



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

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IN Chicago, Union meetings are being held every Sunday in different parts of the city, and the ministers at least, are working very earnestly to create sentiment in favor of a rigid Sunday closing of the Fair, which will, if accomplished, add strength, they think, to the agitation for a national Sunday law.

THE disposition to resort to force to effect reforms, either real or imaginary, has reached a development in this country which is ominous. The National Reformers have long since warned those who oppose them that if necessary resort will be had to the bullet; the more radical Prohibitionists talk of resort to arms to wipe out the saloon; American Sabbath Union speakers threaten bloodshed if their theories are not adopted by the Government; in Tennessee a mob of miners have just secured from the Governor a virtual pledge for the repeal of the law permitting the letting of convicts; while from Louisiana comes the news that at a meeting in the Grand Opera House, in New Orleans, the other day, Rev. Dr. B. L. Palmer, one of the foremost pulpit orators of the South, delivered a thrilling arraignment of the lottery, and declared that the people should and would, if necessary, resort to revolution to overthrow it. "Thousands of men," it is stated, "have signed a resolution to shed their blood, if necessary, in order to free Louisiana from the great gambling institution." In view of this it is perhaps only fitting that "Parkinson, who led the lynchers when the

eleven Italians were shot down in the parish prison of New Orleans, has recently come out as an anti-lottery man."

The lottery, and the convict contract labor system, and the saloon ought to go, but the methods invoked to destroy them are none the less dangerous. Government by clamor and by mobs is the worst kind of a substitute for constitutional government; but it is the exchange which is being made in this country; and the responsibility when it has been made will lie at the door of various reforms, real and so-called.

The Church and the State.

THE subject of the union of Church and State is very imperfectly understood by very many people. It has been thought that in order to form such a union some one sect or denomination must be made the State Church; but a little consideration will show any one that such is not the case. The National Reformers say that they do not want a union of Church and State, but a union of religion and the State. In a speech before the National Reform Convention held in New York City in 1883, Rev. Jonathan Edwards said:—

We want such a religion, and we are going to have it. It shall be that so far as the affairs of the State require religion, it shall be the religion of Jesus Christ. The Christian oath and Christian morality shall have, in this land, an undeniable legal basis. We use the word "religion" in its proper sense, as meaning a man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God.

But, even in the face of such a statement as this, made by one of their prominent men, the National Reformers insist that they are opposed to a union of Church and State; but their denial amounts to nothing. Religion and the State is only another name for that unholy alliance between the civil and the ecclesiastical power which has always been an unmitigated curse to both the Church and the State. Everybody admits that Constantine united Church and State. But his first step was only to declare Christianity

the religion of the Roman Empire; when he had taken that step, however, it was necessary that he should in some way, define Christianity. Then, as now, those who professed to be Christians were divided, not into organized denominations as at the present time, but into numerous parties and factions under the leadership of their respective bishops. Between the extremes there was probably as great a diversity of opinion as exists now between Catholics and Protestants. Besides this there was a multitude of minor differences; and as the Emperor had declared the Christian religion to be the religion of Rome, it was necessary that this religion should be defined, and for this purpose a council was convened at Nice to decide the question as to what constituted the Christian religion. The National Reformers of our own day propose to take similar measures.

When the Blair Educational Amendment bill was under discussion in the Congress of the United States, the question was asked, how it would be possible to carry it out owing to the diversity of views among the Christian people. The answer given by the author of the bill was as follows:—

I believe that a text-book of instruction in the principles of virtue, morality and 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.

Again, Dr. Schaff, in defining what parts of the Bible should be taught in the public schools, says:—

A competent committee of clergymen and laymen of all denominations could make a judicious selection which would satisfy every reasonable demand.

But to carry out these suggestions would be to do just as Constantine did, convene a council of the representative men of the various denominations to define the principles of the Christian religion, and with these principles authoritatively defined, and with the law on the statute books, and embodied in the Constitution requiring the principles of the Christian religion

to be taught in the public schools, how much would we lack of having a union of Church and State? True, we might not have a denominational organization known as the State Church, and supported out of the treasury, but we would have practically the same thing, for we would have a creed officially recognized by the Government.

There is one phase of this question which is generally lost sight of, and that is the rights of non-church people, or if you please, non-Christian people. The National Reform idea is that every government is a government of God, and that the powers that be derive their power from God, and this not in the sense in which the apostle declares that "the powers that be are ordained of God," but in the sense that his law should be the basis of their law, or, in other words, that men should be governed by the divine law administered by their fellow-men.

But on the other hand, the Declaration of Independence declares that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" this, however, National Reformers deny. In the Missouri Sunday Convention held in Sedalia in 1889, Rev. W. D. Gray said:—

I do not believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and so the object of this movement is an effort to change that feature in our fundamental law.

Now if the National Reformers be correct, and governments do derive their just powers directly from God, and not from the consent of the governed, and if it be their duty to administer the law of God, it follows that they must decide what that law is, and what it requires; and if they have that right, then all good citizens should yield obedience to whatever decisions they may make. But to assent to such a thing would be to deny God, or at least to place men in the place of God, which amounts to the same thing.

The trouble with the whole scheme of National Reform is, that instead of making man responsible to God it makes him responsible to earthly and fallible governments, for if the Government has the right to establish a religion and define and say what that religion is, as it must do if it gives it any official recognition whatever, it has the right to change that religion, so that with every change in the Government there may be a change also in the religion. And if it is a duty the citizen owes to God to yield obedience to the religion of the State, it is equally his duty to change his religion with each change of the Government. In short, National Reformers would destroy personal responsibility to God, and make the citizen responsible alone to the State. Instead of looking to the law of God to know what is right and what is wrong, a citizen would have to look to the law of the land, or at least to human interpretation of the law of God, to know his duty to God.

For instance, under a Catholic government, it would be the duty of the citizen to adore pictures and images; while under a Protestant government, it would be sin and crime for him to do the same thing.

