

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

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WHEN there are persons to be found, who form an exception to the apparent unanimity of the world on any subject, it is always probable that dissentients have something worth hearing to say for themselves, and that truth will lose something by their silence.—*John Stuart Mill.*

THE struggle for religious liberty was already begun when the Apostles Peter and John stood before the Jewish council of elders and rulers, and declared, "whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard."—*Early Struggles for Religious Liberty.*

IF the Protestants are not careful they will find the public schools Romanized to the entire satisfaction of the Vatican. Be satisfied with the family, church and Sunday school. If these will not preserve your religion, you are in a bad way. This agitation for the Bible in schools and religious teaching, are aids to the Roman conspiracy to capture and destroy the schools that teach American youth to think.—*Loyal American.*

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Independent* quotes Rev. H. T. Miller, pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church, of Chicago, as follows upon the question of the Bible in the public schools: "The Bible is the most inflammable wood in the public schools. A Bibleless school is not neces-

sarily a godless school. The Church will attend to the religious work. The school is not the best place in which to teach the Bible. I say this though there is not a chapter or verse that is not written in gold in my heart and mind. The American people want fair play. Therefore take the Bible out and give the tax-payers their rights."

Is There Nothing Selfish in This?

THE third article published by Mr. Crafts in his series in the *Christian Statesman* is under the inquiry, "Are Sabbath laws consistent with liberty?" and he claims that they are not only consistent with it but essential to it; to civil liberty, religious liberty, and personal liberty. He says that centuries ago the Dark Ages were suddenly lighted up with the watchword "Religious Liberty," and that this meant to those that raised it, liberty to die that others might have liberty to pray, and that "there is nothing selfish in that." Then he says that this sent along another watchword, "Civil Liberty," and that this meant "liberty to die in resisting tyrants, that succeeding generations might have the liberty of self-government," and "there's nothing selfish in that." And now, Mr. Crafts in his Sunday-law campaign, professes to be sounding forth the true notes of the other watchword "Personal Liberty."

But where has there been in all his Sunday-law career any manifestation of the liberty to die that others might have any benefit from anything that he does or proposes? Why, he does not even exercise the liberty to talk an hour, not even on Sunday, without a previous guarantee of ten dollars in cash, and it must be spot cash, too! And "there is nothing selfish in that," oh, no! That is a personal liberty. But if a poor man should work all day on Sunday for \$1.50 or \$2.00 to obtain the necessary means to support his needy family, that is such a heinous crime that he must be visited by a penalty of a hundred dollars' fine, the half of it with his earnings

to go to the spving loafer who will prosecute him. And "there is nothing selfish in that." No, no; all that is personal liberty!

Next, he criticises the *New York World* for saying that "the State has nothing to do with the sanctity of Sunday except to protect every citizen equally in his rights to use the holiday as seems best to him," and says that such a principle "brings pleasure to the theatre-goers and toil to the actors who have repeatedly pleaded for their rest-day." Yes, and the "Pearl of Days" says that the saloon-keepers also have pleaded for their rest-day. Now, it is one of the fundamental principles in the argument of the Sunday-law advocates that the object of the Sabbath is to give physical rest in order that the individual might be better prepared for work on the other six days of the week. This argues that all occupations are equally meritorious, and that it is proper that the actors, the saloon-keepers, the gamblers and all such should be granted a day of rest to recuperate their wasted energies in order that they may be better fitted for their several occupations through the other days or nights of the week.

Next he says:—

Plucky Mayor Rankin of Elizabeth, New Jersey, enunciated a great principle in connection with his recent enforcement of the Sabbath law, when he said that the persons who keep their places closed on Sabbath are done an injustice by those who are permitted to remain open. The personal liberty of one man often means the Sunday slavery of a dozen competitors who would prefer to close.

That is to say: That a man who wants to close his place of business and keep Sunday, cannot do it because he is afraid he will lose a chance on a few cents. And therefore this chance must be secured to him by compelling everybody else to do as he wants to do. And "there is nothing selfish in that," of course.

Again, this argues that the man who wants to keep Sunday and be religious, is willing to enjoy his religion if he can be assured by the Nation that it shall not cost him anything. And "there is nothing selfish in that." No, no.

Yes, it is true; Mayor Rankin did enunciate a great principle—the great principle of selfishness—which is the basis of all Sunday laws.

Again says Mr. Crafts:—

An advocate of the Sunday opening of the World's Fair says that "the Mohammedan ought to be at liberty to make himself at home on Sundays in this non-religious Fair,"

And to this he replies:—

But why not let the thousands of Christians who work six days in the week about the Fair have "liberty" to be at home on that home day?

Why, they can have that liberty easy enough. What is to hinder the managers of the Fair from employing people on Sunday who have not worked the other six days of the week about the Fair? That would be easy enough. We know a street-car company which does that very thing. It would be perfectly easy for the managers of the Fair to let all the people who work six days in the week about the Fair have liberty to stay at home on Sunday. But that would never satisfy Mr. Crafts and his fellow-workers. That is not the kind of personal liberty they want to see established. The only kind of personal liberty that they know anything about is that in which everybody is compelled to do as *they* want to do. And "there is nothing selfish in that." No, indeed.

Next he says:—

The Republic cannot endure without morals, nor morals without religion, nor religion without the Sabbath, nor the Sabbath without law.

