

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.-Thomas Jefferson.

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CHRIST'S kingdom is not of this world. The church is not a police board, nor Cæsar's lieutenant, but a Saviour of lost sinners. Its simple, sole, glorious mission is to bring sinners to Jesus by preaching the gospel to them with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven. —St. Louis Observer.

THE misery of man is great enough without its being enhanced by tyranny over conscience. Liberty and contentment are two great sources of human happiness. The lark rises at pleasure, and in such notes as nature teaches, warbles its song to heaven; thus absolutely free as to all coercive control and every human tribunal, ought to be the mind of man in the service of God.—*Thomas Clarke*.

Is the family a failure? We are led to ask the question in view of the fact that several of our contemporaries in their zeal for introducing sectarian instruction in the public schools, declare, "You can't depend upon the family for religious instruction." Well, in the early history of the republic there were no public schools; but religion was taught, and taught in the homes of the country. Are we weaker now than we were a century ago? —*Christian at Work*.

SAY what you will, religion and the church cannot be separated. Pure, undefiled religion marks its possessor as a member of the church of Christ; for no one can "keep himself unspotted from the world," unless he is a follower of Christ, and Christ dwells in him. But if this kind of religion marks one as a member of the true church of Christ, any less degree of religion marks its professor as a member of a false church. It is a base imitation of the pure coin. And so religious legislation by the State is church legislation, and that is as much a union of Church and State as has ever existed in the world. National Reformers give to union of Church and State the narrow definition of legislation by the State in favor of a single sect, and then say that they are not in favor of that. Of course they are not; but they boldly declare in favor of legislation in behalf of those principles which all sects hold in common, thus showing that they are in favor of Church and State union in the largest sense.

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THE Chicago Advance of December 6, in an article on the reasons why fewer men than women attend church, shows the fallacy of the explanation that men are too tired to attend church on Sunday, by saying that "laboring men's organizations are quite commonly holding their meetings on Sunday. They do not seem to be too tired for that." And then it continues:—

"It is also plain that the men who do not come to church include that constantly increasing class who are secularizing Sunday, and making it another work-day. Nothing can be more clear than the fact that the only way to have Sunday a rest day is to keep it a religious day."

And so, "by the same token," it appears that every law for the observance of Sunday is a law in favor of religion; and therefore to make laws compelling people to keep Sunday is to make laws to compel them to be religious, and it should need no argument to convince anybody who has ever read the Bible that such a proceeding is directly opposed to the Spirit of Christ and the gospel.

IN a speech before the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, Rev. W. F. Crafts said:---

"Last month I spoke to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, at their International Convention, and secured from them, after a full consideration of the matter, a unanimous and enthusiastic indorsement of a petition to Congress against Sunday work in the Government's mail and military service, and in interstate commerce."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is one of the most powerful and influential labor organizations in the world, and its support of the Blair Bill will be a material aid in securing its passage. The same may be said of the Knights of Labor. After Mr. Crafts's speech, a hearty vote of thanks was tendered him, and the petition to Congress was then indorsed by unanimous vote of the Accembly. The Journal of United Labor adds, is own account: "It is hoped that every church and every labor organization will, by vote or by individual signature, at once indorse the petition."

THE pastors and officers of thirty-three German Evangelical Churches in New York and Brooklyn, met, a few days ago, and formed an organization which, it is said, "may lead to important political results." One of the leading ministers stated that its object is "to maintain and defend the civil and religious liberty "of this country, whenever it seems to be in danger. He said that it was proposed to break the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. This latter they will find an impossibility, and the probabilities are that this league will simply try to substitute one ecclesiastical domination for another, or else will think to purify Catholicism by a union with it; and either plan would only make a bad matter worse. There is always danger when ministers and church people organize to effect "important political results," no matter how good their intentions may be.

### The Parent and the State.

THERE is no paper that comes to us that we prize more highly than we do *America*, because of its general straightforward, outspoken, manly defense of true American principles. It is therefore with the greater regret that we see it going so wide of the mark as it does in the following paragraph:—

"Fifty years ago instruction in some of the primary principles of the Christian religion might have been left to private schools, churches, and the family; but it was not. To-day he must be an optimistic dreamer who expects Christian morality to be inculcated among our youth through any such adventitious means. Unless the children of the republic receive some religious training in the public schools, they will go absolutely without it."

The self-contradictory statements in this must be obvious to all. If there is so little Christian morality in this country that, unless it is taught in the public schools, the children will go "absolutely without it," where are they going to find people who can teach it in the public schools? This one thing stamps the article as the hasty utterance of one who made up his mind from feeling rather than reason.

It is not true that churches and the family are "adventitious means" for inculcating Christian morality. As a matter of fact, the Bible knows of no other means. Hear the divine rule for the instruction of the children in the moral law:—

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with,

all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Deut. 6:5–7.

This is family instruction in morals, the only means of instruction that God ever ordained. The highest recommendation that God could give to Abraham was this: "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment." Gen. 18:19.

The parent is to the child in the place of God, to give it instruction in the way it should go. In the Bible we find instruction to parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; to teach the commandments to their sons and their sons sons; to correct their children betimes, etc.; but we find not the slightest hint that the State should do this if the parent fails to do his duty. The same word that tells parents to teach the law to their children, also enjoins parents to have the law of God in their hearts. Now the same logic which would take the child out of the parent's hands, and turn him over to the State for instruction in morals, provided the parent is remiss in his duty, would also provide that the State should attempt to make the parent himself moral, if he has neglected the word of God. When the State begins to teach morals, it cannot logically stop short of assuming the whole business, and taking the place of the churches as the agent for spreading the gospel.

