met with scorn and indignation by the advocates of Sunday closing. They regard the proposition as most outrageous, and demand to know why, "if it is right to let the saloons keep open a part of the Sabbath, it is not right to let them keep open all day on the Sabbath?" "Where, indeed, from Genesis to Revelation," asks some one, "do the New York and Brooklyn doctors of divinity find God compromising with sin? From whence do they get their inspiration to favor any form of evil during any part of the Lord's day." Some of these people, in their "righteous indignation," declare that the proposition for the opening of the saloons on any part of "the Lord's day" is as great an insult to the religious people as if it were proposed to close the churches on Sunday. They declare that they want "no dividing of the Sabbath with the saloons."

All this, and much more that might be given, emphasizes what *The Sentinel* has already said on this point, namely, that

the churches and the religious forces are not contending for temperance even in the matter of Sunday closing of saloons, but for the enforced religious observance of the day which they regard as sacred, and that the declaration on the part of the advocates of Sunday enforcement that it was better to have Sunday closing than no closing at all, while perhaps not an unwise nor unreasonable principle in itself, was merely a pretense used to aid the cause of enforced religion. The advocate of Sunday enforcement who proclaims this flexible principle with regard to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants, does not believe in flexibility at all in its application. He believes that saloons should be closed from midnight on Saturday to midnight on Sunday. This, and no more and no less, is the measure of his application of this principle. He is never heard advocating the closing of saloons two or three days in the week, and he is shocked beyond measure when, in the application of the principle he has announced, it is proposed that there shall be legal opening of the saloons half the day on Sunday in order that there may be accomplished absolute closing a half day during the week.

The securing of a half day's closing of the saloons one day in the week, where nothing else can be secured, is in perfect accord with the principle that it is better to close the saloons one day in the week than not at all, and the fact that the Sunday enforcement advocates endorse the one and not the other, shows conclusively that their concern is not for the closing of saloons but for the enforcement of a religious institution and observance.

An exchange says that "the question of Sunday golf has come up in Philadelphia in rather a novel way," and explains

that while there is a city ordinance under which Sunday golf might be prevented, the authorities have made no effort to enforce it against golf playing, and the matter has been left to the golf clubs themselves to decide. This is most certainly a novel way of dealing with the matter of Sunday golf in these days when there are so many people who desire to have golf playing on Sunday treated as a crime, and when it is the almost universal practise to decide all questions relating to Sunday observance by legislation; but is it not the right way to deal with such matters?

The Real Sentiment Upon Which Sunday Legislation Rests

The following communication, addressed to the editor of the *New York Evening Post* by a subscriber in Massachusetts, is such a frank disclosure by a friend of Sunday legislation of the real sentiment that underlies such legislation, and shows so plainly what is "the first and main consideration" in the minds of religious people regarding the repeal of the Sunday law applying to saloons, that we print it entire:

"*Sir:* Usually when religious declensions begin to prevail, their first form of manifestation is in increasing desecrations of the Lord's day. These Sabbath violations are both the cause and effect of religious declensions. They grow out of a diminished vital force of the Christian religion in the public heart, and then the examples of Sabbath desecration multiply around us, harden the heart, and stupefy the conscience.

"There are special causes now at work to break the force of the law of the Sabbath. The controversy in which the people of New York are involved causes

in itself a disturbance of the order and salutary usages of society. Indeed, the whole controversy throws our whole society into a commotion which multiplies occasions and temptations for Sabbath-breaking on every side. Of course, it is very true that with the saloon-keepers who desire to open their 'damnation shops,' in defiance of the law of God, the chief intent is money. They have not invested their funds and set their men at work with the purely malicious purpose of robbing the community of a Sabbath rest. They care little for the Sabbath either way, provided they can be well paid for its profanation. Yet it is all the same, in effect, as if the proposition for open saloons on the Sabbath originated as a conspiracy to work so many fatal agencies to set aside the Sabbath. In effect it is all the same as if the funds were invested with the single intent of demoralizing men and women to join in a host to trample the Sabbath down. If Satan himself had set on foot a work so adapted to enlist thousands in conflict with God's ordinance, and if he had given to the proposition his own name, with an open declaration that it is for the express purpose of Sabbath-breaking, we should then awake to the occasion for resistance. But in that case there would be no more occasion to resist. The work now in progress is as broad and as deadly as if Satan were the originator and chief engineer, declaring a single purpose to involve as many as possible in conflict with the Sabbath of the Lord.

"It will be asked, What is the wrong and where is the evil of opening the saloons on the Sabbath? The first and main consideration against it is, that it is an express violation of our Lord's commandment, 'to remember the Sab-

bath day and keep it holy.' Again, Sabbath pleasure-seeking is a terrible calamity. God requires us to abstain from it in this: 'If thou turn away thy feet from the Sabbath, from doing *thy pleasure* on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight—not finding thine *own pleasure*, or speaking thine own words, then will I feed thee with the heritage of Jacob.'

"But for our present purpose, it is adequate to say that the principle which admits this Sunday-saloon proposition, if wrought out and extended, would annihilate the whole observance of the Sabbath. Now admit what is assumed to justify the execution of the project, and you justify *every and any secular use of the Sabbath day*. So the question whether New York shall have Sunday saloons is the question whether New York shall have a Sabbath or not. Let the sacredness of that day be trodden down, and the ordinance will be exploded as a day of *holy rest*, and it will soon cease to be a day of *rest* at all. And if this Sunday opening induces, as it must, hundreds and thousands to secularize the day, it engages so many to coöperate to rob the people of toil of their day of rest. What then is the direct bearing of this proposition for the working people but to blot out for them their day of rest? Mr. Editor and friends interested, so utterly deceptive is this plea of consideration for the 'convenience' of the laboring masses, by tempting them into conflict with their Maker—into a surrender of that fear of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is the life of all moral integrity, and leading hundreds and hundreds of them off to dissipation and rowdiness."

For the earnest purpose and desire manifested in this communication for the preservation of what the writer believes to be a most important religious observ-

ance in which is bound up the religious welfare of society, we can but feel sympathy and a certain admiration. But on the other hand, it seems to us a most pitiable thing that in this country any one can be so utterly regardless of the distinction between the sphere of religion and that of civil government as to write such a letter as this. How is it that any one who has any knowledge of the true nature of the Sabbath and of the divine law which commands its observance, can take the position that its sacredness and its observance must be upheld by human law, and that failure to do this "would annihilate the whole observance of the Sabbath," and cause it to "be exploded as a day of holy rest?" How can people who claim to be so concerned for the Sabbath be so faithless to it and to its divine Author? What greater evidence could there be of "a diminished vital force of the Christian religion in the public heart" than the announcement on the part of those who are supposed to represent Christianity that it is utterly powerless of itself, and that unless its institutions are maintained by the State they will utterly perish?

The New York *Tribune* sees in the alignment of religious people on one side of the question of Sunday saloons the "danger of the legislature enacting a law recognizing Sunday as a holy day of religion." This reasoning is correct as far as it goes. The situation is that the religious people are not demanding new legislation; they are opposing a *change* in laws already enacted. So, instead of the attitude of the religious forces in this matter indicating the danger of "a law recognizing Sunday as a holy day of religion," it indicates that there is already such a law on the statute

books. The Sunday laws of New York, as were those of other States, were enacted for no other purpose than to recognize "Sunday as a holy day of religion," and any one who will read any of these laws can see that this is the case. If the prospect of the enactment of a law recognizing Sunday as a holy day of religion calls for protest and warning, why should not the presence and existence of such a law call, even more urgently, for the same thing?