Well then, if religion cannot endure without the Sabbath, nor the Sabbath without law, then what is it but *religion*, that they want the Sunday laws for? This is another of his statements that annihilates his theory of the civil Sabbath. And this statement he supports with the following "simon pure" National Reform doctrine:—

The right of the Sabbath to be protected by law is strengthened when we remember that this is unquestionably a Christian Nation. Certainly a nation as well as a person, has religious liberty, liberty to have a religion. . . . But Christian morality is recognized as common law, and the Sabbath is protected as the reservoir of that morality. To repudiate the union of Church and State does not necessitate a "secular" union of the State to the devil. . . . In the words of Dr. Lyman Abbott: "We run up the Puritan flag, and emblazon on it the motto of a modern and modified Puritanism; a State Christian, but not ecclesiastical; with faith, but no creed; reverence, but no ritual; a recognized religion, but no established church."

This is a batch of statements that is just about as full of nonsense and self-contradiction as anything can possibly be.

1. This is not a Christian Nation. There is not a State, nor a city, nor a town, nor a village in the Union that is Christian. And this the National Reformers and all other people know.

2. A nation, in the sense here used, has not liberty to have religion. Such a thing is impossible. The only way that a nation, in the sense here used, can have a religion, is to have some sect get control of the

civil power, and force upon everybody else the religion of that sect.

3. A flag of Puritanism as a religion, ought never to be seen again; not even with the motto of modern and modified Puritanism. The modern and modified form of it is just as wicked as the original and unmodified form. In the original they hung placards on the breasts of people who did not choose to conform to the religious views of the majority; and in the modern, as represented in Mr. Crafts's own words, they propose to do the same thing. In his book on the Civil Sabbath he has a placard printed in big black letters, which reads: "To be hung on the breast of every one who buys postage stamps, cigars, provisions, or what-not on the Sabbath." And it is for sale by the hundred, for the "modern and modified" Puritans to hang on the breasts of their neighbors.

4. A State cannot be Christian. Whenever it has been attempted to make it so, it never could be done without making it ecclesiastical, and it will be so till the end of time. It has been tried often enough to demonstrate this to the observant mind. That is the very proposition that was made to Constantine when he suffered the bishops to palm off on him the theory of a Christian State. It should be Christian but not ecclesiastical; but it became ecclesiastical, and when they made the proposition they intended it should be so. It is singular how men who can read can hide their eyes to this the most important lesson that history can possibly teach.

5. With faith but no creed. Now the word "creed" comes from *credo*, which means "I believe," and faith is belief. Belief is faith. This statement of Dr. Abbott's simply says that he will have belief with no faith. Perhaps he will.

6. The idea of a recognized religion without an established church is the same as a "State Christian but not ecclesiastical." It means in fact a recognized religion *with* an established church. Because just as certainly as any religion is recognized by the State and made the favorite of the State, just so certainly will the hypocrite and the political demagogue join themselves to the church in which that religion is recognized, to such an extent as to give it control of the civil power and that power will be used in the interests of that church, and will inevitably create an established church.

Again Mr. Crafts says:—

If a law is for the "general welfare" it ought to be no objection even to a secularist that it is also favorable to religion.

But no law that is favorable to religion can ever be for the general welfare. Every such law that ever was made has been against the general welfare, a curse to society and to the State.

Once more, in speaking of the several reasons which justify Sunday laws he declares that "the religious obligation is the

basis of them all in the public conscience." Isn't it singular that these men will persistently hold forth their pretensions to a civil Sabbath when they can hardly write a complete sentence in reference to it without showing it to be religious and nothing else? And it is yet more singular that there are so many people who think so little as not to be able to detect the hypocrisy betrayed in such blundering pretensions.

A. T. J.

Shall the State Teach Morals?

THE pastor of a church in Bloomington, Illinois, sends us the following letter:—

To the Editor:

Some one has had the goodness to send me three copies of THE SENTINEL. I assure you of my deep interest in the great questions of Sabbath observance, and religion in the common schools; and my convictions are clear and strong that THE AMERICAN SENTINEL is on firm ground touching these questions.

In a sermon preached to my congregation on last Sabbath night on our free schools, I asked the question, which has met with much favorable comment, whether or not the denominational bickerings over religion in the schools could not be hushed if the State Boards of Education were to authorize the publication and use of a text-book for our schools which shall embody the *moral sentiments common to all men*, and require pupils to pass their examination thereon, not theoretically only, but in character?

The book could take a positive character and embody something as follows, confirmed and illustrated by hundreds of the noblest spirits of our American commonwealth, namely: Thou shalt tell the truth always. Thou shalt deal justly and honestly with thy fellow-men, always. Thou shalt abhor meanness, trickery, and moral and physical pollution. Thou shalt be manly, womanly, generous, upright, forgiving, sweet-tempered, modest in demeanor (decorum), and scores of other kindred sentiments which ennoble society, and act as conservators of that spirit in society and the State which insures safety to our institutions.

The clamor of denominationalism in the name and guise of religion for place and power might be hushed by such a book. Certain it is that with the Roman Catholics on one side demanding their religion, and the Methodist Church on the other hand demanding theirs, we are likely to come into a boiling and bubbling of our school interests which will leave us without any free schools.

Could you think that the preparation and use of such a book, as named, would be practicable?

Very truly yours,

H. O. HOFFMAN.

We appreciate the good opinion of THE SENTINEL expressed by our correspondent, but fear that he does not fully understand our position. The plan that he proposes, is, in our opinion, impracticable, and we might add that we think, fortunately so. The moral precepts enumerated by Mr. Hoffman are all good. All this, and much more, should be taught to every child; but this should not be done by the State. Moral precepts cannot be taught dogmatically, and would be of little value if so taught.

