



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

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A THEOCRACY is essentially a religious government. Sabbath laws belong only with a theocracy. As Sunday laws are advocated upon a theory that Sunday is the Sabbath, so are they inseparable from a theocratical theory of government. In such a theory Sunday laws originated—with such a theory they belong, and every argument in behalf of Sunday laws is, in the nature of the case, compelled to presuppose a theocratical theory of government.

Nor can this result be avoided by calling it the "civil Sabbath." To call it the "civil Sabbath" and then attempt to support it as such by arguments, every one of which rests upon a theocratical basis, is simply to demonstrate that the title of "civil Sabbath" is only a contrivance to save appearances, and is essentially a fraud.

THE State can not make men good. The State is a natural thing, It springs from men in the natural state, and there is no power in nature, or in any natural process, or thing, to make men good. Nothing but the power of God as revealed in Jesus Christ can ever make men good. But that is a supernatural thing. It was supernaturally manifested in Jesus Christ, and is now supernaturally impressed upon men and cultivated in them. Goodness is a fruit of the Spirit of God; and the promise of the Spirit of God is received only through faith, of which Jesus Christ is "the author and finisher." The State knows nothing of faith, and has nothing to do with faith. It is impossible, therefore, for

the State to make good men, and any professed minister of the gospel of Christ who attributes such power to the State, virtually denies the purpose and the power of Christianity. If the State can make men good, then assuredly there is no need of Christianity to make them good, and there was no need of Christ's coming down to this earth to make them good.

Whence Came It All?

FROM the extracts which we have made and discussed, in our review of Judge Hammond's *dictum*, we have no doubt that many of our readers have wondered where in the world a judge of a United States court ever could have got such an abundance of such strange principles. He was sitting in the place, and speaking officially from the bench, of a judge of a court of the Government of the United States. It were to be expected, therefore, that he would announce the principles of the Government of the United States. Instead of this, however, he boldly sets forth propositions and principles that are utterly subversive of every principle of the Government of the United States, as that Government was originally established, and as the people have supposed it was being maintained.

Where did the Judge get them? We are not left to answer this question ourselves, nor in a way in which there need be any fear of making a mistake. The answer is already and abundantly made, and furnished ready to our hand. All we need to do is to transcribe such portions as may be required to answer the inquiry that has been raised.

The decision of the Court and the *dictum* of the Judge, were filed at Memphis, Tennessee, August 1, 1891, and were printed in full in the *Memphis Appeal-Avalanche*, of the next day, August 2. Then in the same paper of August 30, there is a communication nearly four columns in length, entitled, "The Sunday Habit," upon the same subject, covering the same ground, signed

"E. S. Hammond" and dated "August 12, 1891." The headlines of the communication show that the E. S. Hammond, whose name is signed to it, is the same one who as Judge E. S. Hammond filed the *dictum* August 1, which was printed August 2. And every line of the communication plainly shows that it was from Mr. E. S. Hammond, the individual, that Hon. E. S. Hammond the Judge obtained the principles and propositions which are set forth in the *dictum*.

Nor were they simply gotten up for the occasion, or prepared on short notice. By Mr. Hammond's express statement they are shown to have been of long standing, if not inherent, in the individual. After stating again some of the leading thoughts of the *dictum* of the judge, Mr. Hammond, with a satisfaction that is clearly apparent, announces that:—

Upon this line of argument, the writer *some years ago*, being invited to lecture before his Jewish fellow-citizens, upon the question whether Christianity can be a part of the law of the land, sought to reconcile them to the civic doctrine of obedience to a dominant, though distasteful custom, even at the economic sacrifice of another day of labor, rather than attempt to overthrow a habit so fixed as the Sunday habit, by the comparatively weak process of individual defiance of the custom, and to agitate the incorporation of an exception in the Sunday laws in favor of him who conscientiously had abstained from labor on Saturday.

This shows that the doctrine of obedience to a dominant religious party who, by "a sort of factitious advantage" may control the civil power, and by it compel conformity to their religious opinions or dogmas, is an old and favorite doctrine of Mr. Hammond's; and he seems to be so smitten with his despotic principles that he not only seizes every opportunity to air them and parade them before the public, but must needs use the judicial office of the United States to create an opportunity.

As for his effort to reconcile his Jewish fellow-citizens to his doctrine, we can say *first*, Unless his Jewish fellow-citizens of Tennessee are much more financially liberal than they are in any other part of the country, they would hardly appreciate his

request that they pay sixteen and two-thirds per cent. of their income for the privilege of being reconciled to "the civic doctrine" of obedience to a dominant and distasteful religious custom; and *second*, and above all, Unless they are entirely lost to the religious integrity that has always characterized their race, they would still less appreciate his invitation that for the privilege of being so reconciled, they surrender to a dominant party, and to a distasteful custom, all their rights of conscience.

For, to surrender all their rights of conscience is just what he asks them to do. For when an exception is either asked or granted, upon the condition that those who are excepted shall "conscientiously" abstain from labor on another day, it then becomes a matter of judicial decision as to what is conscientious abstinence or observance. This has already been declared by the courts of those States which have exemption clauses in their Sunday laws. The decisions have declared that the burden of proof of conscientious action rests upon him who makes the claim of exception on account of conscientious observance of another day, and the proof must be such *as will satisfy the court*.

Thus it is demonstrated that Mr. Hammond's proposition, of which he seems to be so proud, is simply a proposal that citizens of the United States and of the State of Tennessee, shall surrender to the control of courts and juries their conscientious convictions, their conscientious beliefs, and their conscientious observances; that they shall no longer observe the Sabbath according to the dictates of their own consciences, but only according to the dictates of the courts.

