



THE CLERGY

A

SOURCE OF DANGER

TO THE

AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

BY W. F. JAMIESON.

“By being a good Churchman, a person might become a bad citizen.”—*Fox's Speech in the House of Commons, Parl. Hist., Vol. xxix, p. 1377.*

“The king, [George III,] on every occasion, paid a court to the clergy.” “He was, therefore, sure of their support, and they zealously aided him in every attempt to oppress the Colonies.”—*Buckle's History of Civilization in England, Vol. i, p. 343.*

“During almost a hundred and fifty years, Europe was afflicted by religious wars, religious massacres, and religious persecutions; not one of which would have arisen, if the great truth had been recognized, that the state has no concern with the opinions of men, and no right to interfere, even in the slightest degree, with the form of worship which they may choose to adopt.”—*Buckle's History, p. 190.*

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TO THE FRIENDS OF

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The dangers of a religious form which threaten free American Institutions, need to be known. Public attention should everywhere be aroused to a sense of their growing magnitude. The citizens of the United States will be enabled to discover, as they examine the question carefully, that the clergy are against religious and political equality; opposed to freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and in favor of Clerical Empire. The Clergy aim to subvert all governments to their own despotic sway. Christianity is not only foreign but antagonistic to American liberty. Either Christianity or a people's free government must fall! Which shall it be?

Within nine years the Christian God-in-the-Constitution Movement has assumed frightful proportions. For several years the author has warned his fellow citizens of the impending religious war in America.

To deliver the people from the night-mare of Superstition, and the bondage of Priest-craft; to avert, if possible, the calamity of clerical rule in the American Union, and with the earnest hope that it may be "nipped in the bud," this book has been written.

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THE CLERGY
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AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

I.

AMERICA'S FOES.

“Our fathers came and planted fields,
And manly Law, and schools and truth ;
They planted Self-Rule, which we'll guard
By word and sword, in age, in youth.”

—*Francis Lieber.*

Religious despotism is arrayed against American freedom. Americans are over-confident in the strength of their government. The present feeling of security among the masses of the people tends to the success of the schemes concocted by the foes of civil and religious liberty. The assurance which passes from mouth to mouth, that there is no danger to the nation from the plotting of a few weak and misguided clergymen, is fraught with evil to our nation. The work of the clergy—America's inveterate foes—is adroitly planned. If their plot succeeds there will be an end to liberty of conscience in the American Union. Justice, domestic tranquillity and the general welfare will be sacrificed to Christian

despotism. If Christianity ever becomes the established religion of the United States of America, more than forty thousand Christian priests will then fatten at the national crib. They will be "sustained and supported" by a Congress composed of Christians. The clergy are aiming to accomplish all this, as I will show. Liberty's price—eternal vigilance—is not paid. The people say, "Never was our nation stronger than at this moment; it has passed through a fiery trial, the late rebellion, and become mightier than when it entered it." That is all true, but it *was* in danger, nevertheless. Before the breaking out of the rebellion the remark was common, "O! there will be no war. The people of America are too enlightened in this age to shed each other's blood." We all know how vain were those expressions. Many who will read these pages will, no doubt, exclaim in a similar spirit of over-confidence, "Religious warfare is at an end; there is no danger of Church-and-State union; it is impossible to incorporate the name of God in the Constitution of the United States."

A still less thoughtful class say, "What if the name of God is put into the Constitution? Will it do any harm?"

It can be shown that religious warfare is not at an end;* that there is great danger of Church-and-State union; that it is possible to incorporate the name of God in the Constitution of the United States, and, lastly, if the name of God is thus incorporated, civil and religious liberty in America will be, for the time being, overthrown.

Notwithstanding the strength of our nation it is threatened by greater, more insidious foes than ever gnawed at its vitals—the clergy. They are America's worst enemies, worse than slave-holders ever were, more dangerous to civil and religious liberty, and more unprincipled in their attacks

* This was written several months previous to the conflict between the Orangemen and Catholics in New York city, on the 12th of July, 1871. Both Catholics and Protestants have yet to learn that this country does not belong exclusively to either or both; but they will not be convinced of the fact without the shedding of blood.

upon it. He has read history to little profit who does not know that Christians, *as* Christians, cannot be trusted with civil power.

To-day this country is in a similar condition religiously that it was politically at the time of firing upon Fort Sumpter. Then there was little or no apprehension of a war, and most of the means of power, forts, arsenals, etc., were in the hands of those who undertook to destroy the Union. Now the means of power—institutions of learning, including our common schools, the church property exempt from taxation, and millions of money, besides, rapidly accumulating, are in possession of Christians. So completely is this nation controlled by the clergy and their satellites that a protest in almost any school district against the outrageous Bible-reading practice in school is met with ill-concealed derision from, or the pious disgust of, the Christian portion of community. The clergy are the natural enemies of a purely democratic form of government, a form which recognizes no power higher than the will of the people. Self-government and Christianity are incompatible. Christianity wars against the natural, inalienable right of the people to rule themselves. It does not believe in the people. It distrusts them. It claims to be superior to them. A truly democratic or republican government has no God. It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Christianity means a government of Gods, kings and queens, lords and ladies, against the people. It is theocratic. Human government means freedom. Christian government, in whatever guise it appears, is pure despotism. Christianity is grasping for power to enable it to destroy this Republic, which it considers too American, too human, and seeks to substitute for the government of the people a government of God—a Christian Empire! For several years there has been a deeply laid plan by Christians to overturn the principle to which our nation owes its existence, namely, "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The ideal divine government

conceived by the clergy is diametrically opposed to this. They despise and denounce the principle of self-government, asserting that the consent of the people as to whether God shall govern them is rebellion against him. The Jeffersonian idea is that the people are the source of power. This the Christians pronounce anti-Christian and infidelic, and so it is. They imagine they can render no greater service to God than to destroy the principle of self-rule. For this purpose they have a national association of Christians, and several State Christian organizations, all working for the overthrow of America's free institutions. The Movement is not, as too many suppose, an insignificant one. It is assuming gigantic proportions, and is constantly increasing in popularity among Christian people. It is not confined to a few misguided clergymen. Politicians are enlisted, who for the sake of position and plunder will lend their influence to any scheme however nefarious; though it be, as in this case, to stab to death religious freedom. (The sense of security felt by the American people in the perpetuity of their nation is the opiate which lulls to sleep all fear of serious consequences from clerical interference in civil affairs.) The declarations and demands of thousands of Christians already engaged in this religious combination is the best answer that can be given to the question, Is there any danger?

Tuesday morning, June 27, 1871, I open the *Chicago Tribune* which contains the following:

The Dubuque *Herald* has dug up and published the following letter from Rev. J. P. Newman, pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Church of Washington, D. C., addressed to the leading Methodist clergymen of Iowa, in behalf of the re-election of Senator Harlan. It is said that the letter has created some excitement in the politico-religious circles in the Hawkeye State:

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 25, 1871.

DEAR BROTHER: As a mutual friend, I drop you a few earnest words in behalf of Senator Harlan's re-election to

the United States Senate. You know the importance of early and earnest action. The members elected to the next Legislature elect the Senator. It is, therefore, necessary that the right man be nominated, and hence, attention must be given to the primary meetings.

I am glad to say to you that Senator Harlan is regular in his attendance on church, and his influence is in the right direction. I know personally that he stands high with the administration, and has influence with the President, and is held in high esteem by his fellow-Senators. His speech on San Domingo has given him an elevation few Senators enjoy. Hoping that you will in all suitable ways interest yourself for Mr. Harlan, I am truly yours,

J. P. NEWMAN.

There is a specimen of the wire-pulling that is steadily going on. The political warfare of the Christians will not be an open one if they can help it. They will avoid discussion and agitation in every form, unless they are assured that the "proper" sentiment will turn in their favor. "Senator Harlan is regular in his attendance on church." That is an essential qualification for holding office, according to the plan of Christian politicians. The omens in the politico-religious heavens foretell the gathering storm. The liberal forces will co-operate with any party that will throw itself against the Christian politicians who are striving to ride into civil power, in order to rule the nation as they now control the common schools of the country. The plotting of Christian bigots is still successful, and they are using every means, honest and dishonest, to promote the glory of the church militant. The Protestant church will use the Republican party to accomplish its diabolical scheme of uniting Church and State. The Christian religion has forced itself into American politics and must take the consequences. The Christian political party, which makes its jealousy of Catholic rule in this country a pretext for a right to exist, will eventually unite with that powerful Catholic Church, on the plea that Christianity in any form, is preferable to infidelity. Protestant Christians of America favor the triumph of the Papal priesthood in France over the French Communists who more nearly

represent the American idea of self-government than does any sect of Christians.

To uproot the infidel principle of government in this country the clergy propose, through the powerful influence of the pulpit, and the still mightier influence of the press, to prepare popular sentiment to receive an idea at present repugnant to every true American—the incestuous union of Church and State, the bane of the old world, and the prolific parent of every conceivable form of despotism. Already have they begun to undermine the confidence of Americans in the grandeur of their free institutions, by heaping anathema and reproach upon the memory of our Revolutionary fathers, because they, in laying the foundations of American liberty, were guided by human wisdom instead of Jewish and Christian tradition. Says E. R. Craven, D. D., one of the leaders in this religious revolution, in an article published in the *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the National Association, Philadelphia, Pa., March 2, 1868 :

“The subject proposed for consideration is, certainly, one of the most important that can engage the attention of Americans. It is with great hesitation, however, that the writer enters upon its discussion. He reveres the memory of the Fathers of the Republic for their moral excellence, their exalted wisdom, their self-sacrificing patriotism, and many of them for their true piety ; and he esteems the Constitution they framed as one of the noblest products of human skill. It was with great difficulty he could bring himself to believe that there is an important defect in their great work, and it is with still greater difficulty that he now presumes to point out to others what he regards as the error. This he would scarce dare to do, had not many of the best and wisest of his countrymen preceded him in calling attention to the same defect.”