Morals must have a sanction, that is, moral precepts must be based upon some acknowledged authority. Teach either children or adults that they must always

tell the truth, and must always deal honestly with their fellow-men, and the question immediately arises in their minds, Why must we do this? To answer this question as it should be answered, is to appeal to the law of God, and consequently teach religion. But this is not contemplated in Mr. Hoffman's scheme; neither would it be proper for the State to do this.

It has been repeatedly shown in these columns, and it is admitted by very many, that the State cannot teach religion. It has never been commissioned to teach religion, and it is impossible for it to do so. But on the other hand, to teach children that they must be truthful, and that they must be honest, involves the giving of some reason for these precepts; but as the true reason cannot be given, there remains but one thing to do, that is to quote the familiar maxim that "honesty is the best policy." But this is to abandon principle and to appeal to selfishness. Everybody would probably admit that as a general rule "honesty is the best policy;" but unless the individual is taught that there is some principle involved, that he is accountable to some superior being, to some authority out of and above himself, higher than his fellow-men, he will be constantly finding what he will deem exceptions to this general rule, and will depart from it whenever in his judgement one of these exceptions will apply, and consequently, for the time being, dishonesty become the best policy.

To undertake to teach morals, while eliminating from them all divine authority, is to teach that policy is the criterion, the standard of rightfulness; not only that it is a standard, but that it is emphatically *the* standard; and it matters not by how many examples of good men these precepts may be supported, every man is likely to feel that he is as good as his fellows, as well able to judge of rightfulness, as well able to shape a standard of right-doing; and this standard is sure to be warped and biased by his own selfish interests.

Every man can find a thousand excuses for departing from the straight path of rectitude, of right dealing, in order to advance his own interests. And this is just what men do when they forget God and turn away from him. We have abundant evidence of this in the testimony of the Apostle Paul in his letter to the Romans. There he tells how men forget God, and exalt themselves in his stead. And that must always be the effect of teaching the utilitarianism suggested by our correspondent. All these things of which Mr. Hoffman speaks should be taught; but they should be taught in the home, in the church, and in the denominational school, and not in the public school. For when they are taught they should be supported by the moral law; and an appeal to that law cannot properly be made in the public school.

Again, Mr. Hoffman says, that the

children should be taught to abhor meanness, and moral and physical pollution. It is easy enough to teach children to abhor physical pollution for sanitary reasons, but without religion how can they know what moral pollution is? How shall they understand moral obligation unless it be defined by religion? Our Saviour taught something of the nature of moral pollution in the Sermon on the Mount, but that is entirely outside of, and beyond, anything which the State can properly teach. It involves an examination of the motives of the heart, and that is beyond the jurisdiction of the State. The Saviour showed that hatred is a violation of the sixth commandment, and that lust is a violation of the seventh; but how shall the teacher in the public school illustrate and emphasize the precept which enjoins the abhorrence of moral pollution? to what shall he appeal to impress upon the mind of the child the fact that he must not entertain evil thoughts? There is absolutely nothing to which he can appeal, without teaching religion. And as before remarked, to attempt anything of the kind must result in one of two things: either the teacher in the public school will teach religion and will appeal to the Scripture to sustain this teaching, or he will establish a human standard, which in the mind of the child, will be the highest authority, and will consequently not only fail in elevating the child and purifying his soul and heart, but will place him in a position that it will be impossible for the teachings of the gospel to reach and elevate him at any subsequent time, because he will be unable to comprehend that there is anything higher or more desirable than his own conceptions of right.

We wish that in some way every child could be taught the true principles of right and wrong, that every child could be taught his accountability to God, not only for his actions, but for his words and thoughts. But it is clear that the State cannot undertake to give this instruction; because it cannot give it without teaching religion, and it cannot teach religion without having a religion, and it can have religion only in the sense of having a creed which it fosters. It matters not how limited that creed might be; it might contain a dozen articles of faith, or it might contain only one; it would be none the less a creed; and in time a church would certainly crystallize around that creed. Such was the origin of the Papal church. State churches have universally grown out of a desire upon the part of religionists to exalt what they deemed to be the truth. Constantine in the fourth century did not make any denomination the State church; he simply made Christianity the State religion and everything else followed as a logical consequence.

The only consistent and safe position for either Christians or non-Christians to assume is that the State shall confine its in-

struction to the exact sciences, leaving the Church, through its ministers, and through parents, and through church schools, to give religious instruction. The greatest service that the State can render the Church is to let it entirely alone.

Never have churches grown and prospered as they have in this country, and never have they been so entirely separated from the State as here. True, this separation has not been as complete as it should have been, but it has been sufficient to convince the world of the beneficial effects of the divorce of Church and State. It has demonstrated the fact, that a church left to itself, to rely entirely upon its own resources, to provide its own funds, to support its own ministry, has a much greater influence for good, and accomplishes more for the elevation of the race, than it is possible for it to do when connected with civil government.

We trust that every reader of THE SENTINEL, will use his influence, not only to have the separation of Church and State continue in this country, but to make it as complete and perfect as it ought to be everywhere. But to do this we must avoid the adoption of any scheme for the teaching of morals in the public schools. The most we can do is to insist upon correct deportment, and trust to the agencies, so abundant on every hand for giving the necessary moral training to the rising generation.

C. P. B.

The American Political System Purely Secular.