"Civic Righteousness" as Some People See It

Many people who have long proclaimed the gospel of "civic righteousness" are now wringing their hands in anguish over the new reform administration in New York City, which gives good promise of remedying many of the worst abuses of the Tammany régime. These people who have professed to be such devoted friends of "good government" are now intimating that Tammany with all its abuses was to be preferred to the new administration. And why is this thus?—It is proposed by the new administration to remove some of the legal supports of the Sunday sabbath. This is declared by some of the friends of "civic righteousness" to be "a crime of more shocking magnitude than words can express," and "dreadful even to contemplate." And why is this so shocking and so dreadful? True, in this instance it means the legal opening of saloons at certain hours when they are now supposed to be closed. But it is not contended by those who are so distressed over this matter that the drunkenness and misery of the city will be increased beyond what it is at present by the repeal of the Sunday excise law. At least this is not the point concerning which

they display the greatest anxiety. They are shocked at the prospect of "a legalized violation of one of God's commandments," and are even apprehensive that "the dethronement of Tammany's rulers means the upheaval of Mount Sinai." Rather than that such a catastrophe should ensue it is declared that it would have been "better a thousand times to have Tammany remain" in power, for if what is proposed is carried out, "our victory at the polls was the worst defeat good government every experienced."

This is interesting and important as demonstrating the real value and the real purpose of much of the so-called "civic righteousness" propaganda which is now becoming quite popular with certain religious elements. In this instance it is plain that Sunday enforcement is the touchstone of good government. An administration may bear every mark of honesty, and may give every promise of working genuine civic reforms, but if it proposes in the slightest degree to deprive the Sunday sabbath of its legal supports, then all its virtues count for naught, and the most corrupt and criminal of administrations is to be preferred. Better to have Tammany and the Sunday laws than to have an honest government which refuses to countenance the hypocrisy of a religious statute which, while pretending to be in the interests of temperance, is admitted by its supporters to accomplish nothing whatever in that direction. These alleged friends of good government know perfectly well that this law makes practically no difference whatever in the sale of liquor, but they prefer to have a law that accomplishes nothing in the direction in which it is pretended to accomplish something, rather than not to have the law at all. And why is this? Ah, the

"Sabbath" must be protected; it must not be deprived of that support and protection which comes to it by having a place in the statute books! Let Tammany reign, let corruption prevail, let liquor be sold, let anything be done, but never, never leave the Sunday institution to stand on its own feet!

This is a pitiable spectacle to all genuine friends of good government. Let us see. In the estimation of these people who have so much to say of "civic righteousness" Sunday enforcement is the great touchstone of good government. Good government that does not include this is not to be tolerated. Now Sunday laws and Sunday enforcement are themselves a gross abuse of legislative power, and are opposed to every principle of genuine civic righteousness and good government. From this it may be determined just how much civic righteousness and good government is embraced in the conception of many of the people who profess in these days to be working for both.

"A Sad and Suggestive Contrast"

In the opinion of the "Sabbath" *Defender* "a sad and suggestive contrast" is presented by the two great expositions that have recently closed. The "Glasgow Exposition closed on Sundays," and was "a great success;" the "Pan-American Exposition, at Buffalo, open Sundays; closes with debt of nearly \$4,000,000; scene of an awful tragedy and national calamity." One practised and experienced the fulfilment of that scripture which says, "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, . . . Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I

will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth;" the other demonstrated the truth of that scripture which says, "Ye bring wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath." At least this is what *The Defender* says.

Of course the closing of the Glasgow Exposition on Sunday had nothing to do with its financial success, and the opening of the Pan-American Exposition had nothing to do with its financial failure. And if such were the case it would be no evidence that the Lord had anything to do with the matter, for the scriptures quoted have no reference to Sunday observance whatever. It would simply have demonstrated that the people who believe in Sunday sacredness have power to make or mar the financial success of great expositions, and that they do not hesitate to use this power for the exaltation of Sunday, regardless of the consequences.

The "awful tragedy and national calamity" at the Buffalo Exposition was a serious injury to it financially, as everyone knows. But the Sunday devotee cannot see this; to him the great hub and center around which all things revolve is the Sunday sabbath, and because the Buffalo Exposition did not observe this sabbath as he thinks it should have, he is absolutely sure that its deficit of \$4,000,000, and the assassination of the President, are the direct consequences and were nothing more nor less than a visitation of divine wrath. And when he turns to the Glasgow Exposition and finds that it kept its gates closed on Sunday and came out as a financial success he knows that there is no possibility of mistake about the matter. No other evidence is needed, in his mind, to demonstrate that Sunday closing opens the gates of divine favor and blessing.

Of course there are some people who are not ready to accept the idea that financial success is the certain evidence of divine favor, and who will be disposed to see something better in the promise, "I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth," than the possession of material wealth.

In our opinion most of the sadness and suggestiveness, so far as Sunday opening or closing is connected with the matter, could be eliminated by giving more attention to what is said in the quotations that are given to establish this "sad and suggestive contrast." The one regarding the Glasgow Exposition is taken from the *New York Tribune*, and it says that the business management was excellent, calls attention to the enterprise shown, and says that "one secret of its financial success has been the pains taken to make Glasgow the meeting place of scores of conventions and representative bodies during the summer and autumn." The fact that the gates were closed on Sunday is mentioned incidentally, but not the slightest intimation is given that the financial success of the exposition was due to this fact.

As to the quotation regarding the Buffalo Exposition, which declares that all "was man, man, man!" and that there was not "the first recognition of anything higher than man and man's achievements," we will say that we think there is something in this quotation that the advocates of the "civil," "American," legislative "Sabbath" might well take to heart, and it is something that is both sad and suggestive, too. If the country is being cursed by the worship of man and man's achievements how can that curse be removed by dragging the institution which God has set up as His

memorial, to be a reminder to men of the Creator of the heavens and the earth, into the realm of civil legislation and politics, and by labeling it "American," "civil," etc. If this country is suffering from a want of the knowledge of God the situation is not likely to be relieved by putting human laws and legislatures in the place of God. What is needed is that men should stop interposing themselves between God and their fellowmen; and this means that the work of Sunday enforcement should stop. No wonder men are losing sight of God, when there are so many men and organizations that are trying to stand in the place of God to them. This is something that is indeed and in truth sad and suggestive.

The Key to the Decisions

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court, as did those of last spring, lay down the doctrines that territory acquired by conquest or treaty ceases to be foreign territory, and is therefore no longer subject to the tariffs which apply to foreign countries; but that such territory does not become a part of the United States and cannot have the benefit of that clause of the Constitution which requires that all duties, etc., shall be uniform throughout the United States; and that, therefore, Congress is at liberty to lay whatever tariffs it chooses against such territory. This leaves such territory in a position where it is neither American nor foreign, but where it can be treated as either as the interests of its conquerors may require.

Very naturally some people have been perplexed over these decisions. *The Outlook* says "it so happens that these decisions of the Supreme Court are in accordance with the view of the Consti-

tution which *The Outlook* has maintained ever since the treaty of peace with Spain," and declares that the perplexity that has arisen in the public mind over these decisions can easily be avoided if all "will bear in mind the simple and fundamental distinction between territory *belonging* to the United States and territory *constituting* a part of the United States; or, to state it differently, between *subjects* of the United States and *citizens* of the United States." Exactly! But, strange as it may seem, there are some Americans who do not want to bear in mind any such distinctions as these. They know perfectly well that when the time comes that among people who live under the authority of the American Government the distinction of *subjects* and *citizens* is made that the United States is no longer a *republican* government; hence their slowness to bear in mind this distinction which *The Outlook* says is so "simple and fundamental." Rather than accept this distinction and all that it implies some Americans would prefer never to understand the decisions of the Supreme Court.

But there can be no doubt that *The Outlook* is right. In order to understand these decisions it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between *subjects* and *citizens* of the United States; and this fact is one of most significant and far-reaching import, and one that it behooves all persons to bear in mind.