We read that a child left to himself will bring his mother to shame; but we have no intimation that the State is to take such a child, and train him so that he will be an honor to his parents. When the position is taken that the State must assume the responsibility of caring for children, and seeing that they have good morals, it is but a step to the old heathen custom which was advocated by Plato, and which was actually in use among the Spartans, and some other Greeks, that the State should control the matter of who shall beget children. Surely if the State has the burden of training children in morals, so as to make them the best citizens, it should have a chance to see that its burden is as light as possible. And since, from the very nature of the case, it is impossible for the State to control absolutely the matter of marriages and births, so as to secure only the best specimens of childhood, it is but another step to the heathen custom of destroying those infants which the officers of the State did not deem suitable to bring up.

We don't say that this Government will ever do this thing, for we don't think that it will last long enough to come to that; but it is the logical result of the parental theory of Government; and if the United States Government should exist for a hundred years after the adoption of National Reform\_ideas, that is just what it would come to. In the Cincinnati Convention, in 1872, Rev. A. D. Mayo said:—

"But why not divide this work, and leave the moral and religious part of the education of the citizen to the parent and priest? Because you cannot hold the parent or the priest to any public responsibility to educate the child into that practical form of religion and morality essential to good citizenship in a republican State."

There you have it. National Reform doctrine is, just as America proposes, that the State shall take the child out of the parent's hands entirely. If you are in favor with the State, you may be permitted to retain your child; but if your morals are not such as the State approves, if your form of religion is different from that which the State has adopted, no matter how moral you may be, then your child must be taken from you and brought up in such a way that it may be an honor to the church and the State. This has the Roman Catholic Church ever assumed the right to do, and thus National Reformers stamp their movement as the legitimate child of the Papacy. And since the Papacy is but paganism under another form, what is there. to prevent them, if time should continue, from degenerating into the heathen custom before referred to?

Our position is this, and we challenge anybody to show that it is not correct: Every child ought to have good moral instruction, and should be trained to fear the Lord. The parent or guardian is the only one who has the duty of giving to the child this instruction and training. If the parent, either from indifference or incompetency, fails to do his duty in this respect, it is the child's loss, but there is no power on earth that has a right to take the child out of the parent's hand on this account. If the child is lost, the parent alone is responsible to God for bringing into the world a child and then neglecting its most important interest. And so we say that if the parent does not give the child moral instruction, and does not put the child in the way of receiving such instruction from the church, then the child must go absolutely without it, at least until it is old enough to act for itself. This we say without any reserve. It would be true even if the State should assume the obligations of a parent; for, since the State can do properly only that which it is ordained to do, it follows that the children whom it might adopt would, in reality, be as destitute of moral instruction as though their unbelieving parents had been allowed to retain full control of them.

E. J. W.

To COMPEL [a Catholic] . . . to send his children to a school where the Protestant view and the Protestant view alone is taught, is as unjustifiable and absurd as it would be to force Protestants into a similar position, if at some time the Catholies should get the upper hand, and the tables should be turned. And if, under such circumstances, Protestants would not submit, it is simply rank injustice to demand that Catholics shall submit, simply because the power at present happens to be

in Protestant hands. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that in our public schools we must give to our instruction no more of theological color than we give to our courts and Legislatures. The responsibility of all religious instruction, if we are to preserve a harmonious support of our institutions, must be left to the churches, to the families, and to voluntary individual effort. And there it may be left with entire safety.—*Charles Kendall Adams.* 

### The New Council of Nice.

In our discussion of the Blair resolution for the religious amendment to the National Constitution, we have shown that, in order for the National power to determine what are the principles of the Christian religion which are common to all denominations and peculiar to none, a general convention of all the denominations, Catholics included, would have to be called; and that when this general convention should agree as to what principles are common to all, the Nation would adopt that as the National creed, and enforce it in all the publics in the land. This is precisely the idea of the author of the proposed amendment. In his letter to the Secretary of the National Reform Association, Senator Blair says:-

"I believe that a text-book of instruction in the principles of virtue, morality, and of the Christian religion, can be prepared for use in the public schools by the joint effort of those who represent every branch of the Christian church, both Protestant and Catholic."

Therefore, when that shall have been done, it is certain that whatever principles are adopted as the principles of the Christian religion, they will have to be such as are satisfactory to the Catholic "branch of the Christian Church."

Nor is this all. This is only the beginning;for, when this Convention shall have been called, it will assuredly be to the interest of each one of the principal denominations to have it adopt as many as possible of the principles of that particular denomination, and the final result of the discussion will be a compromise. But this will be only for the time being, because then the standard of the religion will be an element in the political contests, and it will be an object to each one of the principal denominations to secure as much influence as possible with the Government to get a new council called to revise the principles of the National creed, and this will be kept up interminably. As surely as any such amendment to the Constitution shall ever be adopted as this which is proposed by Senator Blair, or as is wanted by the National Reform Association, so surely will there follow with it a repetition of the course of councils, contests, and strifes that followed the Council of Nice, and the establishment of the Christian religion as the imperial religion of Rome. Compared with that which would follow this establishment of a National religion, the American people have never yet known what confusion really is.

By the above quotation from Senator Blair's.

letter it is seen that there is no intention to have the Bible in the public schools, nor that the teachers shall be allowed to teach from the Bible the principles of virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion. It is what an assembly of Protestants and Catholics shall agree to say about the Bible, or to select from the Bible-this shall be put into a "text-book," and from this the teachers shall instruct the schools. And this is only to establish an ecclesiastical supremacy here from which everybody must receive his religion ready made. If it is not proper that the religion of the whole Bible should be taught in the public schools, then this only proves that it is not proper that any of it should, as such. A. T. J.

### A Pertinent Question.

WHAT do people keep Sunday for? "Oh," says one, "we keep Sunday to commemorate the resurrection of Christ. In other words, Sunday keeping is a sign which we hang out to show that we believe in Christ." Very well, do you want to compel a man to hang out a sign that he believes in Christ when the fact is he does not believe in him? This is exactly what Senator Blair's Sunday Bill is designed to do, and people who profess Christianity are trying to help the thing along.