DR. PHILIP SCHAFF, in "Church and State in the United States," under the head, "The Connecting Links Between Church and State," says: "A total separation of Church and State is an impossibility, unless we cease to be a Christian people." But this is a mere dictum of a theologian whose ideas may have been largely modified by the study of American principles, but who cannot fully give up the old idea. Dr. Schaff evidently belongs to the class to whom Madison referred in his letter to Edward Livingston, when he said: "Notwithstanding the general progress made during the last two centuries in favor of this branch [the religious branch] of liberty, and the full establishment of it in some parts of our country, there remains in others a strong bias toward the old error, that without some sort of alliance or coalition between Government and religion, neither can be duly supported. Such, indeed is the tendency to such a coalition, and such its corrupting influence on both the parties that the danger cannot be too carefully guarded against." What Dr. Schaff terms a necessity, Madison, the principal framer of the Constitution which is the embodiment of our political system, says is a danger which "cannot be too carefully guarded against." This shows how diametrically opposite to American

institutions are these religio-political writers of to-day. Every argument or sophistry that they can think of is used to show that Christianity is an integral part of our laws, its recognition as such by the Government a duty, and its hallowed institutions entitled to special protection as such. But these ideas are the gratuitous inventions of the friends of Church and State. It was far from the thoughts of those who established our Government to give countenance to any such political ideas. Jefferson denies that Christianity was ever rightfully a part of the common law, even of England, much less of this country where we profess to have absolute religious liberty.

The three "connecting links between Church and State," which Dr. Schaff mentions, are marriage, Sunday laws, and religion in public schools. But the truth is that the first of these is not a religious relation at all (any more than is plowing corn, or selling a bushel of oats, but it is simply a status entered into by a purely civil contract) and the other two are entirely outside the sphere of our political system, as can be positively proved by quotations from the writings of Madison himself, which are emphasized by the declarations of Jefferson.

On account of the "strong bias toward the old error" that there must be "some sort of alliance or coalition between Government and religion," Madison says: "Every new and successful example, therefore, of the *perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters, is of importance.*" It is absolutely impossible to have a "perfect separation" and yet have connecting links. Consequently, Dr. Schaff's "connecting links" necessarily fall under the condemnation of Madison's outspoken letter.

The truth is, however, that Madison took the pains to express himself on the "connecting link" of religion being taught in the public schools. In reference to religious professorships, he wrote to Edward Everett* as follows:—

A university with sectarian professorships becomes, of course a sectarian monopoly; with professorships of rival sects, it would be an arena of theological gladiators. Without any such professorships, it may incur, for a time at least, the imputation of irreligious tendencies, if not designs. The last difficulty was thought more manageable than either of the others. On this view of the subject there seems to be no alternative but between a public university without a theological professorship, and sectarian seminaries without a university.

This imputation "of irreligious tendencies" if religion is not taught, Dr. Schaff furnishes, for he says "a total separation of Church and State is an impossibility, unless we cease to be a Christian people," and then mentions religion in the public schools as one of the "links" which cannot be dispensed with. But Madison thought quite differently on the subject. He not only opposed having religion

taught in the public schools because it was outside the sphere of the State, but he always claimed, and with good reason, that it was injurious to religion as well.

"The difficulty," said he, "of reconciling the Christian mind to the absence of religious tuition from a university established by law, and at the common expense, is probably less with us than with you. The settled opinion here is that religion is essentially distinct from civil government, and exempt from its cognizance; that a connection between them is injurious to both; that there are causes in the human breast which insure the perpetuity of religion without the aid of law." And in another letter the year previous, he said: "We are teaching the world the great truth . . . that religion flourishes in greater purity without, than with, the aid of government."

These same principles forbid Sunday legislation; and, accordingly, Madison did not hesitate to express his opinion as to the "perfect equality" of Sabbatarians with Sunday keepers. In a letter to Dr. De La Motta,* a Jewish Rabbi, he says: "Among the features peculiar to the political system of the United States, is the perfect equality of rights which it secures to every religious sect." Then if the Sabbatarians, who form only "seven-tenths of one per cent," have "perfect equality" with the dominant cult, a law compelling all to rest on Sunday is equally unjust with a law compelling all to rest on Saturday.

So, too, if the Jews are on a "perfect equality" with Christians, and Madison states emphatically that they do come "fully within the scope of these observations," then the Jews have exactly the same right to have their belief that Christ is an impostor taught in the public schools, as have the Christians that he is divine! They have the same right to have the principles of antichrist taught in the schools, that the Christian has to have the "unsectarian principles of Christianity" taught there. Thus we see how the schools would become the arenas of theological gladiators. It is impossible to preserve equality and at the same time have any religious service whatever in the public schools. From this it is evident that Dr. Schaff's "connecting links" are diametrically opposed to the American political system, as expounded by the principal author of the great work which is the embodiment of that system. Jefferson boldly asserted the following sweeping doctrine, when speaking of religious proclamations: "I consider the Government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrine, discipline, or exercises."

Nor did these statesmen extend this equality only to the various religions. It was universal equality with them. No

doctrine was to be taught in the schools, nor were any religious laws of any kind to be enacted that were not equally acceptable to both unbeliever and Christian. There is not a single act of Christian worship, study, or reverence of any kind that the State has a right to force upon a single citizen. It is the inalienable right and "it is the duty of every man," says Madison, "to render to the Creator such homage, AND SUCH ONLY, as he believes to be acceptable to him." Then the unbeliever in the Christian religion can, by right, no more be compelled to regard any of the institutions of the Christian religion, than could the Christian be compelled to regard the rites and institutions of Judaism or heathenism. All have equally the right to use their time as they will, but in that use, they must not, on any day, nor in any way, interfere with the equal rights of others. Madison says again: "All men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions; as relinquishing no more, and, therefore, retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights." Hence, if all are on a "perfect equality," and the American system is a "perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters," the inevitable conclusion must be that the religio-political writers in asserting that "a total separation of Church and State is an impossibility," are mistaken; and that the American political system, when strictly carried out, is a total separation between Church and State. And we not only do not cease to be a Christian people, but "every new and successful example" of that perfect separation succeeds "in showing that religion and government will both exist in greater purity the less they are mixed together"—the apprehensions of Church and State advocates to the contrary, notwithstanding.