The only safe and tenable ground is to declare, as did the Saviour, that those things which are Cæsar's should be rendered to Cæsar, and those things which are God's should be rendered to God; or, in other words, that those duties which we owe to the State should be discharged to the State, and those duties which we owe to God should be discharged to God. In short, that the State can of right have nothing whatever to do with defining or enforcing the individual's duty toward God. Anything more than this puts men in the place of God, because it makes them judges of the divine law and allows them to usurp the place of conscience, and authorizes persecution for conscience' sake.

C. P. B.

Madison's Regard for Sabbatarians.

It was a noble characteristic of our early statesmen that they regarded all sects equal, or, in other words, they regarded all persons in whatever sect as equally entitled to carry out their religious views. It was not the spirit of the modern Sunday-law agitator who would allow the Christian to keep the day of his choice sacred and compel all others to do so too; but it was freedom for the Christian, freedom for the Jew, freedom for the pagan, and freedom for the agnostic. Madison, at different times, had occasion to express himself in reference to the Jew being on "perfect equality" with the Christian, and in the following letter he expresses it as his opinion that such a course is the surest way of securing ultimate harmony. He writes to a Jewish Rabbi, closing as follows:—

Having ever regarded the freedom of religious opinions and worship as equally belonging to every sect, and the secure enjoyment of it as the best human provision for bringing all into the same way of thinking or into that mutual charity which is the only substitute, I observe with pleasure the views you give of the spirit in which your sect [the Jewish people] partake of the blessings offered by our Government and laws.

If the principles of the Constitution were adhered to it would not be necessary to publish the news of the arrest of some Sabbatarian every now and then, simply because some Sunday keeper takes a dislike to his ideas and actions in reference to the fourth commandment. Ever since their adoption the Sabbatarian, both Jew and Christian, has unqualifiedly approved and heartily supported American principles—especially allowing every one to do as he pleases in religious matters so long as he does not interfere with the same right in others. Why can not the Sunday keepers do the same, and leave the Sabbatarian unmolested in his seventh-day worship and first-day work? It always gave

Madison pleasure to see American principles carried out, and the "blessings offered by our Government and laws" appreciated.

State Religion and Ignorance.

WHEN we show that the religio-political schemes of the present, if consummated would result in a perfect image of the Papacy of the past, and in a repetition of all its iniquitous, and bloody history, it is often objected, that we are living in a different age; people are now educated, and liberal of thought, whereas then they were ignorant, and narrow, and intensely bigoted. It is argued that this alters the case entirely. To allow a set of narrow and bigoted fanatics to dictate in the affairs of State, it is admitted, was as bad as we claim—language could hardly exaggerate the terrible curse—but to consign the reins of Government to educated and liberal minded Christian people, who will control everything in the interests of Christianity, is entirely different. Only the most willful and determined misrepresentation, it is thought, can account for the associating of these two things together, and reasoning as if they were one and the same. Surely Christianity is the goal of all true evolution; the panacea for all the ills of the individual and the State; the highest possible attainment, morally, intellectually, and spiritually, of the human mind; the summit par excellence toward which all should strive. Why should not the civil Government, and everything else, if possible, be made to minister to all this?

This argument is specious, and to many minds it is conclusive against the positions taken by THE SENTINEL; it therefore demands a candid and logical answer. Its error consists in reasoning as though the ignorance, and bigotry, which in the Dark Ages, made the union of Church and State such a terrible means of persecution and bloodshed, were something entirely independent of that union—a mere unfortunate accident of the times, which made such a union dangerous. This is not so. That ignorance and bigotry were the direct and unavoidable result of that union of religion with the State.

The ignorance itself being a direct and unavoidable result of that union of Church and State, the bigotry and persecution, consequent from the ignorance, were also unavoidable results of that union. However harmless, or even beneficial, they may seem at the first, the fact is, if they remain in force long enough, all religious laws always have, and always will generate the ignorance and the bigotry necessary for their own enforcement to the relentless persecution of those who oppose them. We speak of the Dark Ages, but the world had not always been in ignorance and darkness. It is true, modern science has made wonderful advancement

in the past few years. Since the unshackling of the human intellect by the greater disunion of the Church and State resulting from the Reformation, the march of mind has been one mighty procession of successive triumphs; but compared with the darkness of the mediæval age, the light and learning of the centuries immediately before and after Christ, is as the noonday.

The Grecian age was not an age of ignorance. An age that could give its poetry, and sculpture, and architecture as models of beauty to all the future, must have had something of refinement and enlightenment.

There were philosophers in those days, who spent their time in discussing the great questions of life, death, and destiny, according to the best knowledge they could have, surrounded as they were by a sinful world, and unaided by the word of God. The age of the Antonines, said to be the happiest era of human history, was not an age of ignorance. It is true that in this age, the prevailing religion was in union with the State, and this was a disadvantage; but paganism believed in such a multiplicity of gods, and in such varied forms of worship for different individuals and different nations, and believed in it all so loosely, that it did not greatly restrict the intellectual speculations of the age, if it did require the philosophers to outwardly conform, in act, to rites which in theory they secretly, and even openly, despised.

Not so with Christianity. It believed, and believes, in one God revealed through Christ. It had, and has, definite ideas of what was due to his worship. When, therefore, it was allied with the State, the predominant sect of the clergy sought by every means of fire, and thumb-screw, and rack, to compel the world, not only to act, but to think as they did.

The human mind was thus bound by fetters of fear, and since thinking had become so dangerous men ceased to think. As generation after generation passed by, the people all the while becoming more ignorant, and narrow, and bigoted; the clergy too became ignorant, for they had no need of study to speak to such people; and then they too were bound not less strongly than the people, by their superiors. And what need had these superiors to think, since their word, however fanciful or absurd, was law, and accepted by the ignorant multitude as from God.