What would you think if the civil Government should pass a law to compel a man to hang out on the corner of his house a sign, "Boots and Shoes for Sale," when the fact was he had not a boot nor a shoe for sale in the house? Would not this be compelling the man to be a liar and a hypocrite? "Oh, but that is a different case," you say, "altogether." Yes, it is different, and in just this respect, that it is as much worse to compel a man to lie about Christ and his religion than to lie about boots and shoes, as the religion of Christ is above the manufacture and sale of boots and shoes.

What must be the moral condition of people who will advocate the legal enforcement of such hypoerisy? A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

## A Free Church and a Free State.

In this country the church is free and the State is free. It is not a free church in a free State which we wish to be recognized, but a free church and a free State. They stand side by side, independent in government and teaching. Liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man, and this the State guarantees. Therefore, the church gives the State its moral support and spiritual influence, and the State opens its doors to the inspection of the church, and is willing to hear its criticism, and listen to its advice, but it cannot and will not, if it be true to its functions, submit to dictation or become the ally of the church in any ecclesiastical work. In other words, it is not the province of the State to teach religion, and it is equally out of the American order for the church to teach politics.

But we are told that if religion be not taught in the schools they will become godless, and

the result will be infidelity or indifferentism. Has the church, then, so little faith in its divine origin and its supernatural superintendence that it is afraid it will fail in its mission unless it places a catechism and a creed in the curriculum? It seems to me that the outery against a godless school is not only a reflection upon the church, but a distrust in God, who is the sum of all knowledge, and who has revealed himself as clearly in measurable geometry as in immeasurable metaphysics, and who is as certainly near to us in the manifestations disclosed by the study of history and geography as in the sublimated mysteries of theologic speculation.

But if it be conceded that religion ought to be taught in the State schools, what religion shall it be? There are at least ten religions which have exercised a beneficent influence upon mankind, and in a community like our own we shall find those who sympathize with the tenets held by each of these. Shall the State sit in judgment upon these and declare what one shall receive its sanction and support? What becomes, then, of the rights of the nine, all of whom will be compelled to contribute to that which they detest?—Rev. T. P. Saurin, in the Troy Times.

### National Reform (Mis-) Reading of History.

WERE it not for the solemn ending that there is to be to the work of the National Reform party, their claims, and the arguments, speeches, and propositions by which they attempt to set them forth, would be a constant source of amusement. And we recollect no single statement in all of theirs that we have seen that is more absurdly ridiculous than the following, taken from the very first speech of the Cleveland Convention:—

"As a grain of corn does not grow but in harmony with the laws which the Creator has ordained for corn, a Nation does not prosper but in harmony with the laws which the God of Nations has ordained for Nations."

Now the veriest tyro knows that this proposition, in the sense in which it is meant, is contradicted by the unanimous voice of all history; and the most cursory glance over the field of history will discover the strongest kind of contradictions. Take, for an instance, Frederick the Great, an out-and-out infidel, if not an entire atheist, who always spoke of Christianity in a mocking tone, and of whom it might almost be said that Voltaire was his 'patron saint;" who in affairs of statecraft pretended to no form of virtue, but was moved solely by sheer, unhallowed ambition. To quote his own words, "Ambition, interest, the desire of making people talk about me, carried the day." He broke his plighted faith with the queen of Hungary, and deliberately plundered her of one of the richest provinces of her dominions, and for no purpose whatever but to "extend his dominions, and see his name in the gazettes." To more effectually accomplish his robbery, he had leagued himself with France and Bavaria; but when he had torn away Silesia, and France and Bavaria were about to help themselves as he had done, he saw that it would add too much to the strength of France for his safety, and he withdrew from the league, and concluded a treaty with the queen. When she was relieved of his opposition, Maria Theresa easily conquered both France and Bavaria; but when Frederick saw how easily she had swept them from the field, he became alarmed for his possession of Silesia, and again broke faith with her, and allied himself closely with France, again invaded the queen's dominions, took Prague, and threatened her capital, and the very next year again broke faith with France, and concluded another peace with Maria Theresa.

Here, then, we have four times that he had broken his plighted faith, and all inside of four years. Yet for all this his kingdom so prospered that in just two years after his last peace with Maria Theresa, through the Seven Years' War, he was able to hold his own during the whole seven long years against the allied powers of the continent. France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the body of German States, were all allied against him. His little kingdom, all told, contained less than five millions of people, and the stolen province of Silesia was the fourth part. The population of the countries leagued against him was fully a hundred million. His army was less than a hundred thousand. The army of the confederates was six hundred thousand. Yet against all this vast odds he maintained his cause, and at the end of the Seven Years' War concluded a peace in which he ceded nothing, not even a foot of the stolen province. "The whole continent in arms had proved unable to tear Silesia from that iron grasp."

It was not alone in a military point of view that his kingdom prospered. It prospered civilly as well. At the close of the war, his kingdom was one scene of desolation, but "his energy soon brought back the national prosperity." And when he died, in 1786, he left 70,000,000 thalers in the treasury, and an army of 200,000 men, of the best soldiers of Europe. Civilly his rule was remarkable in other things. Freedom of speech and the press was so absolute that, outside of the United States, to this day it would be difficult to find its equal. "Order was strictly maintained throughout his dominions. Property was secure." " Religious persecution was unknown under his government. The scoffer whom the Parliaments of France had sentenced to a cruel death, the Jesuit who could show his face nowhere else, who in Britain was still subject to penal laws, who was proscribed by France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, who had been given up even by the Vatican, found safety and the means of subsistence in the Prussian dominions. His policy with respect to the Catholics of Silesia presented an honorable contrast to the policy which, under very similar circumstances, England long followed with respect to the Catholics of Ireland."

He was one of the very first rulers who abolished the cruel practice of torture. "No sentence of death was executed without his sanction, and that sanction was rarely given except  $\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$  of murder." And so he prospered, and ais kingdom prospered, through all his absurd infidently as a man, and his faithlessness as a king.