A "Sabbath" enforcement journal that is constantly proclaiming its desire to save the "poor workingman" from the "slavery" of Sunday toil, and to provide for him by legislation a day for rest and recreation, complains that "there are men who spend two hours regularly in

reading the Sunday newspapers, but never have time to go to church," and says that the workingman should use "his Sundays properly—not as holidays, in sports, games and amusements, but in the home, in attendance upon the church and other helpful gatherings, and in the higher pleasures and privileges of the children of God." The question for workingmen to ask themselves with reference to their Sunday enforcement friends is, Are we willing to be forced by legislation into the higher pleasures and privileges of the children of God? Or rather, Are we willing that the *attempt* should be made to force us into these things? If they are not, then it will be well to get along without the proffered help of the Sunday enforcement advocates, for their work leads directly to just this thing.

Christian Citizenship

Christian citizenship is a grand truth. The citizenship of the Christian is in heaven; the King of heaven is his King, and the law of heaven is his law. Therefore for the promotion of the cause of Christian citizenship efforts should be made in accordance with the laws of heaven, and appeal should be made to the King of heaven. The rulers and kings and presidents of this world have to do with the citizenship of this world, but they have nothing whatever to do with Christian citizenship in their character as rulers. Christian citizenship is absolutely independent of the potentates of this world, and with regard to it a ruler of this world has no more to do, and perhaps not as much, as the very poorest and humblest of human beings.

In the light of these truths there is something very strange in certain dispatches that have been published in the

newspapers during the last month, the substance of which was that Dr. F. E. Clark, of Boston, president of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, had gone to Washington early in December to keep an engagement which he had with President Roosevelt, "the subject of their conference to be the campaign for Christian citizenship and civic righteousness which is to be aggressively waged by the Christian Endeavor Society."

This cannot be Christian citizenship at all, and we say it with all respect for the two eminent persons just named, and the fact that there is a great movement now under way to advance something that is not Christian citizenship, but which it is intended shall be known and recognized as Christian citizenship, not only bodes no good for the cause of true Christian citizenship, but it has in it the promise of evil and degeneration for the citizenship of this world.

There was a sermon preached on the morning of December 15, in the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, in Boston, that should have been heard by every Christian Endeavorer. Dr. Elmore Harris, of Toronto, preached from the text, "For our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ." Phil. 3: 20.

We wish we could give this sermon entire, for it set forth clearly and beautifully the true doctrine of Christian citizenship, as it is very seldom heard in these days. The speaker said that while he did not object to a Christian's exercising the functions of citizenship in this world, that he did object to the sort of citizenship which a great many Christians were proclaiming now as Christian citizenship. "We are emphasizing too much to-day," he said, "especially in our young people's societies, the citizen-

ship of this world. One would suppose that we were to have the kingdom of heaven right here on earth without the King." He declared that the great danger from which the church is likely to suffer in the near future, and from which she is already suffering, is spiritual nearsightedness. She is concerned too much with the things of this world; in her devotion to citizenship in this world she is forgetting the glorious privileges of citizenship in heaven. She regards the words, "And hath made us kings and priests unto God," as beautiful, indeed, but by her actions she shows that they are nothing to her but words. The speaker declared that it was the privilege of the church to look at things in the world from the standpoint of heavenly places whence she has been exalted by her Lord, instead of looking at heavenly things from the low standpoint of earthly citizenship. Men become Christian citizens by sitting with Christ in heavenly places. Heavenly citizenship does not run in natural blood; it comes by way of the new birth.

Any one whose privilege it was to hear this sermon should have no difficulty in detecting the spurious character of that "Christian citizenship" that is now so widely proclaimed.

At a meeting of the Presbyterian Ministers' Association in this city on December 31, Rev. Dr. David J. Burrell declared that "the voice of the churches" had killed the demand for legal opening of saloons on Sunday, and added: "No man could be elected President of the United States to-day who is an avowed opponent of Christianity. Thomas Jefferson would not be an available candidate to-day for either party." This may all be true, and yet it is no evidence that any better man than Thomas Jefferson,

or one nearly so good, will become President of the United States in these days. Such language as this has in it the distinct ring of the triumph of political Christianity; and political Christianity is a great deal farther away from real Christianity than is ordinary, every-day heathenism.

The Papacy Favors Sunday Enforcement

What are called the Protestant denomination are not being left alone in the present battle for "the preservation of the Sabbath," or in other words the maintenance of enforced Sunday observance. A leading Methodist paper boasts that the Roman Catholics are overwhelmingly in favor of maintaining the Sunday laws as they are, and from utterances that have recently come from Catholic sources this appears to be true. Archbishop Corrigan, at a recent gathering of all the priests of his diocese, uttered the following words which are being repeated with a great deal of relish by many so-called Protestant ministers:

"This country wants no 'Continental Sunday.' It is a matter beyond dispute that the decay of religion in Europe has coincided with and has been furthered by lax observance of the Sunday. The Catholic Church is far from being opposed to legitimate recreation on Sunday. But in the eyes of the church Sunday is primarily the home day, the day of rest from the material ends of life, and of introspection and consideration of man's spiritual side. The great enemy of home is the saloon, and the greatest obstacle to spiritual contemplation is indulgence in intoxicating drink."

In setting forth in the *New York Journal* the position of the Catholic Church on the question of Sunday sa-

loons, Rev. A. P. Doyle, of the Paulist Fathers, of New York, says: "She [the Catholic Church] has been most outspoken in her condemnation of any attempt to degrade the Sunday." He quotes from recent Catholic councils in this country, at which it has been "ordered that liquor dealers 'should refrain altogether from selling liquor on Sundays,'" and all Catholics have been directed, "without distinction, not only to take no part in any movement toward a relaxation of the observance of Sunday, but to use their influence and power as citizens to resist in the opposite direction;" and at which, also, it has been counselled that "pastors and people co-operate heartily with the societies that are attempting 'to put a check on the desecration of the Lord's day, and on the evil influences now striving for its total profanation.'"

The stand taken by the representatives of the Catholic Church in this matter is just what might be expected. It is not to be supposed that the Papacy would desert her own institution at such a time, and were it not that there are so many "Protestants" striving for enforced Sunday observance, she would doubtless be more active and pronounced in the matter than she is.

The Rev. Mr. Doyle, in the article to which we have referred, emphasizes the point that Catholic priests have been exhorted to admonish frequently Catholic liquor dealers "not to sell to drunkards and to minors, and to keep their liquor stores closed on Sundays." The Protestant churches in their zeal for the enforcement of Sunday observance are rapidly coming down to this plane of looking at matters. They, too, are exhorting liquor dealers to keep their liquor stores closed on Sundays, and from present in-

dications it will not be long before those liquor dealers who do this will be regarded as fully entitled, on this point at least, to church fellowship, as such dealers are now in the Catholic Church.

This Sunday-enforcement temperance crusade is a sham and a delusion. It means nothing more nor less than what is conveyed in the following words recently uttered by another eminent Catholic, Mgr. G. H. Doane: "With regard to the sale of drink on Sunday, I have always thought that the rule that obtained in Rome fifty years ago, when I was a student there, when the Pope was king, not only in name but in fact, was the wise and true one. All places of refreshment were bound to close their doors during the hours of the parochial mass and vespers; the rest of the day they were open."

The enforcement of Sunday observance does not mean temperance; it means the sway of Catholicism, or something exactly like it, with the Pope eventually as king, "not only in name but in fact."

The Church's Ownership of Sunday

It is not often that the spirit which inspires Sunday enforcement and the cool assumption which accompanies all the demands of the churches and religious forces for such enforcement is as plainly manifested and stated as in the following from an article by Rev. Herbert D. Cone in *The Presbyterian* of November 20:

"It is a good thing once in a while to stop and consider the claims of time-honored institutions and the attitude toward them. The Sabbath is one of these legacies from the past. The day of rest is a possession of the church. She

gave it to the civilized West and keeps it in existence. As her peculiar possession, it is taken and used as people wish. To defend this day of rest, the church has fought and still must fight with all her powers. It may come as part of her rich gift of redemption, but no matter—it is her property, and she has some right to it.

"Now, to take it, enjoy its privileges and use it for selfish purposes without a thought of the church and her rights, is just as honorable as to stand on Bunker Hill and insult the heroes who won the American independence. . . .