Thus, learning, and the desire for it, almost perished from the earth. All that remained was the wildest tales of saints and mysteries, and miracles, and legends of satyrs and hobgoblins, all of which passed for genuine history, and was implicitly believed. And as this was all there was in the vernacular for the people to read, the more one read, the more ignorant he was; and so he who knew not even his letters was as well off intellectually,

as the most advanced scholar. At one time had it not been for the schools of the hated Mohammedans, in Spain, this union of Church and State had almost entirely paralyzed the human mind. Thus did this iniquitous union of the Church of Christ with a sinful world, generate the ignorance and bigotry to support the Spanish Inquisition, and the Scotch kirk, and put to death all dissenters. It would be the same again. This thing may be put in its most seductive light, as a means of raising the Nation, by putting the Government solely into the hands of good men; and yet coiled up in the thing itself, is all this evil waiting to unfold, and then to recoil around the human mind and heart, till the intellect and soul are paralyzed, and the animal man is ready, for the sake of enforcing his one remaining idea, to torture his brother, and spill his blood.

To fully realize this, one has only to contemplate the bigoted and intolerant speeches and threats of almost all the leaders of this modern religio-political movement. If they had the power, and carried out these threats, all the dark past would be repeated. But that all this is the unavoidable result of a union of Church and State, is still denied; and in support of the denial, men point to England, and say, "Here is a union of Church and State, and still a liberal, and an intellectual people."

The reply is not difficult. All the power that this union has had, has been for evil, and not for good. It has made a money-seeking clergy, and a worldly time-serving Church. In the State, it would not be difficult to show that almost every bad and oppressive law that England has passed for the past two centuries, was supported, if not championed by her bench of bishops in the House of Lords; and almost every really liberal and good law has been opposed by them. The only reason, however, that the lamentable results, in full, do not follow the union of Church and State in England, is because England herself does not really believe in that union, and so she practically makes it inoperative by a policy of universal toleration. The United States, as its greatest glory, has been teaching this lesson of liberty to the world; and England has not been above learning from her growing child. All the tendency in England for years has been toward disestablishment. This reasoning, however, could not apply to the prospective union of Church and State in this country.

If the United States, after almost teaching the world these glorious principles of the independence of the human soul, should herself forget it, and, denying the truths so thoroughly taught by the founders of the Nation, and embedded in our Federal Constitution, should go back to a union of Church and State, and a national creed enforced as a part of the compulsory

education of the State schools, if she should do this at all, it is presumable, that she would do it *because she believed in it*; and if she believed in it, she would make it effectual. If so, the effect I have described, is the only one that could possibly follow.

Some of these self-styled reformers pose as champions of education; but their whole religio-political scheme is in the interests of ignorance and bigotry. If successful it would not only bid the sun of human knowledge, now mounting grandly toward the zenith, to stand still in the heavens, but it would do more than that. It would command it to go backward on the dial of progress till the shadows of a gloomy and persecuting past would again enshroud the world.

G. E. FIFIELD.

Dangers of Over-Legislation.

At the threshold of the constitutional temple of the Republic of the United States of America, there has ever stood a most accurate interpreter of the purposes of its creation. From the beginning this interpreter has had but one answer to all inquirers. The formula of the never varying response which every inquirer has received was prescribed by the sovereignty which erected the temple, and has continuously dwelt therein. To citizen and alien, to the serious inquirer and the frivolous skeptic, to the defender of political faith and to the promoter of discord the answer has ever been—

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It is not my purpose to enter upon a general discussion of the many delegated and implied powers which lie embedded in the several articles and sections of the Constitution of the Republic to which this ever present answer introduces all inquirers. Those with which Congress was intrusted by express delegation are vast in extent, leaving out of view those which pass to it by implication. But it is well to keep in mind the jealous care which walked hand in hand with the patriotic men who formulated the Constitution which the people adopted. As evidence of this companionship we find amongst the delegations of powers to Congress by the Constitution, a clause which evidently was intended to guard against the mischiefs which so often have their origin in generalizations, and which declares that

The Congress shall have power . . . to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

This delegation of power is broad, far-

reaching, and effective. Still it is subject to limitations. It is not to be exercised without restraint. It has its proper field in which to operate, and beyond which it may not go. What are the limitations, restraints, and boundaries which ever attend it? - How shall we ascertain them?

Every person who has made inquiry at the door of the constitutional temple of the Republic has been told that one of the purposes of its erection was to "promote the general welfare." Are we to understand that this imports that Congress may enact laws without restraint or limitation in respect of any subject which any citizen, combination of citizens, class or interest may declare to be within the domain of the general welfare? If this be so, then there are no limitations, restraints or boundaries to the power in question. Such a discovery as this would be a most threatening portent. It would open the doors of legislative power to all of the products of the evils which so often attend the operations of organized society, and which so frequently have their origin in the minds and purposes of those who least deserve to be entrusted with the affairs of Government. Should this Republic ever reach such a juncture as this, then indeed would it cease to "promote the general welfare," and become the prey of reckless schemers and conscienceless agitators.

That there are tendencies present in the conditions existing in this country which indicate a movement in the direction suggested, no conservative student of the activities of these times can fail to detect. The most active factor in the case is the increasing demand for legislation. It has become a common practice with the originators and supporters of every new theory of action, and of the formulators and promoters of schemes of whatever kind or character, to at once demand legislative action for the accomplishment of the ends they have in view. They do not stop to inquire whether or not the thing demanded would, if granted, be promotive of the general welfare. Sufficient unto them is their desire to promote the interest of the particular theory or scheme they have in view regardless of the effect it may have on the general welfare. No close observer of the proceedings in Congress and in the several State Legislatures will fail to notice how rapidly the practice indicated is growing. Too often success attends these movements, which only tends to increase their number.

It is no sufficient answer to this suggestion to say that no permanent harm can result to the country from this growing tendency of the times, by reason of the judicial supervision of the courts over all legislative action. The student of history must often have noticed that the courts from time to time have changed the course of the judicial current by reason of the force of popular movements.