What is the defect? The name of God is not once mentioned in the Constitution of the United States ! This omission has caused the clergy long and bitter lamentation. Because of this “insult to God” J. H. McIlvaine, Professor of

Political Science, in Princeton College, calls the fundamental law of the land a "godless Constitution." *

Rev. Mr. Craven, acknowledges that he would scarce dare to attack "one of the noblest products of human skill," the Constitution, if he had not the example of "many of the best and wisest [?] of his countrymen." By "best and wisest" he means his fellow-clergymen!

What do they propose to do to remedy this "defect?" The Rev. Mr. Craven answers, that it cannot be "supplemented by any means *short of the correction of the instrument itself.*" Thus, they demand an amendment which shall overthrow our *magna-charta*, and erect upon the ruins of our rights and privileges a spiritual despotism. Thousands of petitions, praying for a change which shall recognize God in the Constitution, are circulated among the people, and numerous signed. The clergy declare that it is highly necessary that God should be thus recognized; for, unless it is done, he is dishonored, on account of which dishonor he will "break through" and visit the nation based upon a "godless" thing with "utter destruction." This threat frightens thousands of simple souls who are in the churches, and a few outside. E. R. Craven, D. D., says this terrible calamity will ensue unless God is honored by the proposed amendment.

In the first place, the clergy recommend that the Preamble be amended so as to explicitly acknowledge Almighty God as the Source of all authority and power in civil government. It is not enough, in their judgment, to have a constitution which was ordained to form a more perfect union than ever existed in the shape of government, and by means of which justice could be established, tranquillity ensured, the common defence of all citizens provided for, and their general welfare promoted. These blessings do not satisfy the clergy. The "general welfare" is too common. It takes away special favors, and places the clergy on the mean level with the rest of mankind. The "divines" want advantages over others

* *Christian Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1868.

who happen to think differently from themselves about the things of this life, and more especially concerning the affairs of the next. They want the constitution "reformed" into a creed, and the government remodeled into a huge Christian Church, whose officers shall be Christians supported at the public expense, supported by the toiling millions whom God made on purpose to labor and to glorify him and his faithful ambassadors on earth (!)—especially the ambassadors. This scheme of the clergy to turn the government into a church eclipses the idea of a magnificent empire conceived by Aaron Burr.

Christians propose for insertion, after the words, "We the people," these: "Humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among the nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority, in order to constitute a Christian government," after which the balance of the preamble will follow in its present form. Our constitution already assures us union, justice, tranquillity, the greatest good to the greatest number. This is too liberal for our clerical friends. According to their nomenclature, "equal rights" is only another name for infidelity.

If we will permit them to have their way about this matter they offer to take us under their protection. Prof. McIlvaine puts in a strong claim, and invites us to "walk into my parlor." Hear him:

"We claim it as an inalienable right, and hold ourselves under the most sacred of all obligations, to govern ourselves in a Christian manner. But we cannot do this while we leave God out of our government. We dishonor and insult him, and draw upon our heads his just displeasure, and all those calamities from which we are now suffering. The right of the nation to acknowledge its God is as sacred and inalienable as the right of the individual to do it. We say therefore to all objectors, you must not touch this right. We will not constrain your consciences. We will not touch your religious beliefs. We will protect you as ourselves in your inalienable civil right to worship God or not, as you judge best. But when you take the ground that this nation shall

not acknowledge God, because you as individuals do not believe in Him, you are unreasonable. You cannot be gratified. You may set your hearts at rest upon this point. For we will defend this right of our nation with our property, our lives, and our sacred honor. Necessity is laid upon us to do it."

The last few sentences have the ring of a "declaration of war." The gentlemen engaged in this movement are in earnest. Indeed the clergy, as a profession, are remarkable for zeal and great tenacity of purpose. They believe it to be their duty to acknowledge God, though it involve the destruction of republican government. There is a government which, to them, is of far more consequence, and to which they owe greater allegiance than to this. They are willing to shed blood to uphold their "king" and vindicate his authority as superior to this Jeffersonian, infidel affair, which they claim is an insult to him who is their Lord and Master. It is galling to their Christian consciences to live in such an infidel nation. They never have reflected that if American institutions do not suit them they are at liberty to take up their abode in any one of the many "kingdoms" already made to hand, and which were established by "divine right," fully recognizing the Jewish and Christian God, whom the founders of our nation "insulted," "dishonored," fairly snubbed.

It is folly to underrate the strength of opponents. It is no idle boast when Prof. McIlvaine says Christians will defend this claim with their property, lives and sacred honor. They should be credited with uttering their heartfelt convictions. Before this religious-political struggle is settled it is quite likely blood will be shed in some sections of the Union as the result of the efforts of religious bigots to destroy the liberty our fathers bequeathed us. Religion has often produced such a sad state of things; and, no doubt, will again disturb the peace now reigning in our land. Improbable? So said the masses of America's noble sons in reference to a certain

other crisis, but who, a few months later, found themselves amid the dust and smoke of war.

The clergy claim the right to govern themselves in a Christian manner. Have they not that right now under the "godless constitution?" Grant them what they ask and they will agree "not to touch your religious liberties;" nor to "constrain your consciences." They promise still more, to "protect you in your right to worship God or not." Amazing kindness! Under the present constitution citizens do not need such protection. They are abundantly able to take care of themselves. The fundamental law fully guarantees religious liberty to all. This is too broad for Christianity.

The declaration that Christians will protect people in their right to not worship God demolishes the whole argument that the nation is bound to worship God. Why is a nation bound to worship God? Because a nation is an individual.(?) This is, by Christians, considered their strong argument. An assumption that an individual is bound to worship God is made the basis for an argument to show that a nation is a *person*, and therefore must worship God. Christianity denies that individuals have a right *not* to worship God, so that the promise not to "constrain your consciences," and to protect individuals in not worshipping, annihilates the core idea of the whole movement for national recognition of God. These God-in-the-Constitution Christians promise what none but an Atheist can fulfill. Atheists believe that a man has a right not to worship any God; and Prof. McIlvaine, speaking in behalf of God-in-the-Constitution Christians, promises to protect them in this right. In other words will assist them to violate God's law! Christianity insists that individuals owe God worship. None are exempt. Consequently a Christian nation would be an absolute despotism, compelling every individual to bow the knee to the Jewish-Christian divinity; or be an outcast, having no right that Christians would feel bound to respect. Atheists, Infidels—in a word, all free-thinkers—would be disfranchised; and compelled to

observe religious requirements against which their souls are in continual revolt.

People who are not aroused to a sense of the danger which threatens the existence of our free institutions, ask, "What harm can there be in acquiescing in an amendment of the preamble? The devoted Christian is grieved because of the omission of the name of God in the supreme law of the land." "All he asks, and all he expects," we have been told, "is that God shall be honored. To grant this reasonable request of a large body of Christian people would forever set at rest the conscience of the Christian, and encroach upon the liberty of none." In the early stages of the discussion of this question this was the argument. As late as November, 1869, in the Iowa State Convention of Christians held at Oskaloosa, one clergyman, with a petition in his hand, read the preamble, and the proposed amendment :

"REV. G. S. ADAMS. I want to notice this point: Here is the petition, (holding it in view of the audience.) The people of the United States ask Congress to adopt measures for amending the Constitution. The amendment is in the Preamble, not the body of the Constitution. The preamble lays down certain great principles to which we add others, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in civil government, Jesus as Ruler of Nations, and the Bible as the Supreme Law. It is not in the Constitution, but the Preamble. It is simply to make *buncombe* to say that the proposition is to change the Constitution itself. And the Infidel cannot urge any reasonable objection why we should not acknowledge these fundamental principles of our religion in the Preamble."

In that very petition from which the Reverend gentleman quoted there was a clause he accidentally overlooked. It was in these words :

"And we *further* ask that such changes be introduced into the *body of the Constitution* as may be necessary to give effect to these amendments in the preamble."

His attention was called to it at the time. The "bun-

combe" on that occasion was purely of "home manufacture." The desire of the clergy to "honor God" is a pretext. They aim at *power!* The design is to begin at the beginning, and Christianize the whole document. At that same Oskaloosa Convention a pamphlet was freely circulated, by one of the leading delegates, in which the amendments asked for are enumerated as follows:

"The following changes will be requisite in the Constitution itself:

"Art. II. Sec. 1, clause 8, is as follows: 'Before he (the President) enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation; I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.'

"We propose the following: 'Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall, with uplifted hand, take the following oath: I do solemnly swear, by the only living and true God, and as I shall answer at the bar of Jesus Christ the Judge, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and until constitutionally amended, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.'

Art. VI, Sec. 2, is as follows:

"This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Instead of that they propose the following:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, in subordination to the law of God revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, shall be the supreme law of the land."

"This amendment," says the author, "gives supremacy to Bible law." So it does. We will in due time examine that Bible law. The author of the pamphlet endeavors to sustain the proposed amendment of Article six, Section two, by the following quotations from the "supreme law of the land" (?) "Confession of Faith," "Larger Catechism," "Shorter Catechism," and "Testimony of the United Presbyterian Church." Obey the king, you rebels!

"Isa. viii: 20, 'To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.'

"2 Tim. iii: 16, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' 17, 'That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'

"Psalms xix: 7, 'The law of the Lord is perfect.'

"James i: 25, 'But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, * * this man shall be blessed in his deed.'

"Deut. xi: 18, 'Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.'

"Jer. vii: 28, 'This is a nation that obeyeth not the voice of the Lord their God.'

"Deut. xvii: 18, 'And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites.'

"Micah iv: 2, 'And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.'

"Neh. x: 29, 'They clave to their brethren, their nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law.'

"Isa. xxxiii: 22, 'The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King; he will save us.'

"Conf. of Faith, Cap. 1, 2, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, to be *the* rule of faith and life.'

"Larger Cat., Ques. 3, 'The Holy Scriptures of the Old

and New Testaments are the word of God, the only rule of faith and obedience.'

"Shorter Cat., Ques. 2, 'The word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him.'