Another instance we have in the Empress Datharine, of Russia, who, among the rulers of that country, may fairly rank as second only to Peter the Great. She greatly enlarged on the west, the south, and the east, the dominions which she, a foreigner, had obtained by dethroning her husband and excluding her son; she conquered her enemies by land and sea, wrought real improvement in the administration of justice, the furtherance of education, industry, and commerce. She, too, was a disciple of Voltaire, and was shamefully and systematically immoral. And, too, the Nation prospered.

Another instance we find in Henry IV. (Navarre), of France, the greatest of the Bourbon line, "who restored order, terminated a terrible civil war, brought the finances into excellent condition, made his country respected throughout Europe, and endeared himself to the great body of the people whom he ruled." Yet he changed his religion four times. First he was a Huguenot; but to escape the consequences of St. Bartholomew's day (1572), turned Catholic. As soon as that danger was fairly past, and he made his escape from Paris, he was a Huguenot again; then soon after, when all that stood between him and the throne was his Huguenot profession, it was again conveniently renounced, and he was again converted to the Catholic faith. Nor in his private life was he under much more restraint from any regard to the principles of morality.

But not to multiply instances, we will come at once to the great prototype of National Reformers, the uniter of Church and State, Constantine. Surely the National Reformers will not deny that the Nation prospered under his rule. Yet he was a hypocrite from the day that he crossed the Milvian Bridge, faithless, if not a perjurer, and a quadruple murderer, -a hypocrite, as his whole future life shows; faithless, in that although he gave his solemn promise and confirmed it by an oath, that if Licinius would resign his claims to the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace, and this promise and this oath were made not alone to Licinius but also to his wife, the own sister of Constantine, in behalf of her husband, yet, notwithstanding all this, only a little while after Licinius reached Thessalonica, the place appointed for his abode, he was foully murdered by order of Constantine. And the circumstance that Licinius had at the time fully reached the allotted threescore and ten years, added to his murder the element of wanton cruelty. But Constantine did not stop with this, his first murder. This was in A. D. 324. In 326 his own son Crispus was put to death by his orders, and for no other crime than his abilities; and at the same time he murdered his nephew, the son of the murdered Licinius, "whose rank was his only crime," and the obdurate heart of the emperor "was unmoved by the

prayers and tears of his favorite sister, pleading for the life of a son whose loss she did not long survive."

But this is enough mention of his fearful crimes, and we gladly turn from it without narrating the bloody tragedy of his own wife. And all this while he professed to be a Christian. It was before the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312) that he professed to have had his vision of the flaming cross and its inscription. In 321 he issued his Sunday edict. It was in 324 that he murdered Licinius. In 325 he convened the Council of Nicæa, presided over its deliberations, took part in its discussions, and published and enforced its decisions. In 326 he murdered his nephew and Crispus. And in 330, May 11, his new capital, Constantinople, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In 337, May 22, he died, and there ended his evil life. To quote the words of another, "Tested by character, indeed he stands among the lowest of all those to whom the epithet [Great] has in ancient or modern times been applied."-Encyclopedia Britannica, ninth edition, art. Constantine. Yet through all this defiance of all principle, of all the laws of God, and of civilized men, he prospered as a ruler, and the Nation prospered under his shameful rule,

Again, upon their own claims, our own country is a positive contradiction of this proposition. *They say* that this Nation is, and has been from the beginning, governed by a "Constitution so very wicked, so entirely godless, that a man who fears God and honors Christ cannot support nor swear allegiance to it." Yet in spite of all this, this Nation has prospered most, has grown most rapidly, has reached the highest place in the shortest time, of any Nation that the world has ever seen.

And in the bright shining of the light of the last years of the nineteenth century, and flatly in the face of universal history, which is in itself a universal refutation, they set forth the proposition that Nations do not prosper except as they "recognize and obey the moral laws which God has ordained." We verily believe that such another set of blunders and misreading of history and human experience as is held to by the National Reform party, cannot be found outside of the history of the Jesuits. And if that party does not yet fairly out-Jesuit the Jesuits themselves, we shall be willing to learn that we have mistaken them. The fact of the matter is that this party utterly mistakes the functions of human government, and consequently views everything in connection therewith in its reverse. But when men deliberately turn their backs upon the nineteenth century, and seek to revive the forms and methods of government of the Dark Ages, we cannot expect from them any other than the forms and methods of argument of the Dark Ages. A. T. J.

FREE-WILL is not the liberty to do whatever one likes, but the power of doing whatever one sees ought to be done, even in the very face of otherwise overwhelming impulses. There lies freedom indeed.—George MacDontald.

### Our Public-School System.

WE are told that public morality is in decadence; that infidelity of one sort and another is on the rampage; that crimes are more numerous than ever before; that the marriage tie is more lightly regarded; that the general conscience is less sensitive to evils which affect the welfare of society, and that therefore the school tax should be divided between Catholics and Protestants, that each may take care of its own constituency. This we believe to be a mistake. . . . We are told that our children ought to be more carefully taught, that their religious education is neglected, and that many wasted lives are the consequence. No one will be likely to deny it. But where shall the child get his moral education unless in the home and in the church? What are homes and churches for? The public-school system is a purely State affair, a secular institution. It can never be anything else. Its sole business is to give the rudiments of education, that the boy may have a brain as well as a pair of hands for the struggle of the future. If the church and the home supplement that training by the infusion of religious doctrine or moral ideas, why then you have a boy well equipped for citizenship. It is not the duty of the State to make Episcopalians or Catholics or Methodists. The State must keep out of the church, and the church must keep out of the State. That idea lies at the foundation of things in this country, and it can never be changed. until our institutions are destroyed.-New York Herald.

# The American System Compared with Other Systems.

THE American relationship of Church and State differs from all previous relationships in Europe and in the colonial period of our history; and yet it rests upon them and reaps the benefit of them all. For history is an organic unit, and American history has its roots in Europe.