This may not frequently occur, but whenever it does it intensifies the demand for repeated changes. Hence, absolute reliance can not be placed in the direction of the judicial current, and this fact tends to intensify and multiply the demands for that character of legislative action which fails to take account of constitutional limitations, and is bringing the country into a condition of over-legislation. This is an uncertain sea for Nation and State to enter upon. It is not only uncertain, but also positively harmful. Once entered upon, the self-reliance of our people will diminish. They will gradually drift away from their observance of that forceful aphorism which admonishes them that "self-help is the best help." A community composed of individuals who will each adopt that aphorism as a guide of personal conduct, and keeping in line and harmony with the true signification of the constitutional phrase which places the general welfare limitation on the legislation to which it applies, will always be blessed with public order and prosperity, and avoid the dangers which ever attend over-legislation.

Over-legislation engenders a habit of disregard of the duty of the citizen to give his fair share of effort to the proper enforcement of the law. No law, no matter how wisely framed it may have been, will execute itself. The wisdom of statesmen has never discovered any automatic device for the enforcement of law. If the law relates to criminal conduct, it will remain a negative force, when violated, until some officer or citizen shall put it into active operation. If it deals with the civil right and privilege of the citizens, it has not the power to appear in court and of its own motion demand that the party in interest shall enjoy the remedy which its provisions contain. In either case the practice of the doctrine of "self-help" must be resorted to, and no crying aloud for the enactment of additional laws, in respect to the subject matter involved, will protect the community or give remedy to the citizen. Additional enactments will be no more automatic in their action than are those to which they may be additions or amendments. They will all remain dead letters on the statute books until "self-help" shall put them into action.

If from the date of the first enactment of a statute by Congress, and by the Legislatures of the several States, on down to the present time each and every act had been framed with perfect conformity to the constitutional provisions upon which they rest for support, not one of them would have been exempt from the operation of the rule stated. A review of the various laws now in force in this Nation and in the several States, would reveal the fact that there is scarcely a right or interest, public or private, which is not enjoying statutory protection, and yet,

notwithstanding the existence of this indisputable fact, there never has been a time in the history of this country when the demand for the enactment of additional laws has been so great as now.

This suggests the consideration of another element in the case of which we are treating, which may be presented by the questions, "Have we not reached a point where the constitutional limitation in respect of the promotion of the general welfare should be applied as a check to the present tendency towards over-legislation? Can we promote the general welfare by engaging in a practice which tends to confuse the citizen's sense of duty in the matter of the enforcement of existing laws by both the public officer and himself?" We have a vast population; but its great aggregation does not eliminate the individual nor abolish his rights and privileges. Each is a part of the whole, and as such must be taken into the account when we come to act for the promotion of the general welfare. Hence the jealous care we should exercise in excluding from our legislative action every element which tends to check the enforcement of law, and to encourage demands for additional enactments concerning subjects already provided for. This is a field which true conservatism should dominate, and every citizen should actively aid in its administration. It is a most interesting field for the young men of the country to explore. Upon them is rapidly settling down the responsibilities of caring for the public and private affairs and interests which abide in the possibilities of the on-coming years of this Republic. If the tendency of the present times towards over-legislation shall receive their encouragement and support, how impotent will our public forces soon become in the matter of promoting the general welfare. If outcry for additional legislation touching subjects already provided for by law is to dominate legislation, exclude the practice of the rule of self-help, and diminish the American respect for the enforcement of the laws and the promotion of the general welfare, then indeed may we look for unwelcome experiences in the future.

But come what may, the subject is one which all, and especially the young men of our Republic, may well take into most conservative consideration.—*James F. Wilson, United States Senator from Iowa, in Christian at Work.*

BAPTISTS are uncompromisingly opposed to union of Church and State. Wherever and whenever this contest has arisen they have invariably stood on the side of liberty of conscience, and, if need be, have sealed with their blood their undying devotion to this principle. The State must not maintain a religious establishment.—*Southern Baptist.*

Persecution in Sweden.

SWEDEN and Russia have allied themselves closely in one instance of religious persecution, according to the following letter from a Swedish correspondent to the *London Daily News*:—

"There has lately been formed in Sweden a society calling itself the Utilistic Party, with the object, as far as I can learn, of promulgating the views of the Utilitarians (Jeremy Bentham's and Mill's I presume). It consists principally of university students and young men of letters, and some of these, with the enthusiasm of converts, have been going about the country lecturing, and in this stronghold of Lutheran orthodoxy and intolerance getting themselves into trouble with the authorities. Prominent among these has been a gifted young man of letters, Henry Berghell, a bachelor of philosophy, and he also was prosecuted some time ago for a lecture he had given in a country town and sentenced by the town court to three months' imprisonment, on the ground that the doctrines propagated in the lecture were subversive of the Christian religion. Mr. Berghell lodged an appeal to a superior court, which doubtless would have quashed the sentence, but unfortunately he lacked means to proceed with it, and so the sentence was confirmed. He was then arrested and sent to the prison at Malmo, on the sound, to undergo the punishment. While there, it seems the government authorities at Stockholm found out that Berghell had been born in Finland, and was, therefore, not a Swedish subject. A bright idea then occurred to them, by the carrying out of which this troublesome young enthusiast could be got rid of.

"There exists a convention between Sweden and Russia for the mutual surrender of criminals belonging to either nation; and Berghell being now a criminal in the eyes of the law, having been condemned to imprisonment, it was decided to send him over to Russia as soon as his prison term was completed. Poor Berghell, on being acquainted with this decision, and having probably the mines of Siberia before his mental vision, pleaded hard to be allowed to go to England or America; but no, the 'ukase' had gone forth from Stockholm, and to his native land he must go. Last Wednesday morning, accordingly, he was conducted by the Swedish police to Copenhagen, there to be put on board the steamer *Nidaros*, leaving for Hango, in Finland; and now comes almost the most disgraceful part of the proceedings.