This is precisely the doctrine of the *dictum* of Judge Hammond, and it is evident that it was derived from Mr. E. S. Hammond, *the individual*; for it is in open contradiction to both the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Tennessee, both of which were specifically before the Judge when he set forth his *dictum*.

The Constitution of the State of Tennessee, whose citizens Mr. Hammond was endeavoring to reconcile to the dictates of a dominant religious party, by asking them to surrender to the courts their rights of conscience, plainly declares that "No human authority can, *in any case whatever*, control or interfere with the rights of conscience." Therefore it is plain that in the proposal which Mr. Hammond made to his Jewish fellow-citizens of Tennessee, he spoke in open contradiction to the Constitution of that State, as well as in total oblivion of every principle of the rights of conscience; and actually advised his Jewish fellow-citizens to surrender their explicitly declared Constitutional rights as well as their own individual and divine rights of conscience,

The Constitution of the United States which Judge Hammond is empowered to construe, which he is sworn faithfully to maintain, and which is intended to be the supreme guide in all the deliverances which he renders from the bench upon which he sits—"the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withholds from the Federal Government the power to invade the home of reason, *the citadel of conscience*." It is evident therefore that the principles of that *dictum* were not derived, in any sense, from the Constitution which the judge is sworn to maintain and which is intended to be his guide; nor were they derived from the Constitution of Tennessee which at the time was subject to his cognizance.

Therefore, as the principles of Judge Hammond's *dictum* are not the principles of either the Constitution of the United States, or the State of Tennessee, both of which were the direct subject of his judicial cognizance, and as they are explicitly the principles of Mr. E. S. Hammond, *the individual*, as expressed in his communication, of August 12, 1891, to the *Appeal-Avalanche*, and as set forth "some years ago" from the lecture platform; it logically follows that the principles announced in the *dictum* of Hon. E. S. Hammond, *the judge*, were derived solely from Mr. E. S. Hammond, *the individual*. And from this it follows inevitably that upon the question of religious right, Hon. E. S. Hammond of the Circuit Court of the United States, has not hesitated to set forth, from the judicial bench of the United States, his own personal and individual opinions to clothe them as far as possible with the authority that attaches to such a position, and to pass them off upon the American people as the principles of the Government of the United States.

This illustrates another point, and one which all history emphasizes: that is, that whenever religion becomes in any way connected with the civil power, it is always the personal opinions, as to religion, of those who happen at the time to be in power, that are given the force of law, which all are expected to accept, and to which all are obliged, by authority of Government, to submit. And the first essay of the kind by a court of the United States, ought to be enough to awaken the people of this Nation to the wisdom of the Constitution and of the governmental fathers who made it, in straightly forbidding the Government to take cognizance of religious things in any way whatever.

Mr. Hammond presumes to announce, for the Jews, that *of course* he declares to be to their credit, that "they adopt this [his] plan of compliance." But we are very happy to know and to publish, that he also announces that the "Anglo-Saxon, who follows the tenet of the Jews as to the Sabbath, is more irreconcilable

to the sacrifice he is called to make." All honor to such Anglo-Saxons then. We sincerely hope that every one of them will forever remain completely irreconcilable to any such sacrifice or compliance. Better a thousand times to die as poor King, the victim in this case did, condemned by such "process of law" and under one thousand dollars bail, or even in a dungeon, than to comply with bigoted demands of a religious party who, "in spite of the clamor for religious freedom and the progress that has been made in the absolute separation of Church and State," and by "a sort of factitious advantage," "have secured the aid of the civil law." Better to die the freemen of Jesus Christ, than to live the slaves of a religious despotism.

R. M. King, the victim of this persecution, is dead. He died as he had lived, a humble, harmless man, and sincere Christian. He died condemned by the courts of Tennessee, and the Circuit Court of the United States, and bound in one thousand dollars bail on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. By his death his case has passed from earthly courts and stands appealed to the Supreme Court of the Universe.

That Court will surely sit, for "God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness." In that day there will sit a Judge with whom neither "factitious advantage" nor "public opinion," but only *justice*, shall have any weight. And in that day we would far rather stand in King's place than in that of his persecutors; for He who shall sit as Judge that day, has long ago declared, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me;" and "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

A. T. J.

Religious Battles of Political Religions.

THE *Mail and Express*, quotes President Amaron, of the French Protestant College, at Springfield, Massachusetts, as saying that "the Republicans of that State may thank the French and Irish Roman Catholic vote for their defeat." And also reports the Hon. Solomon Hirsch, United States Minister at Constantinople, as declaring "that politics there are purely battles of religions. The various countries stand for their respective religions, and the position which the ambassador from any country will take on any new issue in the Orient can be foretold just as soon as it is seen how it will affect the national church of his country." Upon this the *Mail and Express* comments, and applies its deductions to Tammany Hall as the controlling element of the Democratic party of this city and State, and, as purely a grand Romish propaganda, trying to

unite Church and State, that is the Roman Catholic Church and the State. There is a much broader application of these facts than this which restricts the warning to be derived from them solely to the encroachments of the Romish propaganda. The *Mail and Express* is itself the mouth-piece of a religious party in politics, precisely similar in purpose to that which is professedly papal,—a party of monopoly in political religion which says, that Roman ecclesiasticism must not rule because Protestant ecclesiasticism must rule, and when Protestantism asserts its right to civil rule it becomes no longer Protestant but Romish. The publications are many, and the organizations almost legion, which are rapidly making the politics of this country a battle of religions, and already it can be said, in some degree, of the representatives of the people in Congress, that their position can be told on any new issue, as soon as it can be seen how it affects the religious sentiment of their constituency. W. H. M.