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Must End in Failure.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, of St Paul, in his address before the National Educational Association, favored the theory of compulsory education, and also insisted that the public money should be used for the support of the parish schools of religious denominations. His solution of the school problem is to "permeate the regular State school with the religion of a majority of the children of the land," and also to "pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results" attained. This we regard as a very defective and wholly impracticable theory. The truth is, that there is no religion of the majority, in distinction from that of the minority, in this country, with which the State has any thing to do. The State, as such, has nothing to do with the religious beliefs of the people one way or the other, beyond affording them a just

* Quoted in "American State Papers," (1890) pages 78, 79.

* Quoted in "American State Papers," pages 73, 74.

and equal protection in the exercise of their religious rights, no matter what may be their religion, and no matter whether it be true or false. What the State should do in regard to popular education is to provide, at the public expense, adequate facilities for the *secular* instruction of the children of the land, and leave all persons who wish to make provision for their *religious* education to do so in their own way and to pay the bills thereof. Our political system admits of no other solution of the school question so far as the State is concerned; and when Catholics and Protestants come to this reasonable conclusion, and content themselves with it, they will see things as they are, and have no school question to settle as between themselves. All efforts to make the State a party to their religious preferences are simply efforts to get the State out of its proper sphere, and must at last, and should, end in failure.—*Independent*.

Striking Parallels.

GIVE men the power to do evil, and they will be just as certain to exercise it, as the boy is to use his first jack-knife; if for nothing else, he will do it out of curiosity to know how it works; and men will generally find motives fully as powerful as this to prompt them to use their "sword of authority." MORAL:—Don't play with edge tools, nor leave them where they can be "played with" by any one else.

The leaders of the National Reform movement are, whether fortunately or unfortunately, many-sided, I had almost said two-faced, in stating the objects which they hope to attain, and the process necessary to secure them. To those who are conservative, and with prudent foresight, warn against the evils religious legislation would bring; they reply, "Surely you can trust us; are we not the representatives of God? Do you not think that God will appreciate the compliment we pay him, by enthroning him in the Constitution of this noble land, sufficiently to prevent evil-minded men abusing the power we ask for? He will not allow those who serve him *in the right way*, to be injured in *any way*."

And some are deceived by such assertions. But others, who have an object in view themselves, are approached in a different manner; there is not the reticence with them that is necessary in influencing the unselfish, patriotic heart, so the words are less guarded, and it gives rise to "clashing voices," sometimes, aye, often, clashing statements by the *same* voice, and not so very far apart, either. Now, as it is sound philosophy to accept the experience of mankind, recorded in history, as the best guide in all important matters in which we cannot be guided by our own practical, personal experience, we present a few parallels from history, asking the readers if human nature has undergone

any change for the better since the fall of man? and if like causes will not still produce like effects?

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE,

A. D. 31. Sanhedrim, Jerusalem.

Caiaphas said: "It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and the whole nation perish not." John 11:50.

RESULT.

"Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death." Verse 53. And killed the Prince of Life." Acts 3: 15.

A. D. 321. Roman Empire.

The bishops of the Christian Church wanted the help of the State to carry out their ambitious plans, and, for this purpose, secured from Constantine a Sunday law. See Neander.

RESULT.

The power conferred in order to convert the world, and make all men Christians, almost swept Christianity from the face of the earth. Pagan Rome was far less ferocious against God's people than the "Vicergerent of the Son of God," acknowledged and supported by the civil power.

A. D. 1786.

The popular exponent of nationalism in France, M. Necker, the Minister of Finance, stated his idea of human nature, and philosophical government, in his words to Mirabeau, who proposed an entirely different regime: "I can not accept your plans, you would govern by policy; *moral-ity is our basis*." We will release the people from *all restraint*; for it is the bondage they groan under that is the cause of *all* the evil in the nation. Remove the cause, and the people will instantly be perfect. Their moral nature will assert itself, and they will have no desire to do wrong. All that we need is the law to make the people free.

RESULT.

The theory was founded on wrong premises; and didn't work in the way the philosophers, in their simplicity, expected it would. There was a terrible retrograde movement at once. Although Necker had been the idol of the people, his theories brought only confusion, and he was obliged to resign his position and go into temporary exile. Satan was delighted to see law and order laid aside; he hates all law, and delights in chaos. As soon as the restraints were cast off, he led them captive at his will. And the Reign of Terror is a fair sample of Satan's good-will toward men.

A. D. 1787.

In the Hall of the States-General of France, Robespierre said: "Capital punishment is a crime against society, and should never be inflicted." Evidently this was because the punishment generally fell upon the lower orders, and he was "making a bid" for their favor. By and by he had the power to inflict capital punishment.

RESULT.

He complained that the heads were not falling fast enough to please the people; he must have one hundred and fifty a day. Finally, his friends had to sentence and execute him to save their own lives.

And it is worthy of notice that the majority of those who were guillotined in that awful

THEN ON THIS.