"Tes. United Pres. Ch., Art. 13, 'We declare that the law of God, as written upon the heart of man, and as set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is supreme in its authority and obligations; and that when the commands of the Church or State are in conflict with the commands of this law, we are to obey God rather than man. Authority exercised in opposition to the law of God is so far null and void, and cannot bind the conscience."

"We are to obey God rather than man." So says the Catholic in his recognition of the supremacy of the Pope, God's vicegerent, interpreter of the will of heaven. The Catholics accept the words of a living man as infallible in matters of faith. Protestants endorse the words of dead men in matters of faith and practice, and both parties assume that it is God who speaks!

The framers of our Constitution fully aware of the corruptions of Church-and-State union, carefully guarded against it in Article six, Section three :

"The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

The clergy propose to amend so that the principle contained in it, and which has given Free Thinkers an equal chance with religionists in the management of public affairs, shall be abolished. In its place they propose the subjoined sectarian clause :

"The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of

the several States, shall be just men, fearers of God and haters of covetousness, and shall be bound by oath to support this Constitution; but no denominational test shall be required *further than that they shall be professors of religion in some Protestant Christian Church.*"

In a subsequent chapter the "just men" will be attended to without "benefit" to "Clergy." Protestants are unwilling that Catholics should share the advantages, if there should be any, of their proposed amendments. Is not that an example of the liberality of Protestantism? It is an instance of history repeating itself. Whenever Protestants have had the power to discriminate against Catholics they have improved the opportunity. Protestants, during their whole history, have piteously complained of the persecutions they have suffered from the Catholics, while abstaining from mentioning that they have nothing of which to boast over Catholics in this respect. The rule of Catholics would be no more relentless or intolerant than that of Protestants. Protestants repeatedly sound the alarm against Roman Catholic rule in this country. But are not Catholics Christians? Do they not believe in God? Jesus Christ? the Bible? Do they not believe more in God and Jesus Christ than the Protestants? Have they not a better Bible, and more of it, than Protestants? And are they not opposed to infidelity? Why, then, debar the Catholics from holding office? Are there not "just men," "fearers of God and haters of covetousness," among the Catholics?

In another part of the pamphlet the author was more generous. He said he was in favor of the free exercise of the Bible-revealed Christian religion without *denominational preference*. This would admit the Catholics to a full participation of the benefits (?) of the proposed amendment.

There is now but one principal impediment to an alliance between Catholicism and Protestantism: Protestant jealousy. Protestants have never been able to brook Catholic prosperity. But the bitter feud that formerly existed between these rival Christian parties, and which occasioned the loss

of tens of thousands of lives, has become measurably healed under the liberalizing influence of our democratic-republican government. Both Catholics and Protestants have come to perceive that the differences that have kept them asunder are insignificant in comparison with the threatened annihilation of Orthodox Christianity by Skepticism. Christian *Unity*, even upon Catholic ground, is preferred by Protestants to Godless constitutions, governments and schools. Nearly all the fundamental aims of Protestantism and Catholicism are the same. Both seek to inaugurate a Christian form of government. Christian rule is desired by both. The present form of government is denominated infidel, or Godless, by both Protestant and Catholic alike. The acknowledgment of God as the source of all authority and power in civil government has been, for ages, the pet dogma of the Catholic Church. The reign of the "Lord Jesus Christ" on the earth, "ruler among the nations," is as dear to the Catholic heart as it possibly can be to the Protestant. So it will be an easy matter to amend the amendment by the insertion of the word 'Orthodox' in place of the word 'Protestant.' Then the union between Orthodox Christians will take place, in order to constitute this a Christian nation and thus strangle religious liberty to death.

"Tyranny, like a foul monster, coils
 Its slimy folds around crushed Liberty:
 Forever crushed and trampled in the dust?
 Forbid it Heaven!"—

Notwithstanding the Constitution affirms that no "religious test" should exist, its framers were still fearful that some loop-hole remained through which danger of a religious character might come to the nation. Hence, at the very *first* session, of the *first* Congress, the *first* amendment to the constitution was made:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," etc.

With what jealous care did the Fathers of this Republic guard against the interference of religionists with the affairs of the State? With what solicitude did they lay the foundations of this Nation? They were aware of the despotic power of Religion, whenever, and wherever, it assumed control of human affairs. They apprehended danger to the Republic by the ever meddlesome clergy. They feared the very calamity that has come upon us—religious dictation in civil affairs. Is it not suggestive that the first amendment to the Constitution of our country should be on the subject of *religion*? The clergy never accepted the situation, and throughout our whole history have labored to inculcate opinions at variance with the principle of Self-Rule. In order to get the reins of government in their own hands they propose to blot out this first amendment, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances,” and put the following, which I copy from the aforementioned pamphlet, in its place: “The free exercise of the Bible-revealed Christian religion, the observance of the Christian Sabbath, and everything requisite to the promotion of gospel Christianity, without denominational preference, shall be congressionally sustained and supported; and the freedom of the press and of speech, unless in matters of obscenity and profanity, shall not be abridged, or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”

Let that principle be carried out, and freedom of speech and of the press would be at an end in this country, as they are in nearly all lands in the old world where Christianity and other equally despotic systems of religion bear rule.

The author of the pamphlet entitled, “Christian Amendments of the Constitution of the United States” reports Dr. Bushnell as saying, “From the Atheistic error in our prime conceptions of government has arisen the Atheistic habit of

separating politics from religion." But that sagacious and noble Statesman, Thomas Jefferson, rejoiced that religion and the state were completely divorced in the new nation.

I am informed by the editor of the Richmond (Va.) *Whig*, that he saw some autograph letters of Mr. Jefferson, of which the following are copies :

"To Messrs. Nehemiah Dodge, Ephraim Robbins, and Stephen S. Nelson, a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association, in the State of Connecticut :

"GENTLEMEN :—The affectionate sentiments of esteem and approbation which you are so good as to express toward me, in behalf of the Danbury Baptist Association, give me the highest satisfaction. My duties dictate a faithful and zealous pursuit of the interests of my constituents, and, in proportion as they are persuaded of my fidelity to those duties, the discharge of them becomes more and more pleasing.

"Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God : that he owes account to none other for his faith or worship ; that the legitimate powers of Government reach actions only, and not opinions—I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their Legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; thus building a wall of separation between Church and State.

"[Congress thus inhibited from acts [respecting religion, and the Executive authorized only to execute their acts, I have refrained from prescribing even occasional performances of devotion, prescribed indeed legally where an Executive is the legal head of a national church, but subject here as religious exercises only to the voluntary regulations and discipline of each respective sect.]

"Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore to man all his natural rights, convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties.

"I reciprocate your kind prayers for the protection and blessing of the common Father and Creator of man, and tender you, for yourselves and your religious Association, assurances of my high respect and esteem.

"January 1, 1802.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

“ [The marked paragraph, inclosed in brackets, was omitted on account of the suggestion that it might give uneasiness to some of the Republicans in the Eastern States, where the proclamations of Thanksgivings, &c., by their Executive, is an ancient habit, and is respected.—ED. OF WHIG.] ”

“ THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MR. LINCOLN.

“ Averse to receiving addresses, yet unable to prevent them, I have generally endeavored to turn them to some account, by making them the occasion, by way of answer, of sowing useful truths and principles among the people, which might germinate and become rooted among their political tenets. The Baptist address now inclosed admits of a *condemnation of the alliance between Church and State under the authority of the Constitution*. It furnishes an occasion, too, which I have long wished to find, of saying why I do not proclaim fastings and thanksgivings, as my predecessors did. The address, to be sure, does not point at this, and its introduction is awkward; but I foresee no opportunity of doing it more pertinently. *I know it will give great offense to the New England Clergy*, but the advocate for religious freedom is to expect *neither peace nor forgiveness from them*. Will you be so good as to examine the answer and suggest any alterations which might prevent an ill effect or promote a good one among the people? You understand the temper of those in the North, and can weaken it, therefore, to their stomach; it is at present seasoned to the Southern taste only. I would ask the favor of you to return it with the address in the course of the day or evening. Health and affection.

“ *January 1, 1802.* ”

I have italicized portions of the letters.

The Church Union, one of the organs which favored a theocracy, editorially, May 2, 1869, declares that Thomas Jefferson was an avowed infidel; and it is a fact that he was. The editor then says, “ He drafted our Declaration of Independence, and as we would suppose, based government on human authority, namely, ‘ Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.’ The Constitution was framed in a similar spirit, without the slightest reference to any higher authority than the consent of the governed.”

The Church Union says that is what Thomas Paine called "snubbing God!"

The clergy of America intend to accomplish all they can to undo the work of Jefferson and his co-workers, who built a nation that is better and stronger than all the "divine" governments ever instituted.

"Extensive religious combinations effect a political object."

"All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequences."

So spoke the Congressional Committee in 1829, in regard to the demand of the clergy of that time for a more rigid observance of Sunday. We are now threatened with just this kind of despotism.

I will now quote from Prof. J. R. W. Sloane, D. D., one of the leading spirits of God-in-the-Constitution Reform.(?)

"The movement has already secured the hearty co-operation of *vast numbers* of the intelligent and learned. It numbers among its advocates college presidents, professors, judges of the higher courts, and others as thoroughly versed in political philosophy as any men of this age or country.

"We have naturally with us, then, all who believe the foregoing fundamental principles; all who are in favor of scriptural legislation upon marriage, the retention of the Bible in the public schools, the maintenance of religious services in legislative bodies, of laws for the preservation of the sanctity of the Sabbath, and of the oath as the highest sanction of government; and, in fine, of all who are not prepared to advocate the entire divorce of religion and politics. Those who believe, with Jefferson and his school, that government has no moral ends, that it deals only with 'breaking legs and picking pockets,' or, as it has been expressed, that 'government is nothing but the watch-dog lying at the door of the citizen for the defence of life and property,' are, of course, naturally and logically opposed to us."

Yes, the Liberalists of the country will oppose any such scheme.