Should Sabbath Observance be Enforced by Law?

[Continuation of the negative argument, delivered at the annual contest of the Philomath and Adelpia Literary Societies of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, June 24, 1891. by A. L. Russell (Philo.), Bulger, Pa.]

IN the Massachusetts reports (p. 224) we find the Supreme Court deciding that the repairing of a highway on Sabbath was permissible. The Indiana Supreme Court (p. 189) declares the hauling and boiling of sugar water on Sabbath allowable; and the same court (p. 416) decides that melons may be gathered on Sabbath in conformity with their Sabbath laws, and civil observance under the same. The Ohio Supreme Court holds the care of crops in bad weather to be compatible with civil observance. Judge Stowe, of Pennsylvania, in the case of *Commonwealth vs. Gillespie*, decides that oil wells may be pumped on the Sabbath day. How do such decisions tally with the command, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy?" And only when holily kept can it be said to be observed.

Then, by the express declaration of the Supreme Courts, it is strictly compatible with the State idea of Sabbath observance, to pump oil wells, boil sugar water, gather melons, work on the public roads, haul in crops, run glass and iron works, and do any other work pecuniary interest demands. Our Pennsylvania Supreme Court moreover decides that "necessity is totally incapable of any sharp definition and can only be approximately defined," and that "the courts never inquire whether such work is necessary or whether through improvements such labor may be abandoned."

If such labor constitutes Sabbath observance, what would constitute Sabbath desecration? It is the height of absurdity

to support such a claim for a moment. It is not observance at all. Yet it is the observance civil law secures, and, by the quoted confession of the courts, the best they can secure through Sabbath laws.

Then it inevitably follows that the *civil law does not secure true observance, or observance acceptable to God.*

The realm of religion is the soul. The manifestation of religion is worship, and worship is voluntary homage. Man's nature, constituted in accordance with the divine plan of salvation, the basis of which is love, revolts from the use of force in the observance of religious institutions; for force destroys the essential element of all worship and relegates the coerced victim's vow to the realm of hypocritical mummery, and that is spiritual and eternal death. God repudiates all force, and sums up his conception of human duty in that criterion of all religion—the moral law—the sum of which is perfect love to God and man.

The great Expounder of that law when on earth, would not ally his cause with the civil power. Resisting attempted force, he says, "My kingdom is not of this world." "Who made me a judge to rule over you?" "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Nor does the *true disciple* seek to light his temple with such unhallowed fire; for it is to be illumed by other and holier lights. Yet some professed Christians seem to think Christ's religion of love best inculcated by force. We have proven the Sabbath a purely religious institution. It must be admitted that Christianity repudiates all force in the observance of its institutions. Then it inevitably follows that Christianity repudiates the use of force in the observance of the Sabbath.

Yet, in defiance of the fundamental ideas and plainest precepts of Christianity, some of its professors advocate the use of force. Crying out in alarm at the desecration of the day they deem sacred, they seek for the penalties of law in hope of aid, well knowing that were the *hearts* right there would be no profanation. But the heart is made right only by the boundless grace, which they trample underfoot when turning from it to court the favor of secular law.

Bishop Vincent says: "The Church makes a great mistake when it seeks to influence temporal power. All the Church wants is spiritual power, and this goes out when temporal power is invoked." The Christian rightly claims protection in the exercise of his religion, but protection does not mean support, patronage, or regulation of religion in any way. Christian, Jew, and pagan have a right to the protection of the law, but none of them to its support. No one has the right to force on others the observance of the institutions of his religion, nor punish others for the profanation of a day he deems sacred. Every true Christian repudiates

the doctrine of force, as foreign to the Christian religion.

But the advocates of coercive religion say that "without the coercion of law, the Sabbath would soon be generally desecrated." This we deny. It contradicts facts, history, and experience. The true Christian observes his Sabbath, be it the first or seventh day, *because he is a Christian, not* because it is enjoined by civil law. In localities without such laws, or having them as nullities, the Lord's day is generally observed. California has no Sabbath laws. I read from Rev. Mr. Crafts's "Sabbath for Man," that a San Francisco pastor gives as answer to the question, "Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?"—"Among the Christian people of California; the characteristics of their Sabbath observance are reverence, tempered with love; joyousness and rare fidelity in Christian service; Christlike ministrations to those in trouble, want, and sorrow." And in another place Mr. Crafts himself says, "A better public sentiment is the only sure defense," thus proving that the observance of the Sabbath does not depend on civil law.

The distinction between protection of the Sabbath and enforced observance of the Sabbath is vast. It is fully protected by laws against disturbing church and religious meetings; against uproars, riots, and quarrels. Yet these are not Sabbath laws, according to the American Bar Association. It is public opinion, and not law, that makes the Sabbath respected. Without this opinion the proposed law could not be enforced; with it no law is needed. For, since all institutions, whether legalized or not, are enforced only as public opinion sanctions such enforcement, it is to the *people* true Christianity makes its appeal, and *not* to the law.

Philosophy teaches us to deal with causes, and not with effects. The Sabbath law deals with effects alone; and since it neither aims at, nor is able to reach, the cause, it is useless.

THERE is a class of erratic-minded religionists in our country whose mere feeling, or what they misconceive to be conscience, disquiets them, often to the extent of making them refuse to accept public trusts in the national and State services, or to sit even as jurors; and this because the Constitution, in their fancy, omits to establish, as by human positive law, that God exists; and, which would then ultimately and inevitably come to pass, take the Church of Christ, as was done by Roman-imperial and by Norman policy, under the oppressive and malign patronage of the civil service.—*Chief Justice Shea.*

"EVIL is most dangerous when it looks most like good."