1. The American system differs from the ante-Nicene or pre-Constantinian separation of Church and State, when the church was, indeed, as with us, self-supporting and selfgoverning, and so far free within, but under persecution from without, being treated as a forbidden religion by the then heathen State. In America the Government protects the church in her property and rights without interfering with her internal affairs.

2. The American system differs from the hierarchical control of the church over the State, or from priest government, which prevailed in the Middle Ages down to the Reformation, and reached its culmination in the Papacy. It confines the church to her proper spiritual vocation, and leaves the State independent in all the temporal affairs of the Nation.

3. The American system differs from the Erastian or Cæsaro-Papal control of the State over the church, which obtained in the old Byzantine Empire, and prevails in modern Russia, and in the Protestant States of Europe, where the civil Government protects and supports the church, but at the expense of her dignity and independence, and deprives her of the power of self-government. The Erastian system was based on the assumption that all citizens are also Christians of one creed, but is abnormal in the mixed character of Government and people in the modern State. In America, the State has no right whatever to interfere with the affairs of the church, her doctrine, discipline, and worship, and the appointment of ministers. It would be a great calamity if religion were to become subject to our ever-changing politics.

4. The American system differs from the system of toleration, which began in Germany with the Westphalia Treaty, 1648; in England with the Act of Toleration, 1689, and which now prevails over nearly all Europe; of late years, nominally at least, even in Roman Catholic countries, to the very gates of the Vatican, in spite of the protest of the Pope. Toleration exists where the Government supports one or more churches, and permits other religious communities, under the name of sccts (as on the continent), or dissenters and nonconformist (as in England), under certain conditions. In America there are no such distinctions, but only churches or denominations on a footing of perfect equality before the law. To talk about any peculiar denomination as the church, or the American church, has no meaning, and betrays ignorance or conceit. Such exclusiveness is natural and logical in Romanism, but unnatural, illogical, and contemptible in any other church. The American laws know no such institution as "the church," but only separate and independent organizations.

Tolcration is an important step from Statechurchism to free-churchism. But it is only a step. There is a very great difference between tolcrance and liberty. Tolcration is a concession, which may be withdrawn; it implies a preference for the ruling form of faith and worship, and a practical disapproval of all other forms. It may be coupled with many restrictions and disabilities. We tolerate what we dislike, but cannot alter; we tolerate even a nuisance if we must. Acts of toleration are wrung from a Government by the force of circumstances and the power of a minority too influential to be disregarded. In this way even the most despotic Governments, as those of Turkey and of Russia, are tolerant; the one toward Christians and Jews, the other toward Mohammedans and dissenters from the orthodox Greek Church; but both deny the right of self-extension and missionary operations except in favor of the State religion, and both forbid and punish apostasy from it. Prince Gortschakoff, the late chancellor of the Russian Empire, before an international deputation of the Evangelical Alliance, pleading for religious freedom in bchalf of the persecuted Lutherans of the Baltic provinces in 1871, boldly declared, within my hearing, that Russia was the most tolerant country in the world, and pointed in proof to half a dozen churches of different denominations in the principal street of St.

Petersburg, but protested at the same time against what he called propagandism. The great Russian statesman did not, or would not, understand the vast difference between toleration and liberty. The English Lord Stanhope, in a speech in the House of Lords in 1827, on the Bill for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, said: "The time was, when toleration was craved by dissenters as a boon; it is now demanded as a right; but a time will come when it will be spurned as an insult."

In our country we ask no toleration for religion and its free exercise, but we claim it as an inalienable right. "It is not toleration," says Judge Coolcy, "which is established in our system, but religious equality." Freedom of religion is one of the greatest gifts of God to man, without distinction of race or color. He is the Author and Lord of conscience, and no power on carth has a right to stand between God and the conscience. A violation of this divine law written in the heart is an assault upon the majesty of God and the image of God in man. Granting the freedom of conscience, we must, by logical necessity, also grant the freedom of its manifestation and exercise in public worship. To concede the first and to deny the second, after the manner of despotic Governments, is to imprison the conscience. To be just, the State must either support all or none of the religions of its citizens. Our Government supports none, but protects all.-Doctor Schaff.

### Make a Note of This.

At the session of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, held in Philadelphia, November 16, Rev. W. F. Crafts delivered a speech on "Sunday Work from an Humanitarian Standpoint," which the *Journal of United Labor* calls a "masterly address." It was, of course, an appeal to the Knights of Labor to lend their influence to the securing of a National Sunday law. At its close opportunity was given for questions, when the following was asked among others:—

"Could not this weekly rest-day be secured without reference to religion, by having the workmen of an establishment scheduled in regular order for one day of rest per week, whichever was most convenient, not all resting on any one day?"

This was a fair question, and the plan suggested affords a perfect solution of the question, if the claim so often made be true, that the sole object for a Sunday law is the securing to working men of the right to rest on one day in seven, in accordance with the requirements of nature. But notice Mr. Crafts's answer:—

"A weekly day of rest has never been secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out, and you take the rest out."

Ah, just so! Thus, according to Mr. Crafts, who must be the best authority, for he is the prime mover in the matter, what they are after is a law compelling people to observe the first day of the week religiously. This is in harmony with the following utterances before the National Sunday Association assembled in Washington. Referring to the petitioners for a Sunday law, Mrs. Bateham said:—

"They are praying that the Government will pass a law that will compel the people to observe the first day of the week."

Of course, if there can be no rest without religion, then it follows that they want to enforce the religious observance of Sunday; and if that would not be enforcing religion, and trying to compel people to be religious, we should like to know what would be. To show still further that this is the case, we quote the following statement, which we have seen in several reports, and which seems to be credited to Mr. Crafts:---

"The bill which has been introduced makes Sunday the ideal Sabbath of the Puritans, which day shall be occupied only by worship. No amusement or recreation should be indulged in, no mail handled or railroads run except under pressing necessity, with a fine of from \$10 to \$1,000 as the penalty for nonobservance of the law."