Jefferson said that the "legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions." The clergy are foes to this idea, and believe we ought to be ruled by a Christian government that would reach opinions; that would punish infidelity. Every lover of American liberty will unhesitatingly affirm that we have had enough of governments that deal with opinions. As the clergy are discontented, dissatisfied with our nation because it will not meddle with opinions, because its powers reach actions only—it follows logically that they are the natural foes to this Jeffersonian, *human* government.

II.

THE GREAT QUESTION.

“ Upon the other side was Bigotry,
A croaking beldam in a filthy garb,
Blear-eyed, decrepit, and her venom'd breath
More withering than breeze by Upas kissed.
She preached and prayed, and called on God.”

—Hudson Tuttle.

Thousands of Christians now opposed to the movement for incorporating the name of God in the Constitution of the United States will be won over by the strong argument, potent to a Christian, “He who is not for me is against me,” and its twin, “He that will not confess me before men, him will I not confess before my father in Heaven.” Then will be presented the practical lesson, “Are you willing, Christian friends, to be found in the ranks of the enemies of Jesus? Look around, and see who are opposed to the recognition of our Lord and Savior! Infidels, and, perhaps, a few misguided Christian brethren, who will forsake their opposition to the reign of Jesus when they perceive into what company they have drifted. Will you crucify Christ afresh by laboring shoulder to shoulder with those who deny him, who mock at his divinity? The class of men who oppose the recognition of God in our great Charter is of itself a sufficient guarantee of the rightfulness of our cause. Sit ‘not in the assembly of the mockers.’ ‘O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor be not thou united.’”

Such arguments, I repeat, will have weight with thousands who are not now in favor of the movement. I have often

heard them presented with great vehemence from different pulpits. It has been my privilege to attend Christian Conventions, and other Christian meetings, at which I have taken pains to phonograph the utterances. They will be embodied in three chapters.

As the colloquial style is a plain, forcible method of presenting facts and truths, I will, in that form, report what I have heard and seen on this great question. For the sake of simplicity I will represent the three principal views in the person of a Clergyman, who will voice the God-in-the-Constitution class of Christians, which will be the natural order of things. Second, Anti-Amendment Christian, who will defend the view entertained by the mass of those Christian people, who believe honestly that the recognition of God in the Constitution would be a calamity to religion. Third, Liberalist, who believes in *Man*, in human institutions, and is thoroughly American in all his thoughts and feelings, and will express the liberal sentiment of the country. He, and his arguments, will receive about as much time and attention as a Liberalist generally gets in a Christian meeting. Even the Anti-Amendment Christian, who agrees with him in opposition to a political recognition of God, seems to fear him; a fact which the Clergyman is quick to perceive and turn to his own advantage.

The ideas contained in the colloquy have actually been preached, spoken, written and printed. Many of the words as I caught them upon my pen-point were uttered amid the roar of theological musketry; but the views in the main, are the cool, deliberate expressions of the several parties. In some of the Christian Conventions the excitement was intense. Sometimes about a dozen ministerial delegates would be striving to obtain the floor at the same moment. Such scenes more frequently occurred after some infidel opponent had uttered his protest. He always gave them something to talk about and caused them to manifest the cannibalistic disposition to "slay and eat" him, as the most effectual way to dispose of his "horrid blasphemies!" As only one could be

heard at a time, the unsuccessful aspirants for the floor, who had been wildly gesticulating and loudly calling upon "Mr. President!" with an anxious "for God's sake" look in their countenances, manifested their disappointment, according to their various temperaments as they, one by one, resumed their seats.

We are now in the Christian Convention. Question, "Shall the name of God be put into the United States Constitution?" No matter what the arguments are against it, the delegates all vote one way, that is, in favor of the religious amendment. No one is eligible to a delegacy who is not beforehand in favor of a constitutional God, and he is expected to vote 'aye' for every resolution. It is not really necessary for the delegates to vote, but it is made an important and deeply solemn occasion. The voting is done with a great deal of ceremony—calling the *ayes* and *noes*. I have seen assemblies of this kind hushed into death-like stillness as the name of each delegate was called, and the solemn response "aye!" was heard. There are generally many resolutions, each one of which is *voted upon separately*—those resolutions upon which there has been such a stormy discussion! Now is the calm! Here is another Christian victory! Not to take that vote, in that dignified manner, would spoil the effect of the Convention. The people are now profoundly impressed that what the Jew, the Infidel, and the conservative Christian have said against the movement has failed to make the least impression; for have not the votes been unanimously in favor of God's recognition? Infidelity has been frequently defeated in this way!

THE DISCUSSION.

CLERGYMAN. "God is the Creator of nations no less than of individuals. Men do not create nations, otherwise than as the instruments of God. All mankind together are not able to create a blade of grass, nor a particle of matter; how much less, the highest and most complex of all organisms, that is, a nation! Do we ever conceive of ourselves as having

created, or as capable of preserving in existence for one hour, this nation of ours? It would be nearer the truth to conceive of the nation as having created us, although that would be false. Creative power belongs to God alone. He is as truly and immediately the Creator and Preserver of nations, as he is of individuals. He holds the life of the nation in his hands, as truly and immediately as the lives of individuals. Ought not the nation then to acknowledge its Maker? What conceivable reason can the individual have for doing this which does not equally bind the nation? He who takes other ground, or who does not feel the importance of this—does he not therein implicitly inculcate the doctrine that the individual is not bound to acknowledge his Creator—that is the doctrine of practical atheism?”

ANTI-RELIGIOUS-AMENDMENT CHRISTIAN. “If ‘God is the Creator of nations,’ then we are not responsible for that ‘Religious defect of the Constitution of the United States’? And if God created this nation, why did he allow it to prosper in the face of that deception in the preamble of the Constitution, ‘We, the people of the United States,’ etc.?”

“If we acknowledge God in the Constitution, but continue in sin as individuals, would the nation or the people escape punishment?”

“Now, as a mere outward profession of Christianity, by a person, may be from the most unworthy or misguided motives, so the mere confession of Christ by the nation will be no evidence of the nation’s loyalty to Christ. And Christ might be more honored by not being professed at all, than to be professed and the nation not truly Christian.”

LIBERALIST. “If I believed that your Bible was written by God, then I would be obliged to concede that God is the creator of nations. My clerical friend says because mankind are not able to create a blade of grass that they are not capable of making a nation. The cases are not parallel. There are some things man can do that your God cannot do, and other things that Nature can do that man cannot perform. Man can make a steam engine and run it at the rate of forty

miles an hour. But God could not budge it an inch. There is just as much evidence that God makes and engineers a locomotive as that he creates a nation and administers its government. If God does create nations, why does he not run them? Has man wrested God's government out of his hands? If your Lord Jesus Christ is ruler among the nations he had better abdicate, if the complaints of the clergy have any foundation; for they say affairs were never so badly managed, and declare that they are going from bad to worse. Look at *Christian France*, *Christian Prussia*—and, for that part, all the Christian nations of the earth!"

C. "Nations are bound to acknowledge the God of nations. God is the God of nations, no less than of individuals. His laws are of supreme authority over nations and governments, no less than over individuals. Howsoever ascertained, these laws are of supreme authority throughout the whole sphere of national and moral life. God holds nations, as such, responsible to Him. He rewards them as such for obedience; He punishes them as nations for disobedience. In such national visitations, whether of mercy or judgment, no discrimination is made between innocent and guilty individuals. When the nation is obedient, all reap the benefits of God's favor; when it is punished for disobedience, the innocent suffer with the guilty;—because the nation is regarded and treated as a *public person*—rewarded and punished as such. Hence it was written, '*Happy is that people whose God is the Lord.*' This is the one truth of the civil history of the Jews, and equally of the surrounding nations, Egypt, Arabia, Phœnicia, Assyria, Persia. It is the one truth of the past history of all nations—the one truth which the present and future welfare of all existing nations requires them to lay to heart. If then nations, as such, are responsible to the moral government of God, are rewarded and punished as nations, it follows that they are bound to acknowledge this responsibility, to acknowledge as nations their true Sovereign. Every principle of government, every sentiment of loyalty, requires them to do so. Refusal or

neglect to acknowledge God is rebellion against His government. Nor is there anything which can be adduced to justify the individual in violating this most obvious and sacred of all obligations."

A. "Here then it appears that the nation in its organic capacity is regarded precisely as a person or individual, and that the same duties are encumbent on that corporate organization as on each individual soul, and that as it is the duty of each soul to submit to Christ as the Pardoner and Savior of sinners, so the great aim of Government is, as an organization, to recognize Christianity as the only true religion, and that if it do not thus recognize Christ, it is recreant to that which is its highest aim, and will bring down upon itself the wrath of God and its own ruin. This then is your theory of government.

"In a word, this nation, in its organic capacity as a person, must profess religion, and that must be the Christian religion. Nothing less than this can be meant, as the sense in which this is to be a Christian government.

"But Christ has distinctly said *non tali auxilio*. He asks no such recognition by civil powers. 'My kingdom is not of this world.' 'Who made me a judge or a divider?' When the people (see John vi : 15,) wanted to take Him by force and make Him a King He withdrew Himself. He refused even to decide a party question, as in the case of the query, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar? Christ is King in *Zion*—He reigns in *Jacob*. He asks not to have His laws or His gospels written in human constitutions—but He writes them upon *human hearts*. He reigns in the *heart* 'out of which are the issues of life.' He has given to His church—not to civil government—the mission of propagating the faith. If we set the example of putting a religious creed in the Constitution, the majority can at any time change the creed. If the Chinese should gain a majority (and the thing is possible,) they could vote Jesus out and vote Joss in. You insist that nations are moral persons, accountable to God; *ergo* they ought to worship God *as nations*, and if they

do not they will be punished. Answer: A nation is only an *artificial* person, not a moral person. It is a mere corporation—'it hath no soul' as Sir Edward Coke said. 'No being can be a moral person who hath not an individual conscience.' And the plea that there is 'an aggregate public conscience' is monstrous! Individual responsibility is the soul of accountability. 'Every one of us shall give account of himself to God.' Massed, consolidated accountability is no accountability at all. This doctrine is the soul of mobs."