Who Owns the Laboring Classes?

THIS question was suggested by an account of a meeting held in Chicago Sept. 2-4, in the interests of the Sunday closing of the World's Fair. Said the Rev. Dr. Patton to a reporter, "I am not a bigot, but I do believe in the perpetuation of the American Sabbath. We must not become like Europe." "But," said the reporter, "there are thousands of working people, who, by the nature of their employment, say they could attend on no other day than Sunday." "Shame upon their employers;" replied the Doctor, "but I think regular holidays will be given, so that these people can attend."

During the same session, Rev. J. P. Sankey made the following remark:—

Why if we allowed the compromise, *thousands would flock* to the Fair Sundays as they do to the parks, and before long the whole thing would be running full blast. No entering wedges in the shape of compromises.

The following words were used by Dr. P. S. Henson on the same occasion:—

The question arises, what shall we do with the masses that are accustomed, on six days of the week, to surge in and out of the Exposition grounds? What shall we do with them and for them on the first day of the week commonly called Sunday?

From these remarks it appears that thousands, and even the "masses," would be glad to attend the Exposition on Sunday, if it were open on that day, which goes to show that the majority of people have but little regard for Sunday as a sacred day. But there is a certain "we" who have a great reverence for that day, and the persons who compose that "we" would have all others compelled to conform to their ideas of right and wrong in respect to Sunday observance.

Now the question arises, Haven't the large classes of laboring men and women, which comprise nine-tenths of our population, a right to spend Sunday as they wish? or must they spend it as a few zealous advocates of Sunday legislation would have them spend it?

In both of these quotations it is noticeable that the laboring classes and also the "masses" are referred to as a body of men or class of beings unable to govern themselves. The Fair must be closed on Sunday or they will attend; holidays must be given them so they can attend the Exposition. As though they must go just when they are allowed to go, and must stay at home when they are told to stay there.

Who has any right to exercise such authority over the laboring classes of this Nation? Have not the common people minds of their own to think and act for themselves? Have they not consciences to guide them in their perceptions of right and wrong? or have they become a mere herd of unreasoning animals that must be watched over and driven by some higher order of human beings? This Nation was

founded by the common people. It was founded for the common people, and woe to the day when the common people of our Nation are unable to make their own laws.

At the same meeting it was further argued that there will be about 50,000 persons employed about the grounds during the Exposition, and that if it were open on Sunday, these persons would have no chance to rest or attend church. Now if the United States Government should compel these 50,000 persons to go there and conduct the Exposition whether they wished to or not, and then held the Fair open during seven days in the week, there would be some reason in such a plea as that. The employes of the World's Fair will labor there because they desire to do so, and they will accept the place expecting to labor on Sunday. They have a mind of their own, and can refuse the place if they do not wish to labor on Sunday. They need no overruling "we" to make them follow the teachings of their own consciences.

If not enough men can be found to run the Exposition on the first day of the week, then, of course, it will be closed on that day without any farther ceremony, but so long as there are "masses" to attend on that day, if it is open, there will be plenty of willing laborers who can be hired to do the work of running the Exposition. And who has the right to say it shall not be open on that day as well as on other days?

Some argue that closing the World's Fair on Sunday has nothing to do with religious legislation, but when persons can be found who are willing to do the work of running the Exposition on Sunday, and the masses are anxious to flock to it if open, and all are hindered because a few zealous advocates of Sunday sacredness desire to have it closed on that day, it looks very much like discrimination in favor of religious belief. Shall this Nation, at such a time, publish to all the world that this is not what it has always claimed to be—a free country, where no religion is preferred above another, no one belief protected above the rest? Shall America say to all the world that the majority of her citizens are not capable of governing themselves, or shall she produce from the soil of self-government, watered by common sense and a due regard for the opinions of others, the peaceful fruits of righteousness, freedom, and brotherly love?

Who owns the laboring classes? God owns them. To God alone are they responsible for how they spend their time. American laboring men are entirely capable of self-government. Their ideas of morality are just as high, and if left to themselves, they will act just as conscientiously, as those who are so anxious to dictate religion to them.

Then in the words of the Reverend Doctor,—“Let them alone,” “don't do

anything with them,” “give them a rest,” show to those who shall attend the Columbian Exposition that this is indeed a free Nation—that it stands on a broad foundation of religious freedom of thought and action. Let the world see that America is not contaminated with that spirit of religious bigotry and intolerance which leaves all the thinking and all the religion to a few who consider themselves a little better than the common people—that spirit which has been the precursor of the decline and fall of governments before this, and is no less destructive here and now than in the past and elsewhere.

S. O. LANE.

Preaching vs. Practice.

IN the course of his Thanksgiving sermon Dr. Talmage said:—

I wish you good cheer for civil and religious liberty. . . . Blessed be God that to-day we are free men with the prospect and determination of always being free. No established religion—Jew and Gentile, Arminian and Calvinist, Trinitarian and Unitarian, Protestant and Roman Catholic on the same footing. If persecution should come against the most unpopular of all the sects, I believe that all other denominations would band together and arm themselves, and heart would be stout, and blood would be free, and the right of men to worship according to the dictates of their consciences, would be contested at the point of the bayonet, and with blood flowing up to the bits of the horses' bridles.