"On arriving on Danish ground, Berghell claimed to be free, and refused to move further, but the Danish police were only too ready to lend a willing hand. Their conduct was most shameful, for Berghell had infringed no Danish law, his offense only being that he had relig-

ious views differing from those of the Swedish clergy. Berghell was induced to enter a cab to be driven to a police-station, but instead he was taken to the steamer and pushed on board (kidnapped, indeed), a Swedish police officer accompanying him to Russia. It is most distressing to read in the Copenhagen papers that he looked like a man whose tale of life was told, and one can not help shuddering for the fate that may await him.

"On the evening of the same day a question was asked in the Swedish Second Chamber of the Riksdag about the reasons of the Government for this expulsion, but the chamber decided with one hundred and sixteen votes to eighty-three that the question should not be put, and of course, literally speaking, the Government has kept within the letter of the law."

What They Want.

A FEW days since Rev. McClain, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Chicago, said in the course of a sermon, that this Sabbath movement is about to take its place among the great American movements, by a union of all the believers in Sabbath reform, and intimated that a great national party would be formed on that issue. A circular letter has just been sent to every evangelical minister in the United States, soliciting his co-operation in this Sunday movement.

Of late it is being argued that all should arouse to earnest action, because those in favor of opening the World's Fair on Sunday are really depriving the people of their religious liberty.

Any one who will read the foregoing items and not see that there is cause for serious reflection in regard to this question, is certainly not familiar with the facts of history. The religion of Jesus Christ does not interfere with human liberties, but, on the other hand, it alone makes men free indeed; but ecclesiasticism, calling itself Christianity, has often caused the most cruel persecutions in the name of Him who said to the ardent Peter, "Put up thy sword." Is not the spirit of Peter seen in some of the movements of our day and country? We are often quietly assured that there is no danger. But when a national movement is seriously talked of, and when a national circular is sent out asking assistance in securing the observance of a day of religious rest, is it not time for us to open our eyes and look around? It will be said that they do not want the religious Sunday enforced, only the "civil," "American" day is desired; but the religious phase of Sunday is as inseparably connected with it as the crimson dye in the wool. And it would be just as reasonable to make a great parade of the good offices of wool, even though it be dyed red, and extol its great benefits for the laboring man especially, and everybody in general,

and urge that all be compelled to wear garments made from wool and say no account is to be made of the crimson coloring matter. But it is there, nevertheless, and no amount of washing or rubbing or scouring will take it out. You must destroy the whole fabric if you get rid of the color. Just so with Sunday. The religious coloring matter has been so thoroughly soaked into all its particles by its continued associations from the age of Constantine till the present day, that it would completely destroy the proposed Sunday rest day if the religion was taken out of it. Says Dr. Crafts, "take the religion out [of Sunday] and you take the rest out."

It sounds very nice, unless we think of it closely, to talk of a *civil American Sunday*. But as surely as such a thing is ever secured and enforced by law it will have another adjective greatly emphasized and prefixed, and it will be enforced as the *civil American RELIGIOUS Sunday*. It could not possibly be otherwise. When an institution is really composed of but one element it is useless to talk of requiring its observance without having that element in it.

Let those who believe they should observe Sunday do so if they like. But compel no one to observe any religious institution. Such a thing cannot be done without serious harm growing out of it.

A. O. TAIT.

Some of the Things Done.

THE Sunday Observance Association of Kings County, New York, has been holding meetings in Brooklyn, where printed slips were distributed containing a statement of "Some of the things done;" among which is the appointment of a "State Committee" of one from each county to assist in the enforcement of Sunday laws throughout the State, and to organize influence for the prevention of any amendments which shall tend to weaken or do away with existing Sunday laws. With this is also a list of fifteen things they wish to do, among which is "Special education and pledge work among Sabbath-school children," and the offering of "prizes for essays on various phases of the Sabbath question."

In an address to the "Friends of the American Sunday," prefacing an abstract of the eighth annual report of the Association, which was also given out at the same meetings, is the following remarkable language.

More than one of our loved, honored, and respected institutions are in danger, and none more so than religious liberty, represented by the old flag. Religious liberty is wantonly assailed by vandal hands. The rights, privileges, and protection guaranteed the people is jeopardized. Abolish our Sunday laws, and the inalienable right of every American citizen to rest and worship is denied. The same thing is accomplished if these laws are not enforced. Shall they be? It all depends on you. You can control and dominate the

situation if you will. As perilous as the conditions surrounding the Sabbath are, you can change them; not by prayer alone, but by work. Our Sunday laws are well nigh perfect, but they are not enforced. They can be. They will be if you will support and co-operate with our efforts. The Church and you must do their duty in this crisis.

National Reform Sympathy.

THE official organ of the National Reform Association, the *Christian Statesman*, in its issue of July 2, publishes three articles and notes expressive of its sympathy for the persecuted Jews in Russia. The first one informs us that "there is no cessation in the persecution of the Jews in Russia. Not a week passes without some new persecuting ordinance. The latest are, one to compel all Jewish army doctors to resign or be converted to Christianity, and another to expel all foreign Jews from southern Russia." Another article says:—

The abhorrence we feel at the persecution of a peaceful, law abiding people, whose real offense is that they are Jews, is an additional reason for our wishing Russia to enjoy the safeguards of a constitutional government.

It would be well if the National Reformers were sincere in their sympathy, but they are not. A book containing the proceedings of one of their national conventions, purchased at the office of the *Christian Statesman*, and for years advertised in that paper contains the following language:—

Our objectors, then, may learn that they are merely a body of men who are in their turn feeling the inconvenience of dissent. And they may be reminded that under our proposed amendment all the essentials of their citizenship will be none the less secure to them than they are now.

The atheist is a man who denies the being of a God and a future life. To him mind and matter are the same, and time is the be-all and the end-all of consciousness and of character.

The deist admits God, but denies that he has any such personal control over human affairs as we call providence, or that he ever manifests himself and his will in a revelation.

The Jew admits God, providence, and revelation, but rejects the entire scheme of gospel redemption by Jesus Christ as sheer imagination, or, worse, sheer imposture.