A. D. 1837. Convention, Lakeside, Ohio.

Dr. McAllister said: "It is better that a few should suffer, than that the whole Nation should lose its Sabbath."

WARNING.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Matt. 25: 40.

A. D. 1863. United States of America.

The Clergy again seek the intervention of the civil power, in order to uphold their waning influence and tottering institutions. God will not help them; they are determined to have their way; and they, too, ask for a Sunday law.

WARNING.

Some things are never satisfied. The cry is, and will be, "Give, give."

Says Dr. Crafts, in his "Sabbath for Man," "We want more than this."

A. D. 1889.

The new nationalism, based upon the flimsy philosophy of Bellamy, assumes that, pecuniary interests being entirely removed by absence of competition, the people will be entirely free from sectional, selfish, or partisan influences; and the sense of duty and desire of applause will be the guiding motives. Suppress the "brute principle" of competition, and have the new and beautiful principle of "association" instead. Let the Nation provide work, food, raiment, shelter, and pocket money for every individual in the Nation, and if there isn't work for all, why, then, keep the idlers from doing unpleasant things by paying them for doing nothing. And this will make a perfect nation. (See *Olivet Echo*, May, 1890.)

Those who are posted will recognize exactly similar demands by the American Sabbath Union. See Report of Hearing on Breckinridge Bill.

WARNING.

Neither constitutions nor laws have power to make men good, not even the perfect law of God. Its design is altogether different. It points out sin, as man's laws point out crime, but can never change the character. Forces within the man must do this. Nothing that the State can do will convert a single individual, but the "embarrassing legislation," so generously promised by the Sunday-law advocates, would make multitudes of hypocrites.

The National Reformers of this generation profess lamb-like innocence:—"One can but smile at their apprehensions of the success of a movement which would not harm a hair of their heads."—*Christian Statesman*.

But it don't work that way at all!

Their theory is not practical, so it must be wrong somewhere; and the reader of THE SENTINEL will not have much trouble to find out where that wrong is. See how would-be National Reformers have applied the "embarrassing legislation" of individual States, and see what kind of a smile it would provoke to have similar laws adopted and enforced by

time, suffered death for no crime of their own, but because their parents were among the nobles. A name counted in those days, but counted against the owner, and cost him his head. They killed Louis XVI. and his Queen, not out of hatred, but, having the power, they hunted up, or Satan supplied them with, a motive to answer their purpose; and the two who had been the highest objects of the nation's love and respect, were sacrificed because, in the first place, the king gave the people what they asked for. That was his only crime, but it was a fatal one. Instead of satisfying the people, it but made them eager for more; and having now the power in their own unsteady, unskillful hands, they made sad havoc with it. They not merely killed friend and foe, but they destroyed the former, and allowed the latter to destroy them.

national authority, "recognizing God's power behind them."

We imagine a grin of satisfaction, rather than any more benevolent "smile," and especially prominent must it be upon those who can see that they are entrapping the politicians, the men that make laws.

Read Senator Crockett's "Plea for Liberty," in Arkansas, and the account of persecutions in that State and in Tennessee, and of the arrest and attempted persecution of Seventh-day Christians in Missouri. These prove that the spirit of religious persecution is not dead, nor even dormant: it simply awaits a favorable moment and the longed-for legislation, to spring forth in all its old-time fury.

WILLIAM MAY.

The Sunday Law in California.

EDITOR DAILY TIMES: I see by your issue of November 24, that the American Sabbath Union has been regaling the people of San Jose with the beauties of a proposed Sunday law for California. The Union's representative seems to think that because a Sunday congress was held in Paris, and because attention was called to the subject in a labor congress in Germany, that we must needs have a Sunday law in this State. This line of reasoning is not surprising, coming as it does from a man who thinks we ought to have a reproduction of Julius Cæsar in this climate. The two ideas are about on a par; and if California and the United States should be so unfortunate as to secure the Sunday laws after the pattern designed by this Eastern jobbery house, we will no doubt have some Cæsarism duplicated before we get through.

The Sabbath Union is a New York institution whose chief aim is a national Sunday law; but during the recesses of Congress it skirmishes around the country in search of smaller jobs that are calculated to strengthen its position on the main issue. It has always maintained that a civil Sunday—not a religious Sabbath—is all that it aims to have legalized, but in all the speeches and writings of its representatives, the covert intent of a religious institution always crops out. According to the *Times'* report, the San Jose effort was no exception.

The subject, "The Enemies of the Sabbath Movement," was well calculated to let out the real motive of the movers. Where was the necessity of laboring to prove that this is a "Christian Nation," as a reason for a Sunday law, if it be only a civil rest day that is wanted? For such a purpose, what is the difference whether the Nation is Christian or not? By the way, it is but two years ago that an extraordinary effort was made to get petitioners for a national Sunday law. Every Christian denomination (excepting two small seventh-day sects), men, women and

children, were counted as petitioners, many of them several times over as members of various associations, yet only about 14,000,000 could be mustered—less than one-fourth of the whole population. That does not look much as though this could be reckoned as a Christian Nation. And the Constitution was especially designed to ignore anything of the kind, leaving all religions on an absolute equality before the law.

Then in enumerating the enemies of the Sunday-law movement, the speaker is reported to have said: "First are the infidels who include a great number and variety of thought. They would strangle every effort that tended to the propagation of the gospel." What has a mere civil rest-day to do with the propagation of the gospel?