Dr. Talmage should have heard by this time that the boundaries of the United States extend beyond his own Tabernacle walls; or are the windows of his mind and memory, like those of his church, so dimmed with the glory of stained glass and the illuminated figures of religious art and ecclesiastical tradition, that the light of God's truth and the reflection from the cross, which suffering humanity still bears, can not shine in? This is the preaching of the minister within the Tabernacle walls, but the practice of the judge without is something very different, as witness the case of R. M. King, and at least two score others precisely similar but less prominent; and the cases depending on similar principles of religious intolerance, but directed against no particular sect, in our Law Reports and of daily occurrence in courts not of record, numbering into the thousands. While as yet not one denomination, which Dr. Talmage recognizes as orthodox, much less "all other denominations," has risen to assert the right of any or all to worship as they will,—or not to worship if they have no loving loyalty to God but deny him in their hearts. But is it true that religious denominations are ready, for any cause, "to arm themselves" and contest questions of conscience "at the point of the bayonet, and with blood flowing up to the bits of the horses' bridles"? This ready reference to the trial by combat, in questions involving religion and morals, and even threats of the resort to the sword,

the bayonet, and the bullet, has become very common among the most prominent of those who are accepted as the leaders of religious and moral reform in this country. Such suggestions of violence as these, amounting almost to approval, are certainly not in harmony with the command of the Master to Peter, "Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Such utterances upon the subject of civil and religious liberty as this of Dr. Talmage, and that of Rev. Ezra Tinker, quoted elsewhere, are examples either of unexpected ignorance from such sources, or of willful blindness. The language of violence in which they indulge is utterly without excuse. It is the open expression of anarchism and ought to meet with the same public condemnation as the inflammatory incitement to violence of the Chicago "Reds." W. H. M.

Church and State.

"THE Prohibition Party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare," etc.—*Preamble, National Prohibition Platform.*

"As American citizens we respectfully ask you to place in your platform a clear, full recognition of these two great truths, namely, that our Lord Jesus Christ is the sovereign Ruler of our Nation, and that his moral law is the rule of all our conduct in civil and political affairs."—*National Reform Petition to the Conventions of all Political Parties.*

Does this indicate the sober sentiment of a nineteenth century people that have descended from forefathers who lived and died to found "a State without a king" or religious head? If they do, it will certainly not be an excess of patriotism to see how far we have drifted from their teaching.

Of course everybody knows that they had pronounced views on the total separation of Church and State. We fancy that we are true to that principle while many of us are zealously working to mix religion into government. Washington, the "father of his country," said: "Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen, is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Madison, the "father of the Constitution," said: "Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from government, and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both." "We are teaching the world that governments do better without kings than with them. The merit will be doubled by the other lesson: that religion flourishes in greater purity without, than with, the aid of government." Jefferson, the author of the

Declaration of Independence, said in the Virginia Assembly in 1785: "Almighty God hath created the mind free; all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments and burdens, or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness." We all know, too, that the Constitution provides that "Congress shall pass no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And as if to make it forever certain that not even Christianity should be entitled to recognition as a fundamental principle of our civil laws, Washington's treaty with Tripoli—which like all other treaties is declared by the Constitution to be part of the supreme law of the land—expressly says: "The Government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion."

Our fathers meant to be understood emphatically that this is a civil government. But they were hampered by many difficulties. Only by the most earnest persuasion did the Colonies finally adopt the Constitution. Its framers did not dare to put into it a prohibition upon the States, forbidding them to establish State religions; because almost every one had been founded by the followers of some sect. The result was, and is, that the old Church-and-State "Blue Laws" still remain on the statute books of some of the States. In the District of Columbia, in the year of grace 1891, there is in force (lacking only the execution) an unrepealed law, enacted in 1723, which provides that "any person who shall wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by writing or speaking, blaspheme or curse God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the three persons, or the unity of the Holy Trinity, . . . shall be bored through the tongue and fined twenty pounds sterling . . . and in case the said fine cannot be levied, the offender shall suffer six months' imprisonment without bail; . . . for the second offense, the offender . . . shall be stigmatized by branding in the forehead the letter B and fined forty pounds sterling . . . and in case the same can not be levied, the offender shall suffer twelve months' imprisonment without bail. . . . and for the third offense, the offender . . . shall suffer death without the benefit of the clergy."

Were such a thing to be read about as a law of the Dark Ages we would doubtless thank our fortune that we had lived to see better days; yet familiarity with our modern religious liberties has in a measure dulled our once keen sense of their inestimable value.

Our initial quotations show a tendency to the theory that the government is "a moral person" accountable to God for its own and its subjects' sins. And so we hear ardent "Reformers" protesting against "that old Philadelphia lie," that

"governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." According to this teaching the State is the parent of the people, and irresponsible to them. A co-operation of some religious associations of our country is working indefatigably to induce Congress to commit itself to the policy of legislation on religious matters, which movement, so repugnant to the original principles of our American political system, is trying to work itself gradually and seductively into popularity. The movement originated in a great religious convention held in Ohio during the most critical period of our civil war, to determine for what great national sins our beloved country was being so grievously punished. This congress finally resolved itself into a political organization called "The National Reform Association." Their avowed object then and now is "to secure such an amendment to the Federal Constitution as shall . . . place all the Christian usages, laws, and institutions of the Government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." And this body with its auxiliary associations is unalterably pledged to the accomplishment of its purposes.

This movement was fathered, not by Romanism, but by a professedly Protestant denomination. By the admission of one of their most prominent members, "National Reform is simply the practical application of the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church for the reformation of the Nation." (The italics are his own.) And this menace to American liberty is the more dangerous in that it comes from within, not from without, and from a people who are voluntary political aliens. One of the cardinal principles of this church is that no member shall vote in this country until God shall be specifically recognized in the Constitution as the source of all authority in government. It was this denomination that on the 10th of June last, at Pittsburg, by a vote in its national Synod of ninety-five to thirty-seven, expelled five of its leading young ministers for heresy, because they taught, and practiced, the elective franchise of American citizens.