The Seventh-day Baptists believe in God and Christianity, and are conjoined with the other members of this class by the accident of differing with the mass of Christians upon the question of what precise day of the week shall be observed as holy.

These are all, for the occasion, and so far as our amendment is concerned, one class. They use the same arguments and the same tactics against us. They must be counted together, which we very much regret, but which we cannot help. . . . They must be named from him [the atheist]; they must be treated, for this question, as one party.

What are the rights of the atheist? I would tolerate him as I would tolerate a poor lunatic, for in my view his mind is scarcely sound. So long as he does not rave, so long as he is not dangerous, I would tolerate him. I would tolerate him as I would a conspirator. The atheist is a dangerous man. . . . Tolerate atheism, sir? There is nothing out of hell that I would not tolerate as soon. The atheist may live, as I said, but, God helping us, the taint of his destructive creed shall

not defile any of the civil institutions of all this fair land! Let us repeat, atheism and Christianity are contradictory terms. They are incompatible systems. They cannot dwell together on the same continent.

By comparing the foregoing quotations it will be seen that Russia is a typical National Reform country, so far as the treatment of dissenters is concerned. Any one who dares to open his mouth against the religion of the Czar, or against his political tyranny, runs the risk of losing his head, or of being banished from the country. After the National Reform style, the Czar has placed "all Christian laws, institutions and usages on an undeniable legal basis;" and whoever dares to ignore them is sure, as the Reformers say, to feel "the inconvenience of dissent." Both the Jews and the Lutherans of Russia have for some time been feeling this inconvenience.

When people are punished in Russia for refusing to obey what the Czar calls "Christian laws," the National Reformers cry out, "Religious persecution!" but for this country, they simply call it "feeling the inconvenience of dissent." And all who dare to use any "arguments" or "tactics" against their theories fall under their laws of proscription. Let an individual use any arguments or tactics against a government which professes to rule in the name of God, and to enforce his will, and he is pretty sure to suffer the inconvenience of losing all of his property, and finally his life. His property is needed for the support of the true religion; and as the man is opposed to God and his representatives here on the earth, he is dangerous to society, and ought to be killed or banished for the good of the State.

The National Reform book already quoted, says further:—

To be in a minority involves more or less of inconvenience. In business, in politics, in fashion, in morals, and in religion, whoever differs materially from the majority will certainly be made to feel it more or less in due time. All law, all government, will press somewhere occasionally, and it is the good citizen who maintains both his conscience and his independence by submitting to the pressure.

Yes, we have heard about this "inconvenience" and "pressure" in almost every country on the globe. And we have noticed that the more National Reform-American-Sabbath-Union-paternalism there was in the government, the greater was the inconvenience and the pressure. The only way to maintain one's conscience and submit to the pressure, is to disobey all laws that interfere with conscience, and then suffer the penalty. This is what Daniel and his companions did; and Christ and his apostles, with all the martyrs of the Dark Ages, pursued the same course. To be sure it was somewhat inconvenient to lose their heads, or to be crucified; to be shut up in filthy dungeons, and to be tortured on the rack; but not nearly so much so as it will be in the day of judg-

ment for the intolerant bigots who did the persecuting.

The sympathy which the *Christian Statesman* is continually expressing for the persecuted Jews in Russia, for the victims of the slave trade in Africa, and for the much abused Chinaman in America is evidently all put on, to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people, so that the efforts of the Reformers to establish a religious despotism in this country will not create a suspicion that would be prejudicial to their success. It is the sympathy of the caged tiger for the hapless victim which has fallen a prey to his uncaged mate.

Under National Reform rule, the Jews and the Chinese, with all others who dared to use any "arguments" or "tactics" against the so-called National Reform, would find the oppression in this country the same as it is in Russia to-day, and the *Christian Statesman* knows it. Will the people allow themselves to be fooled? A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

Enforcing the Sunday Law.

THE following appeared in the Ligonier (Indiana) *Leader*, of July 23:—

A case of considerable public interest was tried before Squire Jackson on Monday, the plaintiff being the people of the State of Indiana, and the defendant, Mr. Miller, who keeps the candy stand on the corner opposite the Ligonier house. The trial was by jury and resulted in a disagreement, nine being for conviction and three for acquittal. The prosecution grew out of the agitation of the Sunday closing law and was rather a test case, but owing to Miller being a poor man, or reported to be, he elicited sympathy through the efforts of his attorney, and as near as we can learn the jurors who were opposed to convicting him, were more or less influenced in that direction through sympathy. Whether the fight for Sunday closing is to be continued we do not know, but certainly the Law and Order League cannot stop at this juncture.

If Sunday business is to be stopped it will require vigilance and determination. It is not simply a question whether one or two poor men shall be prevented from doing business on Sunday, but whether there is a sentiment in this community sufficient to enforce a law that is in the interest of good morals and good government. The fight is now on and must be fought to the finish. There can be no backing down or postponement.

But in this matter the extremes should be avoided. Let the spirit of the law be observed and good will result, but if the war is "carried into Africa," the end is likely to be damaging both to morals and the public good. Be careful.

This editor talks out on the question with a good deal of earnestness and in no uncertain language. It is another proof of how men in all parts of our country are committing themselves to Sunday laws, and in doing that they are virtually acting over the scenes of the fourth century, that began with Sunday laws and ended in the supremacy of the Church, tyrannizing over the consciences of men during the long night of the Dark Ages.

It is not a matter of surprise that the same paper publishes an announcement that the pastor of the Presbyterian Church would speak on the "Sabbath question" on the following Sunday evening.

While this agitation is going on some one should be there to show up the fallacy of such work.

NATIONAL

Religious Liberty Association.

A CORRESPONDENT of a California paper writing from southeastern Tennessee, notes some of the same facts published in these columns last week relative to the manner in which the Sunday law is enforced in that State, and says:—

After having spent seventeen years in California, where no Sunday law exists, and in States west of the Rocky Mountains, where none is operative, I can truthfully say that Sunday is observed there more scrupulously than here in Tennessee, with all her Sunday laws.