"The church owns Sunday. She gives it to the state to use, but its existence depends on her strength and defense. As a privilege lent to the age, it is one of the mean sides of human practise to use it and make no return. It is a shrewd practise of robbing the church and comes under the denunciations of the law, 'Thou shalt not steal.'

"Such a way of treating the problem of Sunday may be unusual, but it is the true one. The church has some rights which men must recognize, and that, too, in ways to appeal to persons who do not dream of what the church is or does for mankind. If it were possible to restrict the rest of Sunday to the people and homes within the limits of the church and a work-day for all others, there would be a mad rush for church membership. The restriction is removed, but the principle remains. No one has any valid claim on the privileges of Sunday who has not identified himself with the church of Jesus Christ. If once this fact could be made a part of the belief of the age, it would prove a revelation to the masses of men and a decided stimulus to the power, place, and blessing of the church in the life of the world."

There is a thought in the above that is worthy of respect; that is that it is due to the religious influence, to the church, that a weekly day of rest has not disappeared altogether. But the assumption that the state owes it to the church to enforce the observance of this day is equalled only by the assumptions of the Papacy in the Dark Ages. The religious Sunday does most emphatically belong to the church; it is most certainly her property, for it is not the Sabbath that was made for man nor the day of which the Son of man declared himself to be Lord.

But the church's ownership of the religious Sunday does not give her ownership of everything on earth on the first day of the week. She does not own the people who happen to be living on Sunday, and it is not her business to dictate what all men shall do on that day. The Lord of the true Sabbath declared that God caused His rain and sunshine to fall and shine upon both the just and the unjust, but in these days we have the doctrine set up by what purports to be "the church of Jesus Christ," that no man who is not identified with this church has any claim on the privileges of the first day of the week whatever. It is a fortunate thing for mankind that God, and not what purports to be His church, is in control of the universe.

The Lestershire (N. Y.) *Record* declares that it was "pained to read in the metropolitan papers the statements given out by Christian men, and many of them ministers, favoring Sunday opening of saloons," and adds: "We fail to believe that the man or woman who is an advocate of the American Sabbath would, under any circumstances whatever, sanction the open desecration of

the Lord's day by legalizing the sale of liquor." Unfortunately the sentiment of this last statement is the one controlling and all-absorbing sentiment that pervades the ranks of those who insist upon the maintenance of the law requiring saloons to be closed on Sundays. This sentiment means a great deal more for enforced religion than it does for the cause of temperance.

The National Reform Convention

The organization which has been working for church and state union in this country longer than any other at its last convention met as a "National Conference on the Christian Principles of Civil Government." The convention was held in the Second Presbyterian Church in Pittsburg, Pa., November 19-21. We had hoped to have quite a full report of this convention, but were unable to obtain it. From exchanges we gather the information given herewith.

More than five hundred persons were present at the convention, many of whom were delegates appointed by churches, local conventions and young people's societies. It is stated that "a large proportion were ministers." Words of welcome were spoken by Rev. S. Edward Young, pastor of the church in which the convention was held, and by Rev. W. H. McMillan, of Allegheny, in behalf of young people's societies. The opening address was delivered by Rev. T. P. Stevenson, of Philadelphia, the subject being "The March of the Nations Toward the Kingdom of Christ." This address is reported to have been "a review of the events of modern history which show that public morals are improving, that the sway of Christian nations is being extended over the whole

earth, and that the governments nominally Christian are becoming more and more Christian." If the American Government, and some of the other great governments of the world that are extending their sway by forcible subjugation and extermination, are Christian, as the National Reformers have always asserted, it is strange that they are not yet completely Christian, but are simply "becoming more and more Christian." They will continue "becoming more and more Christian" until doomsday, and they will be just as far from being Christian then as they are now. There are some National Reformers who will not swear allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, declaring it to be an atheistical document, yet they are constantly declaring that the American Government is and always has been Christian. The anomalous and irrational character of National Reform leads its disciples to declare with one breath that public morals are improving, that the nations are marching toward the kingdom of Christ, and that "we are a Christian nation," and with the next that "the evils which flow from national departure from God have appeared and are increasing among us; government has fallen into the hands of unworthy men; public offices are the prey of spoilsmen who plunder our treasuries, grant protection to lawbreakers for a price and levy blackmail on honest men; the liquor traffic flourishes under sanction of law, corrupting morals, destroying life, spreading sorrow and desolation like a pestilence, defying all attempts to curb or suppress it, and able often to dictate the policy of the government; prostitution flaunts itself in towns and cities, with the connivance or under

the active protection of public officials." All this and much more like it appeared in a document which was sent out with the invitation to this convention which opened with an address on "The March of the Nations Toward the Kingdom of Christ." The position of National Reformers seems to be that the nations, especially the American nation, are Christian, and are "becoming more and more Christian," and that the most urgent and overwhelming reason for the recognition of this fact is the fact that they have departed from God and are becoming as corrupt and vile as possible.

The president of the association, Rev. S. F. Scovel, of Wooster University, spoke on "Practical Methods of Christian Education in the Public Schools;" Rev. J. S. McKee on "The Sabbath, the Safeguard of Rights;" Dr. Chas. A. Blanchard, of Wheaton College, on "The Bearing of National Reform on Spiritual Interests;" Dr. W. J. McConkey on "The Divine Idea in Government;" Dr. H. H. George on "The Christian Amendment;" Dr. W. C. Dabney, of the State University of Tennessee, on "Atheism the Parent of Anarchy;" and Rev. David McAllister on "Expression of Our National Christianity in Fundamental Law."

The convention adopted resolutions "insisting on Christian training in the public schools as essential to a good and patriotic citizenship; on a national marriage and divorce law in accord with the law of Christ; condemning the Sunday newspaper; and protesting against the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law." The resolutions "also asked for suitable Christian acknowledgements in State and national constitutions as a logical and consistent step toward the attainment of all these ends."

The Pope's "Great Desire"

Dispatches from Rome during December convey information that accords perfectly with what has been the manifest policy and aim of the Papacy for at least ten years. In 1892 the Pope sent Satolli over as his representative at Washington, and ever since that time the Papacy has done her best to establish diplomatic relations with the United States Government. And it must be confessed that she has not been wholly unsuccessful, for a number of times since the date mentioned, notably during the Spanish-American War, it has been evident that the Government has, for a short time at least, been in what might properly be termed diplomatic communication with the Vatican.

From the dispatches to which we have referred it seems that the Papacy anticipates at an early date still greater triumphs in this direction. A dispatch from Rome, dated December 14, read:

"A Vatican official asserts that negotiations are progressing satisfactorily for the accrediting of an American representative at the Vatican. The necessity of such a representative, he says, is doubly felt now that Cuba and the Philippines are under American control."

Eight days later another dispatch was sent from Rome to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, which read in part as follows:

"The Vatican is becoming decidedly more hopeful that the United States will yield to the Pope's great desire and appoint a diplomatic representative to the Vatican. So anxious is the Pope for the success of his project that he would be satisfied at present with a semi-official representative, in the hope that he would be eventually turned into a minister or ambassador. It seems that Washington is not unwilling to discuss the matter,

and the Vatican has intimated, in return, its desire to meet American wishes in Cuba and the Philippines, and possibly create another cardinal in the United States."

These things are significant. It remains to be seen whether the Government will do *now* what was spurned by the American Government in 1776, through its representative at Paris, Benjamin Franklin.

A butcher who decided to test the new Sunday law of New York State prohibiting the sale of uncooked meats on Sundays, recently carried a case to the State supreme court, which decides that the law is constitutional. Judge Giegerich, who issued the decision, said: "Sunday laws, prohibiting trade on that day, have been held in numerous adjudications to be well within the police powers of the legislature, and have been universally upheld upon the ground that the physical and moral well-being of the people may be advanced thereby."