C. "The nation is bound to acknowledge God as the ultimate source of authority in civil government. Civil government, as to its essence and powers, is an ordinance of God. Its form indeed is left to be determined by the people according to their peculiar circumstances, necessities and capacities. But no people have a right to dispense with government altogether. This would be to despise the ordinance of God. There was an approach to this in the early history of the Jewish people; when, because '*there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.*' The social demoralization which resulted from this, is revealed to us in that horrid affair of the Levite's wife, in the civil war to which it gave rise, and in the almost annihilation of one whole tribe of Israel. This led the people to demand a King; which was granted them, no doubt to save society from dissolution. Some form of government every people must have, because civil government is an ordinance of God; and when established, its authority and powers are ultimately from God, not from the people.* It is the duty of the people to ascertain and define, according to their best light, what powers God has vested in government, but they cannot confer these powers. '*For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.*' 'And the civil magistrate *beareth not the sword in vain;* '*for he is the minister of God.*'

"The powers of government being thus ultimately derived from God, require that He should be acknowledged as the

* Prof. J. H. McIlvaine.

source. Derived powers can be lawfully exercised only in his name from whom they are derived. This is a universal principle, acknowledged by all men. The name of God, therefore, ought to be solemnly invoked for the sanction of all official oaths, and not be stricken out of these oaths, as it is now in the national Constitution. What else but judgment and punishment is to be expected from such dishonor and insult offered to Him from whom all the powers of government are derived! What else but social disorganization and calamities such as those which our nation has been suffering for the last six years, and from which we have not yet escaped."

L. "Really! what tune will that Bible not whistle? When our clerical friend succeeds in having it recognized as the 'Supreme law of the land' who will be its official expounders? The Indian orator, Red Jacket, uttered a great truth when he said, 'You Christians make the book talk to suit yourselves.' The 'rude child of the forest' perceived a fact that has escaped the notice of the profoundest theologians!

"'There was no king.' When the Jews had no king where was God? Or do you mean that God rules by proxy? Did the people behave any worse when God's king was ruling them than when they ruled themselves? If you can in this country make the people believe that God ought to rule its affairs, then the next claim by you, the clergy, will be that *you* are God's ambassadors. Your *ipse dixit* is sufficient!"

C. "As God administers the affairs of the world and of human history in and through his Son Jesus Christ, whom he has appointed 'heir of all things,' and 'Prince of the Kings of the earth,' and as civil rulers in their official capacity are subjects of this King, it is therefore the duty of nations to acknowledge and be subject to him as their King and Lawgiver; and especially so since civil authorities are specifically commanded in the word of God to do so, and since through him all national as well as individual blessings are dispensed."

A. "The fallacy of this whole move lies in assuming that

civil government 'as a person, in its organic capacity,' is designed of God to profess and promulgate religion. This fallacy, therefore, consists in confounding the aim of the State with that of the church, the aim of politics with that of religion, the aim of civil law with that of Christian Gospel.

"Civil government and religion are both institutions of God. It is the will of God that the churches and the State should exist as organizations; there is a necessity in human nature for both institutions, even though both civil and church organizations have been perverted and abused. But it does not follow that because both are thus necessary and designed, that therefore they both have precisely the same sphere and immediate aim, any more than because a plow and reaper are necessary and designed, therefore both have the same sphere and immediate aim. What then are the respective aims of the Church and the State, of ecclesiastical and civil organizations?

"The aim of civil government is to establish and protect the civil rights of its citizens by laws and penalties through fear and coercion.

"The aim of the Church is to teach and inculcate religion, including the principles of Divine Law, and the Gospel of Salvation.

"But here it may be objected that as the State must have law, this law must be based upon the principles of justice and right; and that we cannot ascertain what right and justice are, unless they rest upon the principles of God's law and of true religion, and that, hence, religion must be recognized and professed by the government. But this last inference does not follow from the premises.

"It may be true that the ultimate idea of right and justice among men is based upon the great fact of God and of a future life as revealed in the Scriptures. But even supposing there could be no correct idea of civil right and justice without this, still it would not follow that a religious creed should be incorporated into civil government.

“It matters not whence comes the conception of civil right and justice so long as these are secured.

“And when religion, and especially Christianity as a revealed system of truth, is appointed to set forth man’s relations to God and to his fellow-man, and all liberty is given for its promulgation, we have no occasion to make any religious creed a part of civil government.

“A government can ascertain and enforce civil rights and mete out punishment without forcing the citizens to believe in some particular phase of religion.

“All this talk about the wrath of God against nations because they do not confess Christ in their organic capacity, is based on the assumption that God demands of all nations as such, what they never were designed to afford. The only truly religious character that any nation can have, is that which results from the free profession and living out of religion in the individual heart of each member of society.

“Moreover, how are civil enactments going to make men believe in religion? Religion must not only be a personal motive, but a free conviction. And the moment you begin to legislate on this subject, you invite opposition rather than belief and true obedience.

“When I reflect how Jesus Christ refused to be made an earthly king, escaping from the hands that would make Him such, declaring ‘My Kingdom is not of this World,’ and it is especially declared that He, as the Messiah, is King of Zion; when I reflect that His Kingdom and religion is a spiritual power in love and in the hearts of his subjects, and that his Church is not an instrument of force and of terror in earthly matters—this being left for the civil government in its own proper sphere—and when, through a perversion of Christianity, of the Church, and of the State, I see what crimes have been committed in the name of religion and Christianity, what Atheistic reactions have occurred from the superstitions and tyrannies of combined ecclesiastical and political institutions; when I behold the bloody wars and carnage that have resulted from this perversion of the aims

of government and of Christianity, then do I look with pride and satisfaction upon our own free Columbia, where Church and State, religion and civil government are held distinct in their respective spheres—then do I feel to pray God that in this my native country, the time may never come when the State shall undertake to promulgate a creed and enforce religion, but that, in accordance with the wise fathers who founded this government, it may still go forward giving equal privileges to every race and every name, and trusting that Christianity, coming forth from the hand of her Almighty Author, animated with the breath of His Eternal Spirit, and adorned in her pure robes of spotless love, may move freely among this great people and win by her own beauty, grace and virtue, the greatest conquest—the hearts of men!”

C. “We, as a nation, have experienced throughout our whole history the most signal manifestations of God’s protecting and fostering care. No people, except perhaps the Jews, were ever so favored of God as we have been. In the settlement of the colonies; in the extent, fruitfulness and healthfulness of our country; in its vast internal water communications; in the establishment of our independence and national existence; in our unparalleled growth and development, until we have become one of the mightiest powers of the earth; in our unbounded material prosperity; in our all-comprehending systems of education; in all our civil and religious institutions and liberties; in our deliverance from national destruction threatened by the late terrible rebellion, the fierce and cruel assaults of the slave-principle aiming to destroy our national organization—in all this, is not the fostering and protecting hand of God manifest? Ought not all these national mercies and blessings to be acknowledged with national gratitude? But how can this be done with Constitutional authority, or sanction, while even the name of God is unknown to the Constitution itself?

“Our national blessings have been hardly more signal than our national chastisements. When we consider the vast number of human lives which were cut off in the late civil

war, is it too much to say that this land has been deluged with blood, and is now filled with the cries of bereaved parents, widows and orphans, because we have failed to recognize God in our nation? Besides this, what accumulations of wealth did the war annihilate. In what condition has this enormous destruction of life and property left us? With a load of debt and taxation, greater in proportion to our means than that of any other people! How these burdens paralyze our productive industry and trade! Who can foresee what is to be the end of our present political and financial troubles?

“We are threatened, not with another civil and sectional war, but with a social war, which if it be not averted, cannot fail to prove infinitely more disastrous and bloody than that from which we have just emerged, because it will not be confined to sections, but will pit against each other the inhabitants of every city, town and village, and every rural district in the land. Has all this no meaning? Is it not a divine admonition and warning of what must be the consequences of our great national sin of leaving God out of our government? Does it not call upon us to humble ourselves before him, not as individuals only, but as a nation, and to avert the calamities by a full and catholic acknowledgment of his authority, in our national constitution and governmental affairs? Nations have the inalienable right to acknowledge their God. Say our opponents:

“‘Civil government is for civil purposes alone; it has nothing to do with religion; consequently it cannot legitimately acknowledge a God; and thereby it would virtually lay under civil disabilities those who do not believe in God.’

“Now with respect to the first part of this objection, that ‘civil government is for civil purposes alone;’ this is very true, but it does not follow that nations and governments have no right to acknowledge as such their God and Preserver, by whom they are ordained and established, and from whom all their powers are derived. With equal truth it may be said that marriage is for the propagation of the race, to

supply man's want of society, of communion with his kind ; but it does not follow that God is not to be recognized in the marriage relation. The institution of the family also is for educational purposes ; but it does not follow that the family as such has no right to acknowledge the God of the family. Nay, even a business firm, for the sole purpose of acquiring wealth, has the inalienable right to acknowledge God, who alone can give success to business enterprise. If the nation were nothing more than a voluntary compact for the accomplishment of civil purposes, it must needs have the same right. But the nation is more than this. It exists as we have seen, by an ordinance of God, deriving all its powers from Him, and is held responsible to His moral government. It has, therefore, not only the inalienable right, but is obliged in reason, and by the strongest of all moral obligations to acknowledge Him in its fundamental law.