The same correspondent testifies that the law is not enforced except against those who observe the seventh day, or in some other way render themselves religiously obnoxious to their neighbors; in short, the law is used as a means of religious persecution pure and simple.

THE Chief of Police of Hartford, Connecticut, enforced the Sunday law against the Italian fruit stands a few weeks ago, and the result has been to arouse an intense religious zeal in the Italian heart, being now debarred from selling bananas on Sunday they devote this time to assisting in the enforcement of Sunday closing of business in general. What an effective method of Christianizing the ungodly, the National Reformers have discovered!

Exhorted by City Attorney Browning the fruit dealers of Norwich, Connecticut, are also experiencing the same kind of religion, with the exception of Elias Raphael, a Hebrew, whose shop is closed until sunset on the seventh day according to the commandment of the Bible, and open all day Sunday contrary to the commandment of man. How long will it be before a Russian ukase will be asked for in the case of the Jew of Norwich?

IN view of the fact that the Methodist Church was the prime mover in the organization of the American Sabbath Union, which has for one of its objects, the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws, which will stop the running of street cars on Sunday, and all Sunday railroad trains, the statement that for five years this denomination, represented by the Chicago district, has been receiving twenty per cent. of the earnings of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad from Sunday excursion trains, run to and from the Methodist camp-meeting, will no doubt surprise the readers of THE SENTINEL.

A Presbyterian minister recently declared in the presence of a number of Methodist ministers that the Methodist Church was one of the chief desecrators of Sunday by their Sunday camp-meetings, and later, another Presbyterian minister, at a Union meeting on the West Side, held under the auspices of the American Sabbath Union, in a Methodist Church, stated

that next to the Sunday newspapers, the Methodists were, by means of their camp-meetings, the worst enemies of Sunday sacredness. The Methodist ministers do not accept this statement of the situation with much grace. They retort by calling attention to the number of Presbyterians who use the street cars on Sunday.

While thus pointing out each other's inconsistencies, they all arrive at beautiful harmony in denouncing a state of affairs which allows a seventh-day observer to follow his usual avocation on Sunday. It is but fair to state that a majority of the Methodist ministers at a recent Monday morning meeting, opposed receiving any more Sunday excursion profits, although no action was taken.

MAYOR BRADLEY, of Asbury Park, New Jersey, has issued a general order for the closing of all business on Sunday. Nevertheless, Sunday, July 26, the druggists sold cigars and soda water all day. The cigar and candy stores in the hotels also did a good business. A Saratoga water fountain, on property owned by Mr. Bradley, supplied all customers, while, until ten o'clock, Mr. Bradley's own employes rented bathing suits to all applicants, and among his patrons were many young people from Ocean Grove. The Sunday papers were also sold along the beach.

Any reasonable-minded person would think that the ludicrous inconsistencies, developed in the attempt to enforce Sunday and other religious laws, would open the minds of the promoters to the civil impropriety of all such legislation; but whom the god of this world would destroy he first makes mad.

Arguments of the Donatists Against the Employment of Force in Religious Matters.

"DID the apostles ever persecute any one, or did Christ ever deliver any one over to the secular power? Christ commands us to flee persecutors. Matt. 10:23. Thou who callest thyself a disciple of Christ oughtest not to imitate the evil deeds of the heathen. Think you thus to serve God—by destroying with your own hand? Ye err, ye err, poor mortals, if ye believe this; for God has not executioners for his priests. Christ persecutes no one; for he was for inviting, not forcing men to the faith; and when the apostles complained to him of the founders of separate parties (Luke 9:50), he said to them: 'He who is not against us, is for us;' and so too Paul, in Philippians 1:18. Our Lord Christ says: 'No man can come unto me, unless the Father, who hath sent me, draw him.' But why do you not permit every man to follow his own free will, since God, the Lord himself, has bestowed this free will on man? He has simply pointed out to man the

way to righteousness, that none might be lost through ignorance. Christ, in dying for men, has given Christians the example to die, but not to kill. Christ teaches us to suffer wrong, not to requite it. The apostle tells of what he had endured, not of what he had done to others."—*Donatist Bishop Petilian.—Neander's Church History, Vol. 2, pages 247, 248, Fourteenth American Edition.*

"God created man free, after his own image. How am I to be deprived of that by human lordship, which God has bestowed on me? What sacrilege, that human arrogance should take away what God has bestowed, and idly boast of doing this in God's behalf. It is a great offense against God, when he is defended by men. What must he think of God, who would defend him with outward force? Is it that God is unable to punish offenses against himself? Hear what the Lord says: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.' The peace of the world must be introduced among contending nations by arms. The peace of Christ invites the willing with wholesome mildness; it never forces men against their wills. The Almighty God employed prophets to convert the people of Israel; he enjoined it not on princes; the Saviour of souls, the Lord Christ, sent fishermen, and not soldiers, to preach his faith."—*Donatist Bishop Gaudentius.—Ibid, page 248.*

THE Directors of the State Normal School at San Jose, California, passed a resolution some time ago prohibiting the reading of the Bible as a part of the exercises in the school. Their action was reported to the Evangelical Alliance by a director who voted against the resolution, and was much pained by its adoption. The subject was brought up at the last meeting of the Alliance, and a committee was appointed to consider the matter. Rev. John Kimball, a member of the committee, said recently to a reporter of the *San Francisco Examiner*: "The committee has not met as yet, and I do not know what it will do. I have no information about the reasons for the action of the Normal School Directors, but I suppose it was only another manifestation of the policy that has left the Bible out of the public schools of the State. It is to be regretted very much that the Directors took such action. The Normal School trains the teachers who are to take charge of the education of the children of the State, and they ought to be fitted to give the children moral and religious education."

THE National Religious Liberty Association will hold its next regular annual meeting at Battle Creek, Michigan, August 13, 1891. The importance of the work of the Association is becoming more and more apparent. All the members are delegates, and we trust that a good representation will be present.