Just before adjourning its last national convention, which was held at Forth Worth, Texas, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union passed resolutions with reference to the present excise question in New York, protesting in the name of the motherhood of the nation against Sunday opening of saloons, and earnestly urging "the law-abiding and moral citizens of New York State to stand for a strict enforcement of the Sunday-closing law and the abolition of the Raines law hotel." It is a matter of regret that the grand cause to which the W. C. T. U. is devoted should lead it sometimes to become entangled with the cause of Sunday enforcement, which is not a temperance measure at all. At

this convention it was officially stated that the paid membership of the national organization was 160,000, and the total enrolled membership about 300,000.

Our Frontispiece

We give herewith further particulars regarding the scenes shown in our frontispiece, there not being sufficient space for full descriptions under the illustration. As stated, the first scene represents the trial of Thomas Gould at Charlestown, Mass., in October, 1656. He was convicted of denying baptism to his child, and was given until the next term of court to mend his ways. The admonition of the court not changing his purpose in the matter, Gould, and several of his brethren who believed as he did, were tried for "schism." They were convicted, and were disfranchised and warned by the court that if they were convicted again on the same charge they would be imprisoned until the court saw fit to release them. They were convicted again, and were imprisoned for almost a year, and at a subsequent time were imprisoned for "a long time." A full account of the matter is given in Adams's "Emancipation of Massachusetts," pp. 118-125.

The other picture is the closing scene at the trial of Gotloeb Wenzler, who was convicted and fined at Mexico, Mo., last October, for "Sabbath-breaking." His Sunday-keeping neighbors swore that they had seen him "stacking straw and oats at different times on Sunday," and that he and his wife did not go to church when his neighbors did. A press dispatch from Mexico, dated October 11, read:

"Late this evening, just before adjourning circuit court for the night, Judge Hughes had Sabbath-breaker Got-

loeb Wenzler before him. The man who had been convicted and fined for working on his farm on Sunday stood beside his wife and little children as the judge looked him in the face and said: "The motion for a new trial is overruled. I will parole you for one year, and you will appear in this court at the January term and pay these fines. If you break the Sabbath again by working on that day, I will send the sheriff out after you and have him put you in jail." Wenzler promised not to work any more on Sunday." The Sentinel, in its issue of October 17, 1901, published quite a full account of this trial and the circumstances leading up to it.

The candid, fair-minded person who reads the particulars of these two cases will say at once that the same principle is involved in each, and one of these men was as much the victim of religious intolerance as the other. Yet it is a strange and remarkable fact that while the law which made possible one of these cases of persecution would be universally scorned to-day as fit only for the Dark Ages, the law which makes possible the other case of persecution is regarded by many people as perfectly proper and fitting in these days. Read carefully in the article entitled, "Why Sunday Laws are Wrong," what is said of the similarity between the divine requirement of Sabbath observance and the divine requirement of baptism.

"It is a singular fact," says the North Adams (Mass.) *Herald*, "that in all countries where there is no law forbidding drinking on Sunday, there is very little drunkenness, and where the laws against Sunday drinking are the most severe, intoxication is most frequent."

SUNDAY ENFORCEMENT

This department is designed to record what is being done throughout the country in the way of Sunday enforcement. Necessarily the items in most instances must be a bare recital of the facts. The principles involved are discussed in the general articles and the editorial department.

Three boys were recently arrested and fined at Vinton, Iowa, "for violating the Sunday law by shooting."

The village council of Morristown, Minn., has passed an ordinance prohibiting the keeping open of barber shops on Sundays.

The mayor of Pensacola, Fla., has announced that every feature of the Sunday law will be enforced in that city during his term of office.

An effort is being made to close the butcher shops in Canton, Ill., on Sundays. The Peoria (Ill.) *Journal* speaks of it as "a spasm of virtue."

Two butchers, one baker and a barber were recently arraigned before the police court in Buffalo on the charge of violating the Sunday closing laws.

The mayor of Rutland, Ill., has issued a proclamation ordering all business houses, saloons, meat markets, stores, etc., to close on Sundays hereafter.

The Red Wing (Minn.) *News* reports that "the grand jury in Duluth has indicted the chief of police for not enforcing all the clauses of the Sunday law."

The union butchers of Rochester, N. Y., have a committee out every Sunday "watching for violators of the new Sunday law," and threaten the arrest of "all dealers caught in the act of selling meat."

An agitation against Sunday opening of stores is being conducted by the Retail Merchants' Association of St. Joseph, Mo. Several arrests have been made.

An Indiana paper says that "the right of a man to hunt on his own farm, in spite of the law against hunting on Sunday, is being tested before Justice Stout in Indianapolis."

The city council of Westmoreland, Kansas, has passed an ordinance providing for the closing of all business houses on Sundays, including meat markets, restaurants and barber shops.

The Winston (Minn.) *Herald* says "the barbers here have decided not to continue to violate the State law in regard to keeping their shops open on Sunday, and after January 1 will close for business on each and every Sunday."

The Barbers' Union in St. Paul, Minn., has employed a private detective to aid them in securing enforced closing of all barber shops on Sunday. Six barbers were recently arrested, tried and fined for following their calling on Sunday.

The selectmen of Gardner, Mass., recently had their attention called to the "open violation of the Sunday law" by merchants of the place, and were requested, "in the way that seemed best to them, to secure a better observance of the Sunday law."

A united effort is being made by Barberton, Ohio, ministers to compel Sunday closing of all places of business except restaurants, hotels and livery stables. It is stated, however, that the ministers are aiming principally at the saloons.

The town council of Bardner, Ohio, has passed an ordinance making it unlawful to open any place of business on Sundays, except drug stores and hotels. "The former will be permitted to fill prescriptions only, and the latter can serve meals to guests."

The business men of Janesville, Minn., "have signed an agreement to close their places of business absolutely on Sunday." This is the only proper way for securing Sunday closing of business places. There should be no coercion employed, any more than in the matter of early closing in the evenings.

The first prosecution in Rochester, N. Y., under the State law prohibiting the sale or delivery of meat on Sundays, which went into effect on the 1st of last September, resulted in the dismissal of the case. The defendant proved to the satisfaction of the Court that the meat was sold by a clerk without his knowledge.

The seventh annual convention of the Ontario "Lord's Day" Alliance was recently held in Toronto. In the official reports it was stated that the number of branches of the alliance had increased by one-third during the year, and that "distinct advance had also been made in the matter of legislation." Branches of the alliance had been organized during the year in Manitoba, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories.

The Retail Clerks' Union in Houston, Texas, is taking steps "to make the Sunday-closing law more effective." "The merchants and others who have been guilty of keeping open on Sunday will first be politely requested to mend the error of their ways, and if they refuse to do so they will be vigorously prosecuted."

The village board of Potomac, Ill., has passed an ordinance "prohibiting the transaction of business of any kind in the village on Sundays." The ordinance also provides that "there shall be no loafing on the streets of the village on Sunday." It seems that in Potomac it will be illegal either to work or to be idle on Sunday.

Workmen employed by a telephone company in putting down conduits in the principal streets of Springfield, Ohio, on a recent Sunday, were ordered by the chief of police to stop operations. "Ministers of the city learned that work was in progress and notified the mayor, who in turn ordered the chief of police to put a stop to the work."

Retail grocery and butchers' clerks in Indianapolis expect to have the assistance of John Blue, the organizer of the Central Labor Union, in their efforts to enforce Sunday closing by the grocers and butchers. The secretary of the Retail Grocers' Association declares that a large per cent. of the members of his association favor Sunday closing.

The Joliet (Ill.) *Republican* reports that Mayor Barr of that city recently sent home a gang of men whom he found busily engaged in laying a sewer on Sunday. The mayor explained his action by saying: "I didn't think it looked just

proper for this work to be prosecuted on Sunday. At least I was of the opinion that the city should set a better example."