“ With respect to the second part of this objection, that it would place under civil disabilities those among us who do not believe in God, it unfolds itself in this form. The objector says: ‘ If you acknowledge in your Constitution a God in whom I do not believe, and undertake to administer your national affairs according to what you call His moral laws, my relation to the government and to the nation is unequal as compared with that of my fellow-citizens. In order that we who do not believe in God should stand equal with others before the government, the government as such must know no God.’ To this we answer as follows—judge whether or not what we say has the force of truth: The nation has its rights and liberties as well as the individual. Each of these can be pushed to such an extreme as to destroy the other. Thus in a perfectly despotic form of government, the rights and liberties of the individual are denied and taken away. Where the individuals of the people claim all powers are vested in and lawfully exercised by them, as individuals, the rights, liberties and powers of the nation are destroyed, and anarchy is the result. Hence, the rights and liberties of the individual and those of the nation, are to be guarded

with equal care. Where either prevails over the other, civil society either perishes or falls into rapid decay. Now it is clear to us, that this anarchic principle has made no little progress, where individuals deny to the nation the right to acknowledge its God, and this denial is felt to have any force. For it is indisputable that we, in the character or profession of the vast majority of our citizens are a Christian people."

A. "Jesus Christ came to establish a kingdom—a non-resisting kingdom. Government is nothing else than a promise of mutual protection. To illustrate: Four men in a vessel, one a Christian, one a Mohammedan, one a Jew, and one a Mormon. The vessel springs a leak, and the craft seems destined to sink for want of material to stop the gushing in of the water. The Jew thinks of the precious book he has in his pocket and thrusts it into the orifice and partially stops the leak; but still there is danger. The Christian adds his precious New Testament, but still the vessel leaks. The Mohammedan adds his Koran and the Mormon his book of Mormon, and the vessel is saved from sinking.

"Just so in civil government. There can be no safety so long as any particular religion is recognized as supreme and too sacred to forego the sacrifice of being totally ignored for the benefit of all.

"In 1776, when it became necessary that men should fight for their country, the questions were not asked, 'Are you an Infidel?' 'Are you an Atheist?' 'Are you a Christian, or Jew?' No! it was 'Gentlemen, everything that can be brought to bear against the enemy let us bring it to bear; not as *Christians*, but as *men*.' Every man that sacrificed his life in the war with George III was not a Christian, but so far as civil government was concerned all had certain common rights. Suppose an attack is threatened on a mixed congregation, as was the case often in times of Indian troubles. The question would not be asked, 'Who are Christians?' We all should be willing to sacrifice our personal prejudices,

where a common cause demands it, upon rational, human, common sense ground.

“St. Paul spoke of that ‘Man of Sin’ which should come in the latter days, setting himself up in God’s place, showing himself that he is God; and we read in the 13th chapter of Revelation that John ‘stood upon the sand of the sea shore and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns.’ This doubtless represented the nationalities and principalities of the earth. He also saw another beast coming up out of the earth ‘and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exercised all the powers of the first beast—’ and caused those who would not bow down and worship the image of the beast to be put to death.

“Daniel spoke of a beast with two horns, one of which was longer than the other. These horns certainly represent the spiritual and temporal powers. When the Church of Christ, or Kingdom of Heaven, was established on earth it exercised only the spiritual power. After this horn had grown awhile the spiritual and temporal powers were united, and so-called Christians began to take part in civil government, and the rulers of the Church ‘exercised all the powers of the first beast’ contrary to the teachings of Jesus Christ, who said, ‘My kingdom is not of this world.’

“You are attempting to unite the spiritual and the temporal powers, and as Christians, exercise all the powers of nationalities and principalities. If you ever complete the union of Church and State, then those who will not bow down and worship this first beast will be ostracized. You are now putting the short horn on the second beast, and corruption and abomination will follow. The wickedest men—liars and dissolute men—will then join the church and go into politics as Christians.

“Any amendment to the Constitution, so as to recognize God, Jesus Christ, or the Christian Religion, without changing the hearts and consciences of our people would be only a hypocritical pretension and blasphemy against God the

Father, and would be as likely to bring up curses as to bring down blessings.”

C. “The original framers of our National Constitution, the greatest men of their age, were extremely anxious to guard against the corruptions, both political and religious, which, in the old world, had arisen from the union of Church and State. In doing this they went far into the opposite extreme, from which corruptions no less fatal could not fail to arise. They seem to have thought that religion was something so exalted and pure and holy that it would necessarily be degraded, defiled and corrupted by the least contact with politics. Hence it must be removed from governmental affairs altogether. The name of God must not be even mentioned in the Constitution. But they seem not to have perceived that this was a two-edged sword, which cut both ways. For precisely in that degree in which they removed religion from politics, did they sequester politics from religion, and all its purifying influences.

“The notion that the powers of government are derived by voluntary surrender of them from the people, is irrational and pernicious. It is irrational, because the national or sovereign powers actually exercised by all governments cannot be derived, or logically justified in this way, as may be proved by a single example. If these powers be thus derived from the people, it follows that no power can be lawfully exercised by government, which was not previously in the people. But no man is possessed of the power of life and death. No man has power even over his own life, to take it away for any reason, or in any circumstance. Consequently no man can surrender this power to the government. He cannot give up what he does not possess. No government can lawfully exercise this power; and capital punishment according to this notion, becomes judicial murder. This consequence is admitted and avowed by the most strenuous and logical advocates of the theory. The same is obviously true of the powers of peace and war, and indeed of all the sovereign or national powers. Thus the very foundations of

government are overthrown. The notion is pernicious, not only because it is thus irrational, and subverts the foundations of all government, but also, and chiefly, because the people who adopt it arrogate to themselves the exclusive prerogatives and attributes of God. They place themselves on the throne of God, from which they are sure to be hurled into a bottomless abyss of punishment and misery."

L. "Your argument which affirms that man has not power over life and death, and, therefore, has no right to hang his fellow-man, is sound. Therefore, capital punishment *is* 'judicial murder,' and God himself cannot change the fact. People imagined God gave them the authority to take life, which neither he nor they could restore. If a man has a right to take life for God, then when an innocent man is hung and if it was a God-act to hang him, God ought to restore him again to life! What would be still better, and would prevent mistakes, God ought to do his own hanging, inasmuch as he is the only one supposed to have power of life and death; but not even that over himself, any more than man has over himself. The pernicious and immoral act—rather the awful and criminal act—of choking an offender to death is the direct result of clerical teaching: that God has a right to take human life, and does not do it after all; but men do it in his name, just as you clergy would overturn this government and again press Quakers and Freethinkers to death, and hang witches, all in the name and for the glory of your God."

III.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

“I will sunder, and forever.”

—*Doten.*

PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION. “We again meet to discuss the great question of recognizing God. Time!”

CLERGYMAN. “The great political parties by which our public men are elected to office, cease to recognize the authority of God’s moral laws in their schemes and struggles to defeat and displace each other. The whole interworking of these parties becomes one vast enginery of corruption, the one great aim of which is the spoils of office and plunder. This is the natural and logical consequence of the separation of politics from religious influences; as it is notoriously the fact, (notable exceptions apart,) in this country at the present time. What words could adequately characterize that unblushing, abounding and ever-increasing political corruption, defying all rebuke, all restraint, with which this nation is now afflicted; and which is as certain to undermine and overthrow our free institutions as that it shall continue? But even this is not the worst. In a free country, such as this, politics enter much more deeply and extensively than elsewhere into the life of the whole people, so that almost every one becomes a politician,—in this way the whole people become demoralized and corrupted.

“In order to make head effectually against the ever-increasing political corruption, and all its ruinous consequences, is it not indispensable that we acknowledge God

and his moral laws as of supreme authority in the national Constitution? Would not the natural tendency of such a public and solemn acknowledgment be to bring forward in the administration of the government, and in all our national affairs, men in sympathy with it, and thus to purify the whole vast sphere of political life in this country? And is it not manifest that something different from, and more effectual than, the influences hitherto at work, must be tried, or we must eventually perish as a nation from political corruption?

“What do you understand by ‘political religion?’ Does any one pretend to say that we are any worse for a little religion? Even a very little religion is a very great benefit to man. Even the Heathen acknowledged that the fear of the gods was the foundation of their commonwealth. This nation cannot exist without religion. It must recognize the worship of God in order to secure the interests of society.”

LIBERALIST. “Political corruptions are bad enough; but in comparison with those European countries, where religion and the state are united, American politics are as pure as the rain-drops descending from heaven. The clergy and the nobility have, in the majority of cases, united to plunder the people. History is against the purifying influences of religion in connection with politics. In my judgment religion has no purifying influence, either in or out of politics. If the nation, by becoming a professing Christian, would be no more honest than the majority of you Christians there would be little hope for the country.”

ANTI-RELIGIOUS-AMENDMENT CHRISTIAN. “Religion is a form of worship, and when we acknowledge the right to proscribe upon the basis of the Christian religion, we must permit the Universalist to come in and swear by his God and his religion, the Unitarian by his God and his religion, the Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians and Moravians and Mormons by their Religions and their Gods, (for they all worship different Gods, or a God teaching different doctrines,) and the Catholics by their religion and their God, or

you must exclude all but one, and that one to be consistent must be infallible, and all the rest 'heretics,' and their teachings 'damnable heresies.' Then there are the Israelites or Jews, whose Messiah has not yet come, and whose God has not yet offered up His only begotten Son as a living sacrifice for the remission of sins. What shall we do with these,—God's chosen people? Shall we allow them to swear by their own God, or shall they swear by our God? and what kind of a God shall ours be? Shall He be such as our people North and South were worshiping but a few years ago, in blood, fire and flame, internecine strife, murder, rapine and war?

"But suppose we could agree upon the kind of a religion and the attributes of the God by whom we should swear, would the oath be any better? That soul which would swear falsely under the present form of the Constitution, would cheerfully comply with all forms and proscriptions, and would hypocritically bow before ten thousand so-called gods and religions, in order to commit perjury and injure his fellow man. We have too much hypocrisy already without offering a premium upon it.

"We cannot 'make head effectually against this ever-increasing political corruption, and all its ruinous consequences,' by merely 'recognizing God in the Constitution.' Take the leaders of parties now as they are, and you find the very meanest of political tricksters and corrupt party leaders are professors of religion who have polluted the church, blasphemed Almighty God, and disgraced the Christian religion by using it as a cloak to hide their infernal deeds. True religion is not to blame for this. What then? You may talk about 'God and his moral laws,' from Hades to the Resurrection, and you can never stop political corruption or 'purify the whole vast sphere of political life in this country,' except by educating the rising generation in a more rational manner.