Again he says: "There are the Seventh-day Adventists, who are very unreasonable in their opposition, for we make exceptions of those who for religious scruples would adopt another day as their day of worship." Here is a further expose of the fact that a day of worship is contemplated, and only those are exempted who are religious on some other day (the petition which is being circulated says "regularly" religious). This exemption directly places a premium on religion, by granting Sunday indulgence to religious people.

That was quite a pertinent (or, was it impertinent?) allusion made by the speaker to Judge Terry; he was the only judge who had decided against the constitutionality of Sunday laws, and he was afterward shot. Surely no other judge will ever dare to follow his example in that kind of decision. The constitutionality question may be considered as settled! The speaker further said: "In the teeth of his (Judge Terry's) adverse decision, the Legislature of this State passed a Sunday law which was upheld by the Supreme Court."

Now why did not the Doctor go on and tell the rest of that bit of history. That the State Sunday law, which was passed "in the teeth" of Judge Terry's decision, was allowed to be dormant on the statute book for nearly twenty years, and was forgotten by almost everybody. Finally about the years 1881-82 some zealous preachers discovered the hidden treasure, and determined to dig it up and have it enforced. Complaints, however, failed to convict more than a very few victims, hardly any of whom were of that class denominated "the greatest curse the country knows."

And "in the teeth" of this spasmodic tirade, the people spoke in the most emphatic terms. They voted down the Sunday law by an overwhelming majority. The Legislature of 1883 promptly repealed it, and a subsequent Legislature as promptly squelched an effort to revive it. And moreover, the Sunday has been more deferentially observed without a law than

it was with it, and even the most zealous Sabbath Unionist of them all (Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts) has acknowledged the fact in his book on Sunday observance.

I submit, then, what must be patent to all reasonable minds, that if the American Sabbath Union succeeds in foisting its scheme upon the people of California, it will have to induce the Legislature to violate the express will of a large majority of the people.—*W. N. Glenn, in San Jose Daily Times, November 28, 1890.*

Religion in Schools.

OUR friend, the Rev. Dr. Osborn, seems to have got into a newspaper controversy upon the above subject, with one Rev. George Shipman Payson. This crossing of steel (pens) by the reverend gentlemen, one a Baptist and one a Presbyterian, is in the columns of the *Examiner*, a Baptist paper. So far, Dr. Osborn has got the better of the argument. We quote the following from Dr. Osborn's letter:—

We profoundly believe that our brethren of other denominations are treading, in this movement, on dangerous ground; the most dangerous by far, because under the captious assumption of instruction in morals, and because put forward by so influential names as those of Howard Crosby and his associates, and so influential ecclesiastical bodies as the Synod of New York, and other organizations joining in the Conference.

If the State may teach religion in schools supported by general tax, the question at once and of necessity arises, What religion shall it be? The Protestant religion of the bodies composing this Conference, the pagan religion of the New York Chinamen, or the Roman Catholic religion, which, nearly, if not quite, controls the school boards of the City of New York? The answer to that question, under our system of Government by the majority, will depend simply upon which religion has a majority of adherents in the State.

As soon as religious doctrine is taught in schools, the word, *which?* becomes the most important in the vocabulary. Under our system of Government, those who espouse one doctrine have equal rights with those who are the followers of another. It would be no more than natural that the adherents of each doctrine would be pounding away at the school-house door demanding the admission of their especial theories. It would be necessary to comply with the demand of the advocates of one and leave out the advocates of the other doctrines. Now, *which* would it be?

If the Government should attempt to answer that question in favor of any one doctrine, there would be a cruel religious war upon its hands wherein the hand of brother would be raised against brother. Upon this question the views of the Baptist are far more broad, more liberal, and more sensible than the views of the Presbyterian brother. We believe that the Baptist people have been accused of being narrow-minded, close communion, and of trying to get into heaven with a row boat; but upon this question, under the lead of Dr. Osborn, the Baptists have taken that liberal position that is nobility itself.

Their position is not only liberal but a position of patriotism, worthy of a great church people.

In our judgment it is not easy to legislate people into heaven or hell. Religion is a matter of conscientious convictions, and no law can assist one in the fulfillment of his duties to his Maker. Our schools are under the jurisdiction of the State, but the Christianity of the people of the State is not. Our schools are of too much importance, and far too sacred to be ruined by any religious quarrel. Dr. Osborn is right.—*Orleans Herald.*

The Decalogue in Politics.

THE declaration of Senator Ingalls that "the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign," is thus replied to by Rev. Dr. Thomas Dixon, a Baptist minister of New York, as quoted in the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*:—

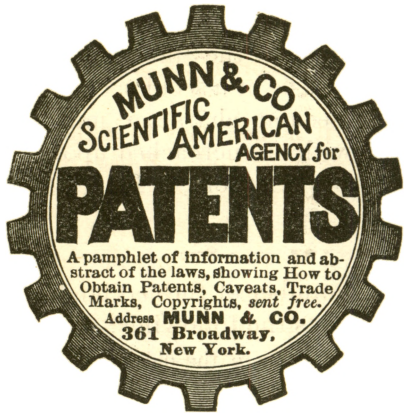
This Nation was founded on the Decalogue and the ten commandments. The men who landed on Plymouth Rock, landed on their knees. The foundations of this Republic were cut from the quarry of God's eternal granite. Its foundation stones were laid in cement made with the tears and blood of Christian men and women. The man who has outgrown the Decalogue and the Golden Rule has outgrown his usefulness in this Nation.