A wrestling match was in progress at Mankato, Minn., on the evening of December 7, and was allowed to proceed without interruption until twelve o'clock, when the chief of police stepped forward and ordered it stopped, declaring that such things could not be allowed on Sunday. It is remarkable how the time at which an act takes place can affect and change its character.

The milkman's bell is no longer heard on Sunday mornings in Charleroi, Pa., the sale and delivery of milk on the first day of the week having been deemed too serious an offense against the peace and order of the community. The sale of everything except medicines is prohibited by order of "Burgess" Gormley. The order was issued in response to a petition from twenty-three citizens.

On a recent Sunday John Ritter, who lives near Decatur, Ind., saw a rabbit in his garden, and taking down his gun went out and shot it. John Coffee, a neighbor, "improved the opportunity to get even on an old grudge, and had Ritter arrested for violating the game laws by hunting on Sunday." The result was that a fine amounting with costs to \$39.20 was assessed against Ritter.

About a year ago a Sunday enforcement campaign was raging in Baltimore, and a great many indictments were secured against venders and merchants for Sunday selling. The Baltimore *Sun* reports that five of twelve cases, which still remained on the docket, were tried

in the criminal court on December 11, resulting in acquittals. Four of the remaining seven cases were "settled" without trial.

A delegation of Schenectady, N. Y., merchants called on Mayor White of that city on December 16, and made complaint that "a number of Hebrew merchants who conduct small dry goods, shoe, grocery and other stores on Center Street were in the habit of keeping open and disposing of wares on Sundays in violation of the law." The mayor "immediately referred the complaint to the police, with instructions to compel a strict observance of the law."

The Sioux City (Iowa) *Journal* says that the Sunday-closing law is very strictly observed in that city. "Grocery stores have not been open for years, and of late it has become customary for bakeries and similar provision stores to close their doors tightly also." This has made it necessary for the restaurants to lay in heavy supplies on Saturday, and some of them have become "emergency supply depots where small quantities of groceries are occasionally sold as a matter of accommodation."

At the last monthly meeting of the Woman's Republican Club of this city, held at Delmonico's, resolutions were passed protesting against the passage of any bill "permitting the opening of saloons in New York City on Sunday, thereby lowering the standard of the observance of our American Sabbath which has come down to us as a heritage of our forefathers from colonial days." It was declared in the same connection that "we as women give our influence upon the side of morality, purity and the maintenance of the American Sunday."

The Richmond (Ind.) *Telegram* reports that a stricter enforcement of the Sunday-closing law is the order in that city now. Cigar stores, fruit stands and several other places of business that have been open on Sundays heretofore, will be compelled to close. The tobacco dealers are much dissatisfied at the rule, because the drug stores, which are allowed to open, sell cigars and tobacco all day. One dealer placed a notice on his door reading, "This store is closed today in the interests of morality and the drug stores."

The committee on licenses of the Newark, N. J., city council refused to grant permission for the giving of a theatrical entertainment for charitable purposes on a recent Sunday evening, claiming that it would be in violation of the State statute prohibiting amusements on Sunday. Since this occurrence Judge Blair, of Hudson County, N. J., has rendered a decision to the effect that "there is no law on the statute books to prevent the opening of theatres in New Jersey on Sunday." But this is not expected to alter the attitude of the Newark authorities.

William Cusick, a farmer of Sugar Creek township, in Indiana, "has begun a war against Sunday hunters," and recently caused the arrest of several persons who had been hunting on and about his farm on Sunday. He is determined that "the Sabbath desecrating intruders" shall stay away from his premises, and under the circumstances it seems is somewhat justified in his course, for it is reported that the hunters have not only had "no regard for the law or the Sabbath," but have torn down fences and tramped across fields to the great annoyance and expense of farmers.

The friends of legal Sunday observance in the Northwest are apprehensive that the State Fair, which is soon to be held at Milwaukee, will be open on Sundays. The Osceola (Wis.) *Sun* says that the proposition, which comes from the State Board of Agriculture, "will rightly meet with vigorous opposition from the Christian people of Wisconsin," and the Minneapolis *Christian Advocate* says "the Christian conscience of the State" opposes Sunday opening, and that "there will be a determined resistance on the part of the church people of the State to any violation of the Sabbath at the Fair."

The Indianapolis *Journal* reports that the Retail Clerks' Association of that city "has taken up the matter of Sunday closing in earnest," and that as a result "it is probable the grocers, the class of merchants who generally keep open on Sunday, will, despite their inaction as an association, be compelled to take a decided stand one way or the other." It seems that under the circumstances such efforts as this are required in order for the clerks to be entirely free on Sundays, but every movement of this kind is a factor in bringing about that condition of affairs which will make possible universal Sunday enforcement.

On a recent Sunday morning, Mr. A. E. Howard, a contractor of North Yakima, Wash., set his men to work to put a roof on a building that he was erecting, thinking in this way, according to a local paper, "to gain a little time and to outwit nature in the way of getting ahead of a possible rain." The sheriff soon appeared on the scene "with the necessary documents in his possession," and Mr. Howard was compelled to dismiss his men and "to observe the day as the law-

makers of the State have said it shall be observed." The *Herald*, of that place, says this is the first time it has known the Sunday law to be invoked in North Yakima.

Some of the people of Halifax, N. S., object to the stir and bustle occasioned on the waterfront of that city on Sundays by the arrival and departure of the Allan Line steamers for Liverpool. As a result it is said that "the postoffice and railway departments and the steamship company are having no small difficulty in arranging the mail service from Halifax to England during the coming winter so as to avoid as far as possible Sabbath disturbance." The steamship company has arranged to have the steamer call at Halifax on Mondays, but this will necessitate the carrying of mails and the running of trains from the interior to Halifax on Sundays.

The Retail Clerks' Association in Minneapolis recently caused the arrest of R. S. Keeler, a furnishing goods dealer of that city, on the charge of "having violated the Sabbath by selling goods in his store on Sunday." Mr. Keeler says he was in his store opening his mail when a man entered and desired to purchase an umbrella, and he sold one as an accommodation. The man was a member of the clerks' association, and he at once brought action against the merchant. The *Minneapolis Times* gives this explanation of the philosophy upon which the clerks' association proceeds: "The association thinks that if an employer tells his clerk he must work on Sunday or lose his job, the clerk will work. By getting after the employers and making it impossible for them to transact business on the Sabbath, the clerks will not be called upon to work."

The Barberton (Ohio) *Leader*, of December 13, published five different sets of resolutions which called attention to "a growing disposition on the part of business men of this city to desecrate the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, by keeping open their places of business for the purpose of selling and exposing for sale their wares," and calling upon the mayor "to close all places of business upon said day in accordance with the laws of this commonwealth." These resolutions, slightly differing in phraseology, had been adopted on the preceding Sunday by the five churches of Barberton, and were a part of an agitation by the ministerial association of the city for Sunday enforcement.

What is said to be the only organization of the kind in the State was recently organized at the court-house in Marlin, Texas, where a large number of delegates, representing nearly every community in the county, were in attendance. It is known as the Falls County Sabbath League, and is another addition to the forces which stand for enforced Sunday observance. The county and city attorneys addressed the convention, and Judge B. H. Rice was elected president, and Senator Julian J. Swann first vice-president. It is said that those in attendance "were greatly enthused over the movement and will put forth their best efforts to strengthen the organization in all parts of the county."

The Philadelphia Sabbath (Sunday) Association reports that the "efforts to reduce to a minimum the work of delivering milk on Sunday are meeting with gratifying success," and that customers are taking milk either on Saturday or at an early hour Sunday morning. It is also reported that efforts are in

progress among the barbers, candy dealers and cigar men "who desire to respect the law," to secure complete closing of these lines of business on Sunday, and that meetings with this end in view were being held in the eighteen divisions throughout the city. It is not reported whether or not the law is being employed in the matter, but a situation is being created which will bring this in due time.