There you have it. The paper from which these last two quotations are made is the *Lutheran Observer* of December 21. Its editor was present at the Convention, and took an active part in the proceedings. Yet, in spite of all these statements, Mr. Crafts, in the same speech to which we before referred, said that "Sunday laws do not in any way interfere with true liberty, for they do not require any man to be religious"!

Think of it! A law is required that will compel all people to rest on Sunday. It is expressly claimed that there can be no such law except on the basis of religious obligation, and that if the religion be taken out, the rest is taken out; and yet he says that such a law would interfere with no man's liberty, because it is not designed to make men religious. With the last we perfectly agree. Such a law is not designed to make men religious, but only hypocritical. But we cannot agree with the first part, for there arc some people whose liberty would be greatly interfered with, by an attempt to make them play the hypocrite. We claim the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and not according to somebody else's opinions or practices. E. J. W.

### "What the Rev. Herrick Would See."

UPON Dr. Herrick Johnson's cry for a breath of the Puritan, the Chicago *Tribune*, November 23, 1888, remarks, under the above heading, as follows:—

"The Rev. Herrick Johnson, a man whosees no grace nor hope of salvation outside of the Prohibition faction, of which he is one of the lights, mourns over the people's Sunday papers, and other 'evil' doings in Chicago, and exclaims: 'Oh, for the breath of the Puritan!' Were he favored with some of it he would find it heavily laden with rum and the smell of 'the creature called tobacco;' for the Puritan minister scorned neither strong drink nor the Indian weed, but made much of them on all occasions—births, deaths, and ministerial installations. Were the ancient Puritan in power he would make short work of the Rev. Herrick, unless he changed his creed. He would tolerate no Presbyterianism. He would find fault with the Rev. H. J. because his long sermons were not half long enough; because some of his services savored of prelacy; because he had crosses about his church; musical instruments; formal and unspiritual ceremonials. He would even call him a Sabbath-breaker. The old Puritan would cast him out in short order as a corrupter of the people and a disturber of the commonwealth. Oh, that the Lord would answer the Doctor's prayer and let him meet the Puritan face to face!"

Amen! When, however, this religio-political element, of which the "Rev. H. J." is a part, shall have gained the supremacy, we are afraid that the Doctor will answer his own cry, and endeavor, so far as in him lies, to give to others the benefit of his idea of what the breath of the Puritan should do. If only the Doctor himself could have the benefit of it, we could not have the heart to object; but we hope it may never be inflicted upon anybody else.

### Lutherans and Public Schools.

THE following letter is self-explanatory, and needs no comment other than that we are glad to make the correction, and glad for the evidence which it furnishes that National Reform errors have not perverted everybody:—

EDITOR AMERICAN SENTINEL—Dear Sir: In your article, "Romanism and Republicanism" (December issue), re-published from the America, the words occur: "The Roman Church (and in many instances the Lutheran) opposes the system of public education," etc. This is not treating the Lutheran Church fairly. She neither teaches nor practices opposition to the public-school system. Let me give you the simple facts, and you may then judge for yourself. The Lutheran Church establishes parochial schools wherever she is financially able to do so, principally for the religious training of her children. So far her practice comes under the heading of civil rights, that belong to the infidel and Christian alike.

The material difference between the Lutheran and Roman views on public education is, that the former church not only accords the State the right of giving secular instruction, but holds the present publicschool system to be the necessary and only mode of public education consistent with a republican community composed of many religious denominations. The Lutheran Church never endeavors to thrust upon public schools her religious views, nor does she countenance any mingling of religion with politics, as that would necessarily entail religious persecution. I am yours respectfully, REV. A. W. MEYER,

REV. A. W. MEYER, Pastor First Lutheran Church, Winfield, Kan.

### Proceedings of the Early National Reform Conventions.

THE Christian Statesman advertises for sale three pamphlets which contain the complete reports of three important National Conventions held by National Reformers, namely, in Cincinnati, in 1872, in New York, in 1873, and in Pittsburg, in 1874. We feel like doing a little advertising for National Reform, and so we advise our friends to send sixty cents to the Christian Statesman, 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and get these three pamphlets. They are worth more than that money to anybody who wants to see for himself, at first hand, just what this professed National Reform is. As proof that the speeches reported in these pamphlets, from which we have again and again quoted, are authority as to |

what National Reform is, we cite the Statesman. It says:---

"These published reports of addresses give the best summary of arguments on this subject ever published." "These reports sum up all arguments in behalf of this movement. No one can be said to be thoroughly acquainted with the question, unless they are familiar with these addresses. A well-known lecturer on National Reform once said that when he had an address to deliver on the subject, he spent all his time reading these reports, and then spoke out of the fullness of his heart."

We freely advertise these for the Statesman and National Reform. We are not paid for it, and have not been asked to do it; but we have so great faith in the justice of the cause which we represent, and in the good sense and patriotism of our readers, that we believe the thing best calculated to set them against this so-called National Reform is to see it just as it is. All that we have been trying to do for the past three years is to exhibit National Reform just as it is. So buy these pamphlets, study them carefully, and be convinced that the AMERICAN SENTINEL has always told you the truth.

### A Sample of Moral Obtuseness.

THE Christian Statesman of September 27, 1888, had, as usual, a report from "Secretary" Foster. In it he told about a sermon which he preached in Cincinnati on "Sunday Observance," and after detailing the compliments which he received for it, he continued thus:—

"There is a general feeling of anxiety among the people for our sabbath. They feel that something should be done, but there is a nightmare inability to do anything. A good brother said to me: 'The Sunday paper comes to my house regularly. We began taking it during the war. We wanted the latest news from the battle-fields, and it has been coming ever since. I know it is wrong. There should not be any Sunday paper. It is an injury to society; but when others take it, we might as well have it.'"