The "decalogue and the ten commandments," must constitute a strong foundation; but would it not be more truthful to say that this Nation was founded on the Declaration and Constitution—the declaration of equal rights to all men, which is in perfect accordance with the Golden Rule, and a Constitution which was designed to protect all in the exercise of all their rights both civil and religious? One who abides by the teaching of the Golden Rule can ask no more of civil government in respect to religion than to be protected in worshipping God according to the dictates of the Word of God and his own conscience. The "the tears and blood of Christian men and women," with which he says the foundation of our Government was cemented, most naturally calls to mind the persecutions of Baptists, and Quakers, and others in New England before the formation of our peerless Constitution, the recurrence of which it was desired to prevent in the future by protecting all religions, and establishing none.

What is meant by "a religious amendment," of a Constitution which has nothing to do with religion but to protect the rights of all? It can mean nothing short of perverting the prohibition which says, "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

R. F. COTTRELL.

HUMAN power may extort vain sacrifices, but the Deity alone can command the affections of the heart.—*Col. Richard M. Johnson.*



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Rector Christ Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 15, 1891.

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"No matter what some people may say or think," says the *Orleans Herald*, "the American people will not permit the State or Nation to furnish their religion."

ONE of the considerations urged in behalf of a "civil" Sunday law in California, is, that while one-fourth of the population are boys between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, only one per cent of these belong to any Christian church.

AN Episcopal clergyman and editor, in an important Western city, writes: "I do what I can to circulate THE AMERICAN SENTINEL." Of course his own paper is sound upon the question of Sunday legislation, the Bible and religion in the public schools, etc.

MINISTER VAN GOSSLER has introduced a bill into the Reichstag to secularize all schools of the German Empire, not only in instruction but in administration. German Catholics thought their sufferings ended with Bismarck's removal, but it seems they were mistaken.

ACCORDING to statements made at the Philadelphia session of the Sabbath Union, the railroads are falling into line in behalf of better Sunday observance. "On the last week of November, the Philadelphia and Reading Road announced that they would cease to run coal trains on Sunday." It was also stated that "some of the largest Trunk Lines are cutting down Sunday work, and would be willing to haul only perishable freight could an agreement be made with other roads."

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union column of the *Lebanon Rustic*, a Missouri paper, has the following:—

The Sabbath question will never find its proper place in the Nation until its discussion is brought more fully within the realm of conscience. An awakened moral conviction throughout the land must precede civil Sunday statutes, otherwise such legislation will be loose and below the divine standard.

This agrees exactly with what we have repeatedly said, namely, that Sabbath observance is a question of conscience, and that to attempt to regulate it in any way

by civil law is only to attempt to coerce conscience. But notwithstanding the Woman's Christian Temperance Union sees this so clearly it seems determined that Congress shall enact laws interfering in this matter.

THE *Watertown Sentinel* comes to us from Watertown, South Dakota, filled with sound anti-National Reform matter, and asking an exchange, which we gladly grant. The organs of so-called National Reform are multiplying, and why should not the friends of religious liberty be fully awake to the danger, and fully prepared to meet it in every quarter?

IN his plea for the "civil Sabbath," Mr. Crafts says: "Take the religion out and you take the rest out." The *New York Observer* more candid and possibly less wise, says: "It is this 'innocent recreation' that destroys the idea of Sunday being a holy day." And that is just the reason that the *Observer* and the religious press generally, demand the enforcement of Sunday keeping by "civil" law.

THE Philadelphia Sabbath Association utterly repudiates the so-called sanitary grounds of Sunday observance, and insists on a distinct recognition of Sunday as a Christian institution. It is offended with Dr. George Dana Boardman, for saying that they would make greater progress if they would look at the Sabbath from a sanitary standpoint. We must therefore understand that this Association, in demanding Sunday laws and their enforcement, is doing it from a purely religious standpoint.

THE clergy of San Antonio of all denominations, headed by Bishop Johnston, are stirring up the people on the subject of the "desecration" of Sunday. They held a public meeting, and resolved to ask the Legislature to enact more rigorous laws.

The *Anglo-Saxon Churchman* remarks that a "layman who participated in the meeting, with a keen sense of consistency, moved that the clergy set an example of keeping Sunday by ceasing to announce their services in the Sunday papers."

THE *National View* very properly thinks that "it is not the business of the public schools to give a complete education, or even an approximation thereto. If religion should be taught, it should be taught by the Church, where each can be represented in its own way, and where each can be cared for without interference from the other. The public school is the creature of the State, in this country, is inherently and distinctively republican. And hence all who agree in republican government must be supplied with an education that

simply conforms therewith. And so the schools being creatures of the State, which is itself secular, must be of a secular character; and their secular character must not be tampered with or encroached upon by any religious body, Catholic or Protestant.

THE Christmas number of the Oakland, California, *Times*, has the following:—

Even in New England where the old Puritans ruled most rigidly and prescribed Merry Christmas and Sunday recreation together, the people now very generally observe both Sunday and Christmas, and in much the same genial and yet partly religious manner. It is much better so and no reason in the world why it should be otherwise. There is as much authority for observing the festival of Christmas as that of Sunday. Neither is enjoined in Scripture; both were first established as requirements by the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has always regarded both as festivals solely of Church appointment, but worthy of general observation for their beneficent character and excellent uses; and Protestants are rapidly coming to take a similar view. But the State has no more right to enforce the observance of one festival than the other—Sunday than Christmas.

It is clear that the American Sabbath Union has still much work to do in California before the people of that State are ready for the cut-and-dried "civil Sabbath" programme which has been prepared for them at the Sabbath Union headquarters.

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