Two prominent merchants of Parkersburg, W. Va., were recently arraigned in the police court of that city on the charge of selling goods on Sunday. It developed at the trial that neither merchant had sold anything, the officer who made the charges having simply found the merchants in their stores and the front doors open. They proved that they had refused to sell goods to persons who had come in to purchase, and stated that they were at their places of business nearly every Sunday for the purpose of working, and not to sell goods. The cases were dismissed against them, and the patrolman was warned not to be so hasty again. It is evident, however, that Sunday selling is not to be allowed in Parkersburg.

The Youngstown (Ohio) *Telegram* announces that "hereafter there is to be no work done in Lowellville on Sunday." The saloon-keepers, who have been prosecuted for violating the Sunday law, declare that they will allow no work of any sort to be done on Sunday as long as they are compelled to keep closed, and have already caused a number of arrests. Incidents like this show the folly of fighting the saloon with a Sunday law, and of determining the character of acts because of the day on which they occur instead of by the nature of

the acts themselves. If the saloon should be closed on Sunday it should be closed because it interferes with the order and peace of the community, and not because it is open on a certain day in the week.

The board of selectmen of North Attleboro, Mass., recently announced that a strict enforcement of the Sunday laws was to begin, and had patrolmen instruct all merchants and storekeepers to keep their stores closed on Sundays hereafter. It is announced in a dispatch that this action was taken "in accordance with the request of the ministers of the town—it might almost be said their demand." It is said that with one exception all the Protestant ministers signed the petition to the selectmen. The one exception was Rev. Arthur W. Greene, who, it is said, "has incurred the displeasure of all denominations by his denunciation of the ministers for affiliating with Universalists and Roman Catholics in matters of a public nature." Perhaps Mr. Greene is too much of a Protestant to join in a demand for Sunday enforcement. The Sunday sabbath is a Roman Catholic institution, and the enforcement of any religious observance is anything but a Protestant proceedings.

The mayor of Marshall, Minn., has written a letter to the business men of that place in which he says that "it has become a custom of some of the merchants of this city to open their respective places of business on the Sabbath day and carry on business in direct and positive violation of the law of this State," and declares that "this practise must be discontinued at once." He says that "those merchants and others engaged in business in the city who do not violate the Sunday laws are entitled to

protection against such lawlessness," and that while he is loth to enlist the police power to enforce the law in this respect that this will be done if Sunday closing does not become the order at once. In conclusion the mayor quotes Section 229 of the Penal Code of Minnesota which prohibits, with some minor exceptions, "all manner of public selling, or offering for sale, of any property on Sunday." The Minneola (Minn.) *Mascot* thinks that this effort on the part of Mayor Mathews is very commendable and that "his example might be followed profitably by similar officials in other towns."

Following several mass-meetings called and conducted by representatives of the "Lord's Day" Alliance, a large deputation of citizens, accompanied by the president, vice-president and secretary of the organization just named, recently waited upon Premier Ross at the Parliament Building in Toronto and protested against the running of electric street-cars between Toronto and Scarboro on Sundays. This line has been operating Sunday cars since September 1, and it is said that the churches of East Toronto and Scarboro "have several times objected to their operation." The premier and the attorney-general, Col. Gibson, listened at length to the protests, in which it was stated that "the people of Scarboro wanted the narrow instead of the broader idea of the Sabbath," and that it was desired "that a moral boulder should be placed in the way to restrain these companies from breaking the law and the Sabbath." The premier declared that he agreed with the deputation "regarding the observance of the laws of the Sabbath," but as "the whole question of the Lord's Day Act was before the court that the government could not take the initiative in the matter." "He ad-

vised the deputation to either set the wheels of law in motion themselves or wait until the Court of Appeals had rendered its decision on the Lord's Day Act."

A man who signs himself "Blue-beard" writes to the *Buffalo Times* in this vigorous fashion regarding the law which prohibits barber shops from keeping open on Sunday: "It might just as well be a crime for one man to wash another as for one man to shave another. There are hundreds of men who cannot shave themselves, and they have to rely upon a barber for that necessary operation. As far as Sunday observance is concerned, why should it be any more criminal to shave a man than to sell him a cigar, or a glass of soda water, or a railroad ticket, or perform any one of a hundred duties which are allowable, yet not nearly so necessary as a shave or haircut? Saturday, as a rule, is the busiest day of the week; Sunday is the least busy; there are plenty of men who cannot get shaved on Saturday, and who, if unshaven from Friday until Monday, look like the old scratch. I hold that the law prohibiting barber shops from doing business during a portion of Sunday should be abolished, because it is not founded upon common sense or equity."

The city of New Ulm, Minn., has recently experienced a Sunday closing agitation that has occasioned considerable discussion in the newspapers published in that vicinity. It seems that it has long been the customs of stores, or some of them at least, to keep open in that city on Sunday, but recently the clerks of the city, and certain merchants who desired Sunday closing, determined to enforce universal Sunday closing. The project,

as might have been expected, was heartily endorsed from the pulpits of the city. But it seems that public sentiment was about evenly divided, and although a number of prominent merchants were arrested, it was very difficult to secure convictions, and only one or two were fined. The *News* of that city declares that "the whole crusade in favor of Sunday closing is one only of dollars and cents, in which the general public can have but little active interest," it being pushed by merchants who were afraid they would lose trade by the Sunday opening of others. The *Journal*, which seems to be the only paper in New Ulm that heartily supports the Sunday closing crusade, ends up a long editorial on the "obstinacy" of those merchants who do not close with this very peculiar assurance: "It is contended by some that this agitation will lead to the closing of the saloons on Sunday. No sentiment exists to-day in that regard in this city and it is something that is remote in the minds of those who are interested in the present crusade of closing the stores on Sunday. Nothing is to be feared in that direction." The *New Ulm Review* declares that "the question of Sunday closing has established a new issue in local politics that is going to show itself in future affairs."

A correspondent writes to the editor of the *Boston Traveler* that there is "nothing the good people of the Commonwealth would like better than to see a strict enforcement of the Sunday laws." He is of the opinion that "the Massachusetts Sunday laws would probably be sufficient to keep the public morals on a high plane if they were rigidly enforced." He regrets that while there are Sunday laws able-bodied enough that there are not enough able-bodied men put to the

work of enforcing them. He suggests that it would be a good plan "if our public servants were 'lectured' once in a while on the imperative duty and necessity of enforcing the laws, particularly those which apply to worldly business and amusements on the Lord's day." After calling attention to a speech of Senator Hoar's on October 12th, last, "advocating a stern enforcement of the Sunday laws," he continues: "Very soon Christian indignation will overwhelm the Sunday liquor traffic (as well as Sunday desecrations in general) and place the community upon a high moral level. The church of Jesus Christ means business! To those persons who have watched the progress of Sabbath reform in this State, et al., the great earnestness with which the church of God is assailing all forms of Sabbath desecrations is a source of general satisfaction. The quiet, successful work of the New England Sabbath Protective League goes steadily on, and New England reaps the benefit in a growing intelligence along these vital lines."