All this ought to mean that it is time for every lover of American liberties to examine his own opinions on the subject of the political recognition of the Deity in any way; and to resolve that he will give no support or sympathy to any movement whose logical significance is to make our Government a despotism of the majority—by legal enactment and process to make the individual either a hypocrite or a martyr.—*Frank W. Howe, in Portland Herald.*

THE Saviour of souls sent fishermen, not soldiers, to preach his faith. What must that man think of God who defends him with outward violence?—*Gaudentius.*

A Prayer Answered.

THE Rev. Mr. Dunn, one of the Secretaries of the American Sabbath Union, in the course of a sermon preached in Brooklyn a few evenings ago, said: "The Puritans were the greatest of all great men;" and then fervently added, "O, for more of the Puritan spirit!" The following from a late Pennsylvania paper is an example of the spirit that actuated the Puritans, and its effect on those who fell victims to it: "Frenchtown, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, has been in a turmoil for several days on account of the superstitious beliefs of the foreigners there. About a week ago, Mrs. Passacre stated that she was the daughter of a mountain shepherd in Austro-Hungary, and according to the natives such a woman has the power of bewitching. Every little misfortune that has since befallen any of the inhabitants of the town has been charged to her, and the natives have threatened to burn her at the stake unless she would commit suicide. Recently a cow, belonging to the leader against the innocent woman, died. He went to the house and demanded that the cow be brought back to life within five hours. When the five hours had expired, and the animal had not come to life, the owner collected a crowd, and proceeding to her residence, dragged her from her home and so murderously assaulted her that her life is despaired of."

"In 1617, James I. published his 'Declaration to his Subjects Concerning Lawful Sports,' sanctioning certain recreations and pastimes on the Sabbath, and ordering this sanction to be made known in all the churches. Twenty-six years later this royal book was burned by the common hangman, in Cheapside, pursuant to resolution of Parliament."

"In 1637, for writing '*Altrare Christianum*' and 'Sunday no Sabbath,' Dr. Pocklington was deprived of all his livings, dignities, and preferments, perpetually disabled from holding any place in church or commonwealth, and his works were burned by the common hangman." In 1891, a book of "Bible Readings," which among other things contains the teachings of the Bible, in reference to Sunday and the Sabbath, is denounced by clergymen in the public prints as a dangerous and heretical work; and many are fined and imprisoned for failing to keep sacred the first day of the week,—even some who have religiously observed the seventh day, according to the accurate reading of the commandment.

It often happens in this world that the greatest and gravest interests are left to be judged by small-souled men.—*Dr. Vail.*

NATIONAL
Religious Liberty Association



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ.
We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.
We believe in supporting the civil government, and submitting to its authority.
We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions.
We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every man to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.
We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation by the civil government; that we and our fellow-citizens may enjoy the inestimable blessings of both religious and civil liberty.

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PETITIONS are already being received by Congressmen, and presented, praying Congress not to grant further financial assistance to the World's Fair unless it be closed on Sunday.

THE annual report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, submitted to the President, and by him transmitted to Congress, urges the adoption of "a law to prohibit the pursuit of ordinary secular occupations on Sunday," in the District of Columbia.

AN attempt is being made in Oregon to revive the old Sunday law of that State, which has been a dead letter for some time, it having been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State some years ago. When it is remembered that an effort was made at their last Legislature to get a Sunday law enacted that could easily be made effective, it can be readily seen how determined the advocates of Sunday legislation are, in that part of the country.

THE New York State Sabbath Committee, organized at the convention held in Utica, consists of two members from each county in the State, and will, among other things, "oppose legislation unfriendly to the use of the first day of the week for rest and religious uses, by bringing to bear upon the Legislature prompt united action of the Sabbath loving citizens in all parts of the State whenever such legislation is attempted, and seek to secure a better enforcement of existing laws in the interest of Sabbath observance." The *Syracuse Times* raises a warning voice to the Committee: "Gentlemen, have a care that you don't trample upon the rights and liberty of those who do not agree with you!"

IN order to test the Sunday law in reference to hacks and cabs, the cab drivers of Washington, D. C., are courting arrest. The *Washington Post* tells of it thus:—

One of the many hobbies of Ex-Commissioner Ludlow was that a regulation should be passed to clear the hack stands on Sunday. He eventually secured the adoption of a regulation prohibiting the congregating of hacks on the regular stands on Sunday, and this regulation also prohibited hack or cab drivers from soliciting on the streets. The law has been rigidly enforced. On Sundays one seeking a cab is obliged to go to a stable or to one of the depots in order to secure a conveyance. The cabs are allowed to go to the trains and pick up customers there. Their practice has been to drive

to the depots and if a fare was not secured to drive rather rapidly along the avenue as though they either had a passenger or were going to answer a call sent to the stable for a vehicle. Though apparently driving along fully intent on an errand, they were really on the lookout for passengers, although it being the Sabbath, they were not allowed to say, "Cab, sir?"

The owners of cabs, hacks, hansoms etc., always considered it unjust both to themselves, and the public, that they should be excluded from the regular stands on Sunday. They have, therefore, instructed their men to drive along the avenues and streets and solicit custom, and to violate the regulation in order to test the validity of the law. Yesterday the officers of the first precinct arrested four drivers charged with a violation of the regulation.