"If people are educated to tell the truth, they will never fail to swear to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing else

but the truth, no matter whether they see the name of God in the Constitution or not."

C. "Such an amendment of the Constitution as we propose would not affect in the least, any of the relations of the different Christian sects to each other, or to the government. It would leave them all in this respect, just where they now stand; placing them all alike, however, on high vantage ground for the realization of the common aims of the Christian religion, in which they all agree. It is an object, therefore, in which all real and nominal Christians, that is to say, the vast majority of the citizens of the United States, can heartily unite, without sectarian jealousies or fears. This of itself is a point of great interest and hopefulness in this movement, and one that can hardly fail to secure its ultimate success. Because some may not believe in Jesus, should they deny us the right to acknowledge Him?"

L. "'High vantage ground for the realization of the common aims of the Christian religion?' Precisely! Are there no other religionists besides Christians to be consulted? If Christians constitute the 'vast majority' of the people, that would not warrant them in invading the rights of the minority. It is a well-known fact, however, that when Christians have had this power they, with few exceptions, unhesitatingly exercised it to extirpate heresy and infidelity by force.

"I do not believe in Jesus as you believe in him; but where will you find an Infidel who denies your right to acknowledge him?"

C. "Suppose a similar difficulty to arise in the family, how would it be treated? You have a son who does not believe in God. He is still a member of your household, and he comes to you and says: 'Father, we must abolish family worship. You have no right to acknowledge in the family a God in whom I do not believe. It places me in an unequal relation to the family, of which I am a member. You may pow-wow as much as you please in private, but as a member of the family, I must insist that we have nothing of the kind in common.' What answer would you make?"

You would say, 'My son, you are unreasonable—you cannot be gratified. I will not require you to attend family worship—you are a man—you must judge for yourself. But if you take the ground that this family shall not worship nor acknowledge God, because you as an individual do not choose to do so—there is the door, my son.'

"The Federal Constitution should contain such a recognition, and for the following reasons :

"1st. Only therein, or in another instrument framed as it was and therefore of equal dignity with it, can such a recognition be made. Not only is the Constitution the highest utterance of the Nation; but, in an important sense, it and national acts performed under its authority, are the only organic utterances of the Nation as a Nation.

"2nd. In view of the objects professedly contemplated in its formation, a failure to recognize the Divine Sovereignty therein, is in effect, to deny it. The Constitution is the solemn, well-considered declaration of the Nation before the world, not only as to the form of government established, but also as to the ends contemplated in its establishment. The Preamble sets forth these ends. Manifestly, the ends contemplated are the very blessings the bestowment of which God claims as his own prerogative. For a Nation enlightened by His Word, and peculiarly favored by His Providence, to adopt a Constitution professedly to secure these blessings, without embodying therein a recognition of His Sovereignty, is to claim for itself His prerogative.

"A congregation of the whole people, or of a majority thereof, for prayer or praise, in compliance with a presidential or congressional recommendation, would be, it is acknowledged, *in a sense*, a National act; but still, not being provided for in the Constitution, it would not be an *organic* act—it would not reach the dignity and importance of a constitutional declaration. Notwithstanding such an act, the formal organic utterance of the Nation in the Constitution, (an utterance *ignoring* the Divine Sovereignty,) would still

remain before the world as the Nation's declaration of its position *as a Nation* in reference to God."

A. "My Christian brother, you refer to the son who does not like to engage in family worship, which is not a parallel case. Family government is a despotism, in which the head of the family may dictate terms, and children must obey or there can be no order.

"Our Republican form of government does not recognize the right of any man or set of men to set up any particular class of ideas, and say to those who do not believe their dogmas, 'There is the door, my son—if you can't swear by our God and worship in accordance with our religion, you can become an alien to our government and we will so recognize you. Your oath shall not be considered of binding force, and your evidence in law shall not be taken.'

"Such is the nature of the issue between us. Minorities have rights, and the indirect proposition to alienate or treat as heathens, all those who would not endorse the proposed religious amendment, in case it should be adopted, is certainly in conflict with the genius of our Republican form of government and subversive of every species of Democracy.

"Until we can all unite upon and agree to worship one and the same God, whose eternal attributes are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, we shall be none the better off by the mere mention of the name of God in our Constitution and laws. Every nation is as much an 'organism' as is a family or a church: but it is not supposable that every individual therein shall unequivocally agree upon any particular class of ideas, or have the same conceptions of God and His attributes. The Creator has made certain fixed laws of nature, the obedience of which brings happiness, and the violation of which entails misery."

L. "All just governments are founded upon RATIONALISM, having for the basis of their Constitutions, laws and institutions, the experience of mankind in past ages; and, as a people, we, like all others, must receive 'rewards' and 'chastisements' in proportion to our deviation from this

political axiom. The God of Nature will not change the most insignificant of His laws for the purpose of 'rewarding,' or 'chastising' us. We 'reward' and 'chastise' ourselves by our own actions. If we would preserve our nationality, and incur the blessings provided for us by Nature, we should recognize the sovereignty of Rationalism in our Constitution and our laws. Otherwise, we must perish as a nation.

"Suppose we recognize one God, or a thousand gods, in every letter of the Constitution, and then go on to make the most ridiculous instruments, and perpetuate the most hellish institutions, how long do you suppose the prayers of the people would preserve the nation?

"To make any mention whatever of a God or gods in the Constitution, would be virtually the establishment of a religion. Since all religion is based upon this idea, the mission of the nation is to protect the people, leaving each individual free to worship according to the dictates of his or her own conscience, and swear by the altar of his or her own God. Thanksgiving proclamations amount to nothing more than individuals see fit to make of them; and no matter what the form of our Constitution and laws, it seems that our people generally pervert thanksgiving days into seasons of gluttony and intemperance, and so it would continue with the name of God in the Constitution. By leaving the Constitution as it is, we, as a nation, ignore all religions alike, and protect all alike.

"The Constitution of the United States is not a religious creed to express the faith or define the policy of the Christian Church or any sect thereon. It is an instrument for the creation of civil government, designed to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to the American people. This civil government exists in the name of the people, and derives all its just powers from their legally expressed consent. It is moreover, not a theocracy, created by any special intervention of God, and of which He is the civil head. It has no appointment

of form, prerogative or powers beyond those which inhere in the very constitution and necessities of civil society. It is just what it professes to be—a civil government and nothing more. It is not a Church to propound, propagate or enforce religious creeds ; but a civil government to define and protect the rights of men in their relations to each other, considered as subjects and citizens of the State. To say that the Constitution under which this government exists is atheistic and irreligious because it does not contain a religious creed, either in whole or in part, would, in principle, be equivalent to saying that chemistry is atheistic and irreligious because it does not include in its analysis and synthesis the doctrine of God and the Lordship of Jesus Christ. A bank corporation or a railroad company is atheistic and irreligious for the same reason. I take it that finance is one thing and theology another. And so hold that civil government is one thing and religion quite another.

“We hence confront the primary principle of these gentlemen with a square and positive denial. I deny that it is the province of any civil government, unless it can make good its claim to the plenary attributes of theocracy, to prescribe or enforce any system of religious faith. It deals with men in the relations of time, and not those of eternity. So far as it enters the field of moral virtues, it contemplates them in their civic relations. This, and this only, is the legitimate province of civil government. The moment it passes this boundary it becomes a usurpation in theory, and almost always such in fact. Considered philosophically it becomes an absurdity, since no legal regulation or proscription can ever govern one’s religious faith. It may repress its expression by the arm of persecution ; but human law can never reach the thing itself. It ought not to reach it. The question involved lies between the individual soul and the God of the soul, and not between the soul and the State. The civil law is bound to protect the individual against all infraction of his rights, and then leave him to adjust his own faith upon his responsibilities to the God who made him.

This is the only principle that can be reconciled with the inalienable right of a personal conscience in application to religion. Reject it, and the great doctrine of religious liberty is at once in peril."

A. "The sad experience of the world proves, as a question of consequences, that it is best for religion and best for the State that civil government should let religion alone, and leave its history to be determined by other influences. Hypocrisy, corruption, ambition and persecution in both State and Church are the usual fruits of crowding religious creeds into the Constitution of the State, and extending the powers of the State into the bosom of the Church. There may possibly be some world in which the thing can be done with safety; but, if there be any truth in history this is not the world. All advantages that have ever been gained by the process are more than a thousandfold over-balanced by the evil resulting from it. There is no deeper plot of Satan than that which undertakes to commit the definition and regulation of religious faith to the civil power. The further we keep from this idea the safer for the whole people. We want no approaches to it. I accept no proposition which is in the incipient stage of it. We like the Constitution of the United States, because it utterly absolves itself from all direct connection with the religion of the land and all the sects who profess it."

C. "What should we think of a friendship which a friend would not *avow*? What is said of those who wish to be thought Christians, perhaps, but will not openly confess their faith? They may aid Christian charities, favor Christian institutions, because they regard this faith simply a useful superstition. The institution of marriage is properly respected as honorable, yet the sexes cohabit without marriage. Shall this be considered a practical acknowledgment of the institution, and amounting to about the same thing? Are these relations to be classed with the high and pure relations of those who have openly and solemnly dedicated themselves to each other? Out upon such sophistries. They insult

reason as well as taste and morality. Christ countenances no such subterfuges. 'He who is not for me is against me.' 'He that will not confess me before men, him will I not confess before my Father in heaven.'

"In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.' Prov. iii : 6. 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the *nations* that forget God.' Ps. ix : 17. 'Blessed is the *nation* whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he has chosen for his own inheritance.' Ps. cxliv : 15. 'Happy is that people, whose God is the Lord.' Ps. xxii : 27. 'All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord : and all the kindreds of the nation shall worship before thee.'