And so, of course, he is in favor of a law that will stop Sunday papers and all other work. On the statements in the paragraph just quoted, we have just the following points which we wish to emphasize:—

1. The people do well to be anxious about their sabbath, when they themselves have not interest enough in it to keep it without being forced to do so.

2. If Sunday is "our sabbath," as they call it, what right have they to compel people who have no interest in it to adopt it as theirs? As well might the shop-keeper compel people to buy his goods as to compel them to accept his sabbath.

3. This man is not alone in calling Sunday "our sabbath." National Reformers, and all Sunday-law advocates, speak of "our sabbath," "our American sabbath," etc. This they want enforced upon the people by law. At the same time they insist that there can be no real Sunday rest secured to the people, except on the basis of religious obligation. Then it is a point that admits of no debate. that they are seeking to enforce religion on the people, and that the religion which they wish to enforce is *their* religion. In other words, they want to put themselves in the place of God, and have the people's consciences regulated by *their* will.

4. When a man has not enough moral stamina to do a thing which he believes in his heart he ought to do, without being forced to do it by civil law, how much better will the law make him? Not a particle. He will be in just the condition of the thief who has been shut up in prison, and who is honest because there is nothing for him to steal. It is such service as this that National Reformers think will bring in the millennium!

5. If they wish to know the cause of this laxness in Sunday observance, on the part of those who profess to keep it, and who even clamor for laws enforcing its observance, we can give it. It is because they do not really believe that Sunday has any claims upon them. They know full well that it has no divine sanction, and they cannot keep themselves up to the point of doing that which in their inmost heart they know is not required of them by divine law. Their appeal for a civil law shows their unbelief in there being any divine law upholding it.

We believe that these points are clear to the comprehension of every reader, and that they cannot be gainsaid. E. J. W.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD, in his letter of acceptance, July 12, 1880, said: "Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. . . . It would be unjust to our people, and dangerous to our institutions, to apply any portion of the revenue of the Nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute."

Some of the Chicago ministers, like the Third party Prohibitionists, have set out to regulate things by law, and will make the conversion by gospel means a second-rate matter.—*Inter-Ocean*.

#### Notice to Subscribers.

WITH this issue the AMERICAN SENTINEL becomes a weekly paper. This necessitates a change of date on many of the address labels of your paper, as you subscribed for a monthly paper, and only expected to receive twelve numbers in a year; but we will give you twenty-four numbers, and let your subscription expire June 26 instead of December, 1889. Those who have just subscribed will get twice as many papers as they expected to receive; but, as the paper is now issued weekly, it necessarily shortens the time of yearly subscriptions to six months, or changes the date on your label from December to June.

Subscriptions dated February, 1889, expire with this paper. Those whose subscriptions are dated March, 1889, will receive *two more* papers, so please renew at once, and thus avoid missing any number. The subscription price is now, for the *weekly*, \$1.00 per year; or, if you will send us *five* new subscriptions, at \$1.00 each, we will send you the weekly AMERICAN SENTINEL one year *free*.

Subscriptions dated April, 1889, will expire with the paper of February 27; those dated May, 1889, with the paper of March 13; those of June, 1889, with the paper of March 27; those of December, 1889, with the paper of June 26, 1889.



The American Sentinel.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, JANUARY 30, 1889.

Note.-No papers are sent by the publishers of the AMERICAN SENTINEL to people who have not subscribed for it. If the SENTINEL comes to one who has not subscribed for it, he may know that it is sent him by some friend, and that he will not be called upon by the publishers to pay for the same.

DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS has resigned his pastorate of the First Union Church, New York City, to become the field Secretary of the American Sunday Union. His work is to be a sort of general organizer and worker up of sympathy and support for National religious legislation.

SENATOR BLAIR is now a full-fledged National Reformer. December 6 he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the National Reform Association, in which he said :--

"I earnestly trust that your movement may be-come strong, general, in fact all-pervading, for the time has fully come when action is imperative, and further delay is most dangerous."

How delay can be any more dangerous than would be the success of the National Reform movement, we should like the Senator or somebody else to explain.

IF everyone to whom this copy of the SENTINEL comes would secure one subscriber, a great work could be done with but little individual effort, and who could not do that? If your neighbors don't know anything about the National Reform movement, which the SENTINEL is opposing, take a few minutes to tell them a few facts as to its principles, and the progress it has made. Get them interested to know more, and you can easily induce them to subscribe for the only paper that discusses every phase of the question. Try it.

In many of the States the Legislatures will have before them this winter the matter of making a Sunday law. Will not our friends help us, and at the same time serve the cause of truth, by telling us all that is being done? We want to make the AMERI-CAN SENTINEL the guardian of the rights of the people in every quarter; and we shall utter no uncertain sound on all questions that properly come before us. You who know something about the tendency, keep your eyes open and inform us of the doings in your neighborhood, that we may stir up the people.

On Sunday, January 13, a large number of the pastors of the city of Oakland preached upon the Sunday question, and especially Sunday laws. This was in accordance with a previous mutual agreement, in which the Catholic Church joined. The object is to work up a sentiment that will influence legislature this winter. Petitions are being circulated throughout the State of California, asking the Legislature to pass a Sunday law at the present session. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has the thing in charge, and expects to roll up so large and influential a list of names that the Legislature will not dare ignore the matter. We shall soon see what we shall see.

THE immense number of signers to the petitions for a Sunday law, and the great stir that is being made in all quarters, show that the matter with which the AMERICAN SENTINEL deals is the leading issue of the day. The tariff will soon be entirely lost sight of in the agitation of the question of National Sunday rest. This being the case, it needs no argument to prove that with the liberal terms which are offered to canvassers for the Sentinel, those who give their time to it can do well financially, while they are doing good to the people. Orders are already coming in. Shall we not have an army of men and women who will engage heartily in this work for the next two months?