REV. JAMES M. KING, General Secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, is in Washington for the purpose of influencing Congress to recommend a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as follows:—

No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

The purposes and principles of this organization, condensed into a watchword would be, "America for Protestant Americans," for it sets itself to restrict immigration, to establish a certain censorship as to the study of the English language, in the public schools, and while ostensibly favoring the separation of Church and State has, as the main purpose of its existence, the preservation of American ecclesiasticism.

A DEBATE in the French Chamber of Deputies on December 16, concerning the relations of Church and State, was the cause of great uproar and nearly resulted in a duel. The despatches say: "The ecclesiastical controversy caused a great disturbance in the Chamber of Deputies to-day. M. Hubbard introduced a motion condemning the hostile attitude of the clergy, and demanding that steps be taken for the separation of Church and State." M. Fallieres, Minister of Justice and Public Worship, replied, and a scene of tremendous excitement and threatened violence ensued. "Resuming his speech M. Fallieres said that the government was opposed to the separation of Church and State. The Ministry, he continued, would shortly introduce a bill dealing with associations, which would apply equally to religious and secular communities. He added, however, that this bill must not be regarded as a prelude to the separation of Church and State. . . . It is the general opinion among members of the Chamber of Deputies, that the debate may be critical as regards the existence of the Cabinet owing to the dissatisfaction of the members of the Right at the Cabinet's intention to introduce a bill dealing with religious associations."

IN Germany the Lutheran is the established church and the king is its virtual head; but there are nine churches over which the government has supervision and to which money is yearly granted. The professors of the theological institutions are appointed by the government, and they teach what they choose or omit to teach what they please, so long as they do not offend the government, and retain their positions as purveyors of religious belief. Sometime ago an officer was dismissed from the army because of the irreligious teachings of a book which he had published, but it did not deprive him of his membership in the church; of so artificial and perfunctory a nature are the requirements of church relationship. The Church is without power of discipline and unable to purge itself of those whose lives are unworthy. The government is the arbiter of all these things, and its attention

is awake only to those qualities in its subjects which constitute an effective soldiery. This is an example of a nationalized Protestant Christianity, open to the eyes of the whole world, yet, in this country, the entire force of Church influence is brought to bear to bring about a similar condition,—a nationalized Christianity in a "Christian Nation."

THE Secular Union of the State of Washington, has undertaken to fight the battles of the Church from a point of view which will probably not be appreciated. An earnest letter was addressed to the Governor of the State, protesting against the issuing of an official Thanksgiving proclamation; "because the proclamation of a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, and recommending that all the people assemble at their respective places of worship and give thanks, etc. etc., is usurping the prerogative of the churches, and is an act of injustice, a violation alike of the national, and our own State Constitutions."

This is an unexpected source from which to hear a defense of the prerogatives of the Church. No doubt so sturdy a championship will be accepted in the same spirit that it is offered. When a point, so undeniably sound, is made in favor of the Church, it would be unfortunate if any uncharitable feeling as to its origin should militate in the least against its fullest usefulness.

A REPRESENTATIVE of the licensed victuallers, brewers, and publicans, of London, expresses himself, in the London *Echo*, concerning the "Lord's Day Observance Society," after this manner:—

Sir,—I am very glad to see that the above excellent society is about to stop the National Sunday League in their evil and unnatural conduct of running lectures and concerts, for the working classes, on Sunday evenings. Why, Sir, they have already four centres going, where the working classes crowd in hundreds, and I understand that they are about to open more in different districts in London. Now this comes hard on us; we are harassed on every side, first by one and then by another, and as we contribute about one-third of the national revenues of this Christian country, we deserve more consideration; and if these concerts are continued, drawing away our customers of a Sunday evening between seven and ten, I should like to know how we are to live. I am sure that both my brother licensed victuallers and the great brewers will be only too happy to subscribe to this Lord's Day Observance Society, and help them in their most righteous cause.

Yours,

A PUBLICAN.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. HEMPHILL, of South Carolina, has been named for the chairmanship of the House Committee on the District of Columbia. To this Committee will be referred the bills introduced for the purpose of committing Congress to the principle of religious legislation by the passage of Sunday laws for the District of Columbia.

Senator Carey of Wyoming, takes the place of Mr. Blair in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and the mantle of the chairmanship of the select Senate Committee to Establish the University of the United States falls upon Senator Proctor, as successor to Ex-Senator Edmunds.

THE State Sabbath Committee of New York will have legislative lobbying to do in opposition to the petitions of the Long Island fishermen. It is said that "the boat owners on Jamaica and Canarsie Bays are circulating a petition, which will be presented to the coming Legislature, asking that the law prohibiting line fishing in those two bays on Sunday, be abolished." Such an item as this is a reminder of old colonial days, under a State Church. It seems New York is still in the same leading strings.

"To follow foolish precedents, and wink With both our eyes, is easier than to think."

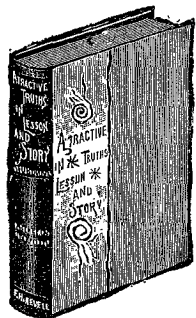
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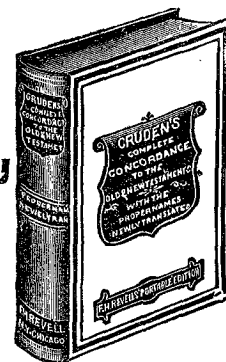
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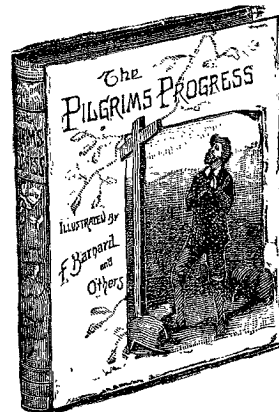
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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 24, 1891.