By Order of the Executive Board,
A. O. TAIT, Cor. Sec'y.



NEW YORK, AUGUST 6, 1891.

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

To Go to the Supreme Court.

THE famous King case, from Obion County, Tennessee, will now go to the Supreme Court of the United States, Judge Hammond, of the United States District Court, having dismissed the *habeas corpus* proceedings and remanded King to the custody of the sheriff of Obion County, thus sustaining the State Sunday law. King's offense was plowing corn on Sunday, after having observed the seventh day according to the fourth commandment.

It is stated that the officials in charge of the Barge Office, the place now used for the landing of immigrants, have decided to report favorably to Attorney-General Miller upon the proposition to close the place on Sunday. If this is done it will work quite a hardship upon thousands of steerage passengers.

THE Church of England has recently, for the first time since 1832, made a report of its revenues to Parliament. The report shows the Established Church to be immensely wealthy. Its annual revenues amount in round numbers to \$28,000,000, which, it is remarked, "goes far toward accounting for the great influence which it wields."

"If Nobody Sees You. How to Bathe Conscientiously on Sunday at Ocean Grove," is the heading given by the *Sun* to the following dispatch:—

Asbury Park, July 26.—The Bible class of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association meets every Sunday afternoon during the summer. It is conducted by the Rev. Dr. John Hanlon. A question box is one of the features of the meetings. Dr. Hanlon reads the questions and then answers them.

Dr. Hanlon read and answered questions to-day as follows:—

Question.—Is it wrong to bathe on Sunday, if you have no other time?

Dr. Hanlon.—To bathe here, where it is against the rule, would be wrong; but if you have no other time, and nobody will see you, it's no harm.

Question.—How can the ministers advocate Sabbath observances calling it a day of rest, yet some who will speak to-morrow are now traveling by train and by boat to reach here?

Dr. Hanlon.—If a man cannot preach without traveling on the Sabbath he had better not preach at all. I, for one, do not advocate Sunday traveling.

Question.—Is James A. Bradley consistent when

he tries to stop the sale of cigars and soda by the storekeepers on Sunday, and yet rents lands to a man who sells mineral water on Sunday; also rents his bathing houses and does all he can to increase his profits?

Dr. Hanlon.—I am not James A. Bradley's judge; you must take him to a higher court.

Another dispatch of the same date published in the *World* of July 27, says that notwithstanding Mr. Bradley's announcement that he would stop Sunday traffic, business was carried on as usual, and Mr. Bradley's employes rented bathing suits during the early morning hours to all applicants.

AT the international session of the Congregationalists, recently held in London, Mr. Little, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, read a paper in which he argued that the religious observance of Sunday concerned the highest duties of the State. There seems to be a good deal of talk of late in regard to the benefits the State derives from Sunday observance. It is all talk, however. There has not, nor can there be, any evidence produced that will show the assertion to be true. Is not the history of the past sufficient to teach us the lesson, that the State can not legislate in favor of religious dogma without great evils resulting from it?

THE proprietor of the only bath houses at Bay Shore, Long Island, has recently been converted, and has ordered all his bath houses closed all day Sunday. The hotel keepers are highly indignant at this action and threaten to build other bath houses and run the Sunday-keeper out of business. Of course it is their privilege to build other bath houses, but the threat to run any man out of business because he observes Sunday, or any other day, strictly, is unworthy of free men in a free country. The man has a perfect right to close his bath houses on Sunday if he sees fit to do so. The spirit of compelling people either to observe or not to observe Sunday is wholly un-American.

THE Philadelphia *Record* says:—

Connecticut has had a severe attack of Sabbatarianism, under the influence of which a few of the restless zealots in various cities of the State are making themselves ridiculous and rendering many other people very uncomfortable. In contemplating these strange retrocessions to the evil days of intolerance the philosophical mind is sometimes led to question whether, after all, the knowledge of and regard for true liberty have increased in New England since the misty years when wicked witches were hanged, and unlucky Quakers' ears were nailed to the town pump.

The truth is, this revival of intolerant religious legislation is not confined to Connecticut. Pennsylvania and Philadelphia are not exempt from the same craze for a legal religion. In the convention of the Sabbath Union just held at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, Lewis K. Vail, a lawyer of Philadelphia, declared the Pennsylvania

Act of 1794 on Sunday observance to be "all right," and gloried in the failure of an attempt in the last Legislature to weaken its force. "The Sunday laws," said he, "must be kept on the statute books and men sent as legislators who will retain them and enact better and stricter if necessary."

Dr. Fernley, also, Secretary of the Philadelphia Sabbath Association, wanted to fence in himself and the city of Philadelphia, the *Record* not excepted—"with a ten board fence—each board a commandment of the Lord." Such a fence would be a National Reform improvement on the chains which once closed Philadelphia streets on Sunday.

"A good idea," says the *Christian at Work*, "may be formed of the rapid growth of the great Protestant movement in Russia when we mention, on the best authority, that four hundred and fifty persons were admitted to church membership during 1890 in the two small provinces of Cherson and the Taurida. There are no accurate statistics from the other provinces in which the movement has taken root, but we are credibly informed that the total number of new members in 1890 exceeded fourteen hundred. In the first five months of this year, notwithstanding the terrible persecution raging against these brethren, the number of members who have joined exceeds seven hundred. Over two thousand in seventeen months!"

What an illustration have we here of the utter impotence of a State Church! The Orthodox Church, corrupt to the core because of its connection with the State, has lost its hold upon the people who are honestly trying to serve God, and they are leaving its communion in the face of bitter persecution. The only service that any human government can possibly render true religion is to let it alone.

MINISTERS and others interested in the Sunday movement at Racine, Wisconsin, are threatening to impeach the mayor of the city because he does not enforce the Sunday laws. The mayor has told them that he will not close the saloon on Sunday nor stop Sunday baseball, and that they can commence impeachment proceedings as soon as they please.

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