American Citizens

WE address you on a matter of vital importance to our State and Nation. Among the blessed boons left us as the heritage of our forefathers is that of religious liberty, or the right to worship (or not worship) God according to the dictates of our own conscience. It is the principle of religious liberty which has made our country what it is above all others, "the home of the oppressed," "the land of the free." To relinquish that for which our fathers bled and died is to return to the Dark Ages with its religious persecution. Many believe that this Government will ever continue as it is. But even now grave dangers are threatening this foundation-stone of our republic.

There are now pending in the Congress of these United States two Bills, known as the "Blair Educational Amendment Bill," and the "Blair Sunday Rest Bill." The effect of these Bills, if they become laws, will be a virtual union of Church and State, and the persecution of those who may not be able to conscientiously submit to these proposed unjust laws.

No less than fifteen millions of names have been presented to Congress as petitioners in favor of the latter Bill by the American Sabbath Union. The names consist of about seven or eight millions gathered by the friends of the Bill, and the counting of seven million two hundred thousand Roman Catholics, because Cardinal Gibbons signed the petition as an individual.

The National Reform Association, numbering among its officers U.S. Senators, Judges of the Supreme Court of the U.S., Presidents of Colleges, and D. D.'s, Bishops and Archbishops by the score, has for its object the placing of "all Christian laws, institutions and usages, on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." Of course this means official State interpretation and enforcement of Christian duties under penalties; and that is religious persecution. The aim of the National Reformers is the aim of the Blair Bills, and also the aim of the American Sabbath Union.

The principal leaders in the W. C. T. U. and the Prohibition party are in favor of these Bills.

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor have indorsed these bills by unanimous vote.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in convention assembled have also indorsed them. Other organizations are swinging into line.

It may be asked why so many give their assent to these measures. For these reasons, namely: One class wish to dominate the religion of all, and so lift themselves into power upon the oppression of others, while hiding their real intent by smoothly-worded propositions. The second, and by far the most numerous, class give their assent because they think that these men at the head of this movement are good and wise men, and therefore cannot be led by wrong principles. They do not understand the nature of the movement or they would oppose it. Many who have once favored it, but who have since studied it, men of eminence, are now strenuous opposers. The third class is those politicians who are willing to become Christians or anything else to get votes. And with these classes, the ambitious religious politicians, those ignorant of the nature of such legislation, and the political time-server, unless prompt measures are taken to enlighten and so avert this legislation, religious thralldom will be the fate of now free American citizens.

Do you wish to become informed? Do you wish to inform your neighbors? Do you wish to preserve intact our religious liberties and free schools?

We present before you the only journal which is fully and intelligently enlisted on this side of the conflict, namely, the AMERICAN SENTINEL. published weekly in Oakland, Cal., now entering upon its fourth year and numbering many thousands of staunch friends in all parts of the Union.

The SENTINEL is not owned or controlled by any political party whatever.

It is not run in the interests of any religious denomination.

It advocates and will defend the religious rights of all, whether Catholic or Protestant, Unitarian or

Trinitarian, Baptist or Pedobaptist, Jew or Christian, religious or non-religious.

It is set for the defense of our glorious Constitution, which declares, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It is uncompromisingly opposed to anything tending toward a union of Church and State, either in name or in fact.

American citizens, liberty-loving Christians, the conflict is before us. Will you not aid us?

The principles which the AMERICAN SENTINEL advocates are indorsed by leading men in all parts of the country.

From Thomas Renison, State Senator, Gonzales, Monterey County, Cal. PUBLISHERS AMERICAN SENTINEL, GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 11th inst., and the April and May numbers of the SENTINEL, duly received, and for which I am truly thankful. I heartily indores the principles advocated by the SENTINEL, and wish it Godspeed in its good work, We cannot be too zealous and vigilant in a matter so important as the preservation of our civil and religious liberty. And when any set of men, religious or otherwise, attempt, by tampering with our National Constitution, to destroy that liberty which we have so long enjoyed, it is time that we, as American citizens, should assert, in no uncertain terms, our disapproval of so unholy a work.

From Wm. P. Folly, State Senator, Lynchburg, Tennessee. PUBLISHERS AMERICAN SENTINEL, OAKLAND, CAL.: Permit me to assure you that I am well pleased with the SENTINEL. When I returned home from Nashville I found the SENTINEL for last year bound in paper had been sent to my address without charge. If the account was misplaced let me know what it is, and I will cheerfully pay it. It is with shame I have to acknowledge the failure of the bill for the extension of religious liberty in this State, so as to allow those who religiously and conscientiously observe the seventh day as the Sabbath to pursue their secular occupations on the first day. I am heartly with the SENTINEL for the utmost religious liberty.

From F. J. Dickman, Judge Supreme Court, Columbus, Ohio. PUBLISHERS AMERICAN SENTINEL,

FUELISHERS AMERICAN SENTINE, MY DEAR SIES: I return you my many thanks for your kind and courteous letter of the 11th inst., and for several num-bers of the SENTINEL, which came to hand at the same time with your letter. Several articles in the SENTINEL, which I have read, have been to me full of interest and instruction, and I am, I trust, excusable for my curiosity in desiring to know who is the "Ohio boy" who has been so kind and considerate as to have my name placed upon your list. The speech of Senator Crockett I will carefully read, as the subject is very suggestive. I am respectfully yours.

### From A. W. Schalck, Attorney, Pottsville, Pennsylvania. PUBLISHERS AMERICAN SENTINEL,

Address,

GENTLEMEN: Inclosed please find one year's subscription to your paper, which advocates a doctrine to which I cordially subscribe, to wit, that Church and State must be kept separate and apart, if our republic and her institutions are to be preserved.

The SENTINEL is now published WEEKLY at the exceedingly low price of One Dollar per year. In clubs of ten or more copies to one address, 75 cents each. Agents wanted.

AMERICAN SENTINEL,

Oakland, Cal.