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AN exchange has the following:—

We never knew that a Sabbath was conducive to the health of swine; but the Swine Breeders' Association know more about swine than we do, and they say the proposed opening of the Columbian Exposition on Sunday would deprive the animals on exhibition of the rest which is needed in order that they may appear at their best.

The Swine Breeders' Association seems to have been giving free lessons in natural history to the country at large.

THE *Christian Patriot*, of Morristown, Tennessee, of the date December 15, has the following in its editorial paragraphs:—

The directors of the Chicago Fair, in spite of their proposal to trample on the laws of God, and of their country, and in the teeth of their solemn pledge, have the sublime impudence to ask Congress for a loan of five million dollars.

Have the directors made this proposal? So far they have not interfered with either the laws of God, or of the country. And if wise, they will continue neutral, and avoid trampling on the laws of God by attempting a civil enforcement of them.

THE question of the relation of the Church to the State is agitating France, and the present activity of the discussion takes its origin from the thoughtless act of a French Catholic pilgrim to Rome, who wrote on the church register of the Pantheon at Rome—"Long live the Pope." This was understood as a bit of bravado directed against the Italian Government, and in favor of the temporal power of the Pope. Excitement ran high, and the pilgrims were threatened with violence, until the situation became so serious that the French Government felt compelled to ask protection for French subjects in Italy,—to which the Italian authorities responded and suppressed all disturbances. Much bitter feeling, however, continued. In order to withhold further food for disorder, the French "Minister of Public Worship" sent a circular to the French bishops, requesting them not to promote or conduct any more pilgrimages to the holy city, for the present. To this very reasonable request, for the avoidance of difficulty which threatened international complications, the bishops returned in many instances disdainful and insolent replies. The Archbishop of Aix has been

brought before a civil court to answer for his language to a public officer, and resistance to the civil authorities. This Archbishop is a political prelate, and has taken a similar position, in France, to the Covenanters in this country in reference to voting. The French Chamber of Deputies has been drawn into the discussion and much political, legislative, and religious, significance attaches to the matter. It is a part of the world-wide religio-political movement, of which the National Reform party and its allies are the exponents in this country.

THE *Christian at Work* asks if the "American Sunday" must go, and says:—

We are gratified to observe that among the first documents laid before the Senate at Washington were several memorials asking legislation for closing the World's Fair on Sundays. It is desired that Congress shall make Sunday closing one of the conditions in granting the additional appropriation asked for by the managers of the Fair. This point cannot be insisted upon too early or too strongly.

The legal and constitutional attitude assumed by those who thus petition is inconsistent with any claim of intelligent loyalty to the principles of this government, or to the teachings of Jesus Christ. That the great majority of the leaders among the organized churches, and their followers, should be so utterly unable to understand these facts is remarkable, but no less strange than the delusions of false religion in previous ages of the world's history.

THE *Louisville Courier Journal* sees the onward "march of paternalism" in political and governmental affairs in this country and expresses itself, without reserve, in reference to the exhibition of this tendency in the highest branch of the Government. The *Courier Journal* says:—

The impression seems to prevail in the Senate that there is no interest which does not need the direction, supervision, protection, and encouragement of the Sanhedrim at Washington. Evidently the senators are losing their faith in popular government. They believe that the people are unequal to the task of taking care of themselves. We are sceptical upon this point. We have seen no indication at any recent session of Congress that the senators were endowed with superhuman wisdom.

They will need to be superhuman when they are required to put all the civil usages of this Nation on an undeniable religious basis, and maintain them there.

IN response to the protest of the Evangelical Alliance of Switzerland, a few years ago, against the treatment accorded to the Lutherans in Russia, the most holy synod of the Russian Church announced officially that Russia understood, favored, and practiced, religious liberty. Yet, in the face of this statement, precisely the same intolerant course was persisted in. This system of religious persecution has been continued, until now it includes all dissenters from the established Church,

and the natural extension of the same policy is making itself felt in a gradual movement to exclude all foreigners. In this Russia is not alone, the gathering cry of the popular party in China is "China for the Chinese,"—"Down with the foreign devils!" But Russia and China are not alone; the United States is in their most excellent company. The entire body of the Church, in the United States, with all its appendages, is organizing to crush dissent and enforce the observances which are said to distinguish American Christianity. The Chinese are excluded, and "America for the Americans" is rapidly becoming a popular watchword. Upon the evidences of national intolerance in Russia the *World* says editorially:—

The new policy of "Russia for the Russians" means not alone the expulsion of foreigners but the stamping out of all religious nonconformity. The repudiation of all that belongs to the civilization of the West and the revival of all the traditions of mediævalism are the chief aims of the Russian statesmanship of to-day. And of this process of barbarous retrogression the Czar is at once the author and chief promoter.

If the barbarous autocracy of the Czar is the moving force in Russia, and the fury of heathenism in China, what is the impulse which is directing affairs in this country in the same channel?

A WRITER in the *Christian Statesman* says, in regard to the World's Fair:—

It is a mistake—a mistake that it is not too late to correct—that the petitions against Sunday opening have not been sent to Congress itself, in addition to the Commission, which is only a committee of Congress. . . . Congress should seal the closing by a national law.

This insister upon Sunday closing knows very well that the Fair, as a whole, is in no sense under the jurisdiction of Congress. If it were why are Chicagoans coaxing for a \$5,000,000 loan? Why is it left to each State Legislature to appropriate such a sum as it deems necessary to represent the State suitably at the Fair? If this were so, Congress would have only to levy a pro rata tax on each State for the expense of the Exposition, and pocket the proceeds, instead of Chicago having the exclusive handling of the money.

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