Montreal, Canada, has recently experienced a Sunday-enforcement agitation, and while very little business has been transacted in the past in that city on Sunday, it is the promise of the mayor that during 1902 there will be a more strict enforcement of the Sunday law than has been known in years. For some time past fruit, candy, cigar and other small stores have been doing business on Sunday. Although this has been permitted by the authorities, it was in violation of the strict Sunday law that applies in Montreal. These small dealers desired to have the law so amended that it would be legal or them to keep open on Sundays, and such an amendment was submitted to the city council. This at once

aroused the opposition of the Protestant Ministerial Association of Montreal, which was soon joined by representatives of the "Lord's Day" Alliance and the Evangelical Alliance, and at once these forces began a vigorous campaign to defeat the amendment measure. Petitions protesting against the amendment were prepared and were placed in all the churches, and were circulated among business men; the ministers preached to their congregations on the subject, and a committee which had been appointed for the purpose secured the coöperation of the Anglican Archbishop Bond and the Roman Catholic Archbishop Bruchesi. A deputation headed by the president of the Ministerial Association waited on the mayor to secure postponement of action until the petitions could be circulated. When the petitions had been signed by some 4,000 people and the ministers had secured the coöperation of the Board of Trade and the Montreal Grocers' Association, a large deputation consisting of representatives of all the organizations mentioned waited upon the mayor with their petitions and resolu-

tions of protest, and demanded in addition to the withdrawal of the amendment, that there be strict enforcement of the Sunday law hereafter. The mayor had received personal letters to the same effect from Archbishops Bond and Bruchesi, and he declared that the objectionable amendment would be withdrawn and that he would at once notify all Sunday traders that after the 1st of May all Sunday trading must stop. A citizens' mass-meeting was appointed by the ministers for January 7, the object of which is "to promote the better observance of the Sabbath and the enforcement of the city's by-law on the subject." Thus even in staid and quiet Canada the tendency is toward more strict enforcement of Sunday observance. One of the ministers expatiated on the great virtues of the "British Sunday." This is of course the institution that is known in this country as the "American Sunday." It is the same religious day and institution in all countries, and will appear as British, American or anything else in order to gain the support of law.

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A music-room	illustrates the voice
A gentle nurse	" sleep
The house-breaker or burglar	" tobacco
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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,
 11 WEST 20TH ST., NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Single copy, per year.....	\$1.00
" " six months50
" " three months25
To foreign countries in Postal Union, one year..	1.25

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A conspicuous and rather mortifying typographical error occurred in the December Sentinel. The word "Parasees" in the note under the frontispiece should of course have been Pharisees. The error was due to a disarrangement of the type after it was on the press.

For all the kind expressions of commendation and appreciation that have greeted The Sentinel in its new form we are very grateful, and we trust that the friends of The Sentinel will always find it to be the true friend of liberty that they declare it to be, and therefore worthy of the high esteem in which they hold it.

The Post-office officials at Washington have just ruled that a subscription to any publication entered as second-class matter must be discontinued when the time for which it is *paid in advance* has expired. Therefore, all subscribers should watch the date on their wrappers and be sure to renew promptly.

To All Club Subscribers.

Please notice that, beginning with this issue of The Sentinel of Christian Liberty, all former club rates will be abolished and in their place will be but one rate, 5 or more copies to one address, 70 cents per copy, per year.

This will be a great boon to all subscribers taking small clubs, and we earnestly hope and confidently expect that the immediate result of this will be the adding of a large number of small clubs, and that many of the present clubs will be able to use more copies than hitherto. It will be no hardship to those taking twenty-five copies or more, because the increase in the value of the magazine, over its old form, will more than offset the slight advance in the large club subscriptions.

The Signs of the Times for 1902.

To our readers who wish a good, live and intensely interesting religious journal which discusses all religious topics from the standpoint of the Bible, we take pleasure in recommending the *Signs of the Times*, published at Oakland, Cal. We give below a short prospectus of this journal for the year 1902:

GENERAL ARTICLES DEPARTMENT.

1. Nature of Man and a Consideration of Spiritism. A Scientific and Biblical View, by Prof. J. A. L. Derby.
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3. The Coming of the Lord, Its Certainty, Its Manner, Its Nearness, will be set forth in clear, forceful messages by L. A. Phippeny and C. M. Snow, in from fifteen to twenty articles.
4. "Consider Him," a series of studies on our blessed Lord as Creator, as Angel of the Covenant, as the Word made flesh, as our Example—the Personified Law, as the Great

Teacher, as the Eternal Sacrifice, as Great High Priest, as the Judge, as the Everlasting King, by Prof. G. W. Rine.

5. A Study of the World-Wide Sabbath Question in the Light of Scripture and History. Surely such a study is of vast importance, and will be of interest. Every honest soul will wish to know God's truth in the matter.

6. Articles on the little-known book of Zechariah. By Pastor R. S. Owen, of Los Angeles.

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An Important Suggestion.

Individuals and societies that have been prevented, by the recent ruling of the Post-office authorities, from sending The Sentinel at second-class rates, will be glad to know that there is still a way in which this im-

portant work may be carried on. We have the following plan to suggest:

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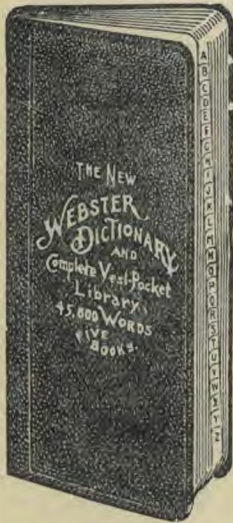
"A Glimpse of the Life Boat Mission" is an interesting article by E. B. VanDorn, superintendent of the Life Boat Mission; "What Can be Done with the Fragments of Humanity," is the title of a strong article by H. L. Henderson, chaplain of the Indiana State Prison, which shows what can be done for a prisoner behind the bars. Eld. Luther Warren, under the title of "Some Experiences Not Easily Forgotten," relates a thrilling experience which occurred while he was connected with the Chicago Medical Mission. "An Impressive Anniversary Service" contains the personal experience of a young woman who was not only marvelously saved, but who has been transformed into an earnest missionary worker. No one can read this article without having his faith in God strengthened. Another article relates how a single copy of the *Life Boat* led eventually to the deliverance of a drug fiend from the horrible bondage of drug slavery.

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At intervals during the past few years the editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal* has attacked the "cramming" and "pushing" systems so prevalent among the schools of this country. Each editorial given to this subject has brought hundreds of letters, most of them not only acknowledging the wrong, but adding, as well, strong and sad proofs to the statements made. These letters were kept. In the January issue of *The Journal* the editor's page is occupied by brief excerpts from sixty-eight of them. They are "dedicated to the American parent," and classed under three heads: "A Roll for Educators to Ponder Over," "A Roll for Parents to Think Over," and "A Roll Which Speaks for Itself." There are no names, dates or localities mentioned. Nothing but the unsought testimony of a few out of the thousands who are suffering the silence of this "sorrowful tribute to modern schooling." Here is one of the sixty-eight:

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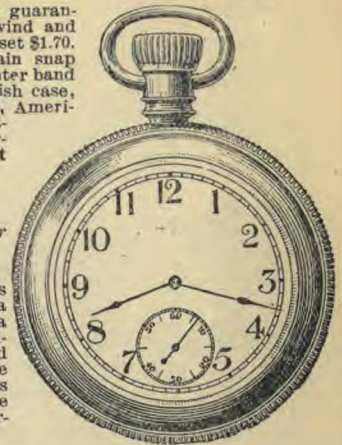
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The Church and the Saloon—One Way of Opposing (?) the Liquor Traffic.



The church is strenuously opposed to the liquor traffic—on the first day of the week. She is opposed to the Sunday saloon, not because it gives additional power and advantage to the liquor traffic, but because legalized Sunday opening will deprive her institution—the religious Sunday—of a portion of the legal prestige and advantage that it possesses. Her representatives declare: "If the principle which admits of the Sunday saloon is wrought out and extended, it would annihilate the whole legal observance of the Sabbath, and would justify EVERY AND ANY SECULAR USE OF THE SABBATH DAY." This touches the keynote of the church's attitude in the matter, and it is this attitude which leads her representatives to declare: "The sale of liquor is just as legitimate as the sale of iron, or anything else, but the Lord's day must be maintained. If you must drink on Sunday, buy your beer and whisky on Saturday, and drink it at home." The church, in her zeal for enforced religion, is losing her zeal for temperance; she is moving toward a position in which she will be the ally of the saloon. Contrast with this attitude of the church the position of an eminent prohibitionist: "If people are to be taught to drink and encouraged to continue drinking, it is a waste of time and gray matter to differentiate between Sunday and Monday. The present excitement in New York misses the gist of the subject. The liquor traffic is wrong morally, industrially and economically. It is as wrong on one day as on another." This is the true position, but it is not the position of those who clamor for Sunday enforcement. The above illustration does