"It is our duty to make God's glory a main motive in the establishment of government :

"Rom. xi : 36, 'For of him, and through him, and *to* him are all things : to whom be glory forever. Amen.' 1 Cor. x : 31, 'Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' Rev. xiv : 7, 'Fear God and give glory to him ; for the hour of his judgment is come : and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.' Rev. xv : 4, 'Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy : for all *nations* shall come, and worship before thee ; for thy judgments are made manifest.'

"Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God. Civil society is a Divine institution. The nation has its origin in the will of God, who has laid a necessity for it in the constitution and nature of man ; and its powers and functions are determined by Him.

"The theory that civil government is merely a 'social compact' and that Supreme power is vested in the people, that their will is Supreme Law, and that religion should be entirely divorced from politics, is not only superficial but God-dishonoring, and will most certainly result in bringing upon the nation His threatened vengeance.

"God's revealed will is given as a law to the race as well

as to individual man—it is binding upon nations as well as individuals,—and obedience to it can alone secure national as well as individual prosperity.

“As God is the author of national existence, and has given a written law which is to be the ultimate standard of right and wrong, it is highly important that the nation recognize its Author and this law given for the direction of its moral conduct, and nations who refuse thus to honor God place themselves in an attitude of rebellion against His sovereign authority and will.

“If we are Christians, let us make no hypocritical pretensions of founding our government on Christian principles. If we are Christians, and believe that Christian principles should dominate our whole life, let us have them incorporated in the basis of our government, and the national policy shaped to them. We should then be spared the humiliation of seeing men high in office who persistently violate not only the fundamental principles of religion, but the moralities of heathenism, and the decencies of life. If we cannot, dare not, or will not reduce religion to practical life, our pretensions richly deserve the satire and ridicule of the skeptic.”

A. “The practice of the nation in regard to religion ought to be sufficient to satisfy even the most zealous Christians. While the government tolerates all religious beliefs and authoritatively enforces none, it nevertheless appoints Christian chaplains for the army and navy. The two houses of Congress elect chaplains to open their sessions with prayer. Governmental business is for the most part suspended on the Sabbath day. The Bible is used in the administration of a civil oath. The vested rights of religious bodies are protected.

“This ought to be sufficient. It is all that religion needs, and that it can safely receive at the hands of government. The general practice of those moral virtues which as a part of religion commend the soul to God, and which, as the equities and philanthropies of each benefit the state, is, after

all, the best offering which a nation can offer to the God of nations."

C. "An oath, *in the proper sense of the term*, is not required by the Constitution. The form of oath prescribed for administration to a President elect, (which is the model of all oaths administered under the Constitution,) is lacking in any expressed appeal to God;—it is as follows, 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.' And not only is the model oath thus lacking; but, in Art. VI, Sec. III, immediately after the requirement that all officers 'shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution,' occurs the proviso—'but *no religious test* shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.' By this proviso the *Constitutional* oath is degraded from the high and sacred position of an appeal to God to the low platform of a solemn promise. In view of it, an atheist, even, as he is about to take the oath prescribed for the President elect, may publicly declare his disbelief in the existence of the Divine Being, and no human authority can stay his inauguration.

"That the Constitution impliedly recognizes the Sovereignty of God, is again argued from the fact that, in Art. I, Sec. VII, it is provided, 'If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days, (Sundays excepted,) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law,' etc. It is contended that the recognition of Sunday as a day retired from business implies a recognition of the authority of the Divine Lawgiver.

"(I.) Even upon the supposition that the proviso contemplates the *divinely* imposed obligation of the Sabbath, it would not necessarily imply a recognition of the Divine Sovereignty *over the Nation*. A strictly voluntary association, if it acts wisely, will make provision not to interfere with the personal obligations of its members.

“(2.) The proviso, however, does not necessarily imply a recognition of the *divinely* imposed obligation of the Sabbath. It is, indeed, consistent with such a recognition: but, since the observance of regularly recurring rest-days may be defended on merely human considerations, it is equally consistent with the idea of a merely human origination of the custom of observing such days. The enactment of a law against murder does not necessarily imply a recognition of the authority of Him who ordained, ‘Thou shalt not kill.’ And so, a body of legislators may, without any intended reference to God, on merely human considerations, legalize the observance of a rest-day. An objector, however, may query, ‘Why fix upon one day in *seven*, and that the *first* day of the week?’ The answer is patent. A body of wise legislators finding such an arrangement prevalent in the community, and perceiving that it is as good as any other, would naturally adopt it. Manifestly the proviso does not *necessarily* imply a recognition of the Divine Sovereignty.

“It is also contended that the so-called concluding clause of the Constitution does most distinctly recognize the Sovereignty of our Lord Jesus Christ. The clause is in these words: ‘Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September *in the year of our Lord* one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.’ etc.

“(1.) This clause forms no part of the Constitution as adopted *by the people*. It is merely an *attesting* clause, appended to the Instrument by the Convention that framed it and recommended it to the people for their adoption.

“(2.) The words ‘*in the year of our Lord*,’ form no part of the clause as adopted *by the Convention*. They were inserted probably by the clerk. The clause *as adopted* was in this abbreviated form: “Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the 17th of September,’ etc. ‘In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.’ See *Elliott’s Debates*, Vol. i, page 317, (*Madison’s Minutes*); also, Vol. v, p. 555, (*Madison’s Debates*).

“So far from the reasons alleged showing that the Sovereignty of God is implied in our Fundamental Instrument, a careful examination of them served to make manifest that there is not an implied reference therein, even to His existence.

“As proving that there was no designed exclusion of the name of God from the Constitution, and, indeed, that the Divine Sovereignty was fully recognized by the Federal Convention, allusion has been made to the alleged fact, that the sessions of that body were opened with prayer. That such was the fact has been frequently stated and is generally believed. The evidence to the contrary, however, is clear and decisive. The facts as set forth in the Madison Papers, (*Elliott's Debates, Vol. v, pages 223, 225,*) are as follows: On the 28th of June, Benjamin Franklin, after one of his most able addresses, made a motion that the sessions of the Convention should be opened with prayer; this motion was seconded by Roger Sherman, but was opposed by several distinguished gentlemen; the final disposition of the subject is presented in the following words of Madison's record: ‘After several unsuccessful attempts for silently postponing the matter by adjourning, the adjournment was carried without any vote on the motion.’ The speech of Franklin, which was in manuscript, is preserved among his papers, bearing this note by himself,—‘The Convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!’

“That is the kind of treatment we receive, and which my Christian friend says is sufficient to satisfy the most zealous Christian. When the people come to understand the nature of politics and of the religion of Jesus Christ, Christian believers will be satisfied with nothing less than we ask, a full and free acknowledgment of God's supremacy.

“Permit me to call attention to Franklin's excellent speech. It shows the philosopher's heart was in the right place:

“ ‘SPEECH OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON HIS MOTION FOR PRAYERS IN THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

“ ‘MR. PRESIDENT :—The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks’ close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many *noes* as *ayes*, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

“ ‘In this situation of this Assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard;—and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend?—or, do we imagine we no longer need its (His) assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *that GOD governs in the affairs of men*. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that ‘except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that

build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that, without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall become divided by our little, partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

"I therefore beg leave to move,

"That henceforth, prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations be held in this Assembly every morning, before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

"*Note by Dr. Franklin.*—'The Convention except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!' *Spark's Works of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. v, p. 155.*

"My Christian brother, it does seem to me that no one can oppose this movement without giving aid and comfort to Sabbath-breakers, Christ-crucifying men, the Robespierre class of men, who want no recognition of Jehovah-Jesus, God's own Son, the Savior, to rule over men.

"There seems to be no other view that is consistent with the character or profession of Christianity. This is a movement too, at the proper juncture. Now is the time. The necessities of the case call for just such action as this. Iniquity abounds in the high places of the land—Sabbath-breaking! Infidelity! Atheism! Ruin!! These are the ends. 'The end of these things is death,' and nothing but death."

A. "Am I to understand that if you had the power you would compel an observance of Sunday?"

"In conformity with the wishes of the great majority of citizens of this country, the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, has been set apart. The principle has received

the sanction of the National Legislature, so far as to admit a suspension of all public business on that day, except in cases of absolute necessity, or of great public utility. This principle few would wish to disturb. If kept within its legitimate sphere of action, no injury can result from its observance. It should, however, be kept in mind, that the proper object of government is, to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights; and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.

“A variety of sentiment exists among the good citizens of this nation on the subject of the sabbath day; and our government is designed for the protection of one as much as for another. The Jews, who in this country are as free as Christians, and entitled to the same protection from the laws, derive their obligation to keep the Sabbath day from the fourth commandment of their decalogue, and in conformity with that injunction, pay religious homage to the seventh day of the week, which we call Saturday. One denomination of Christians among us, justly celebrated for their piety, and certainly as good citizens as any other class, agree with the Jews in the moral obligation of the Sabbath and observe the same day. There are also many Christians among us who do not derive their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the decalogue, but regard the Jewish Sabbath as abrogated. From the example of the Apostles of Christ, they have chosen the first day of the week, instead of that day set apart in the decalogue, for their religious devotions. These have generally regarded the observance of the day as a devotional exercise, and would not more readily enforce it upon others, than they would enforce secret prayer or devout meditations. Urging the fact, that neither their Lord nor His disciples, though often censured by their accusers for a violation of the Sabbath, ever enjoined its observance, they regard it as a subject of which every person should be fully persuaded in his own mind, and not coerce others to act upon his persuasion. The Jewish government was a the-

ocracy, which enforced religious observances, and though I would hope that no portion of the citizens of our country could willingly introduce a system of religious coercion in our civil institutions, the example of other nations should admonish us to watch carefully against its earliest indications.

“With these different religious views Congress cannot interfere. It is not the legitimate province of the Legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our Government is a civil, and not a religious institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person, the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely, without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiment of citizens—and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others; for good citizens may honestly differ in opinion, without disturbing the peace of society, or endangering its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds. Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered, but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the Divine Law. It is a right reserved to each citizen, and while he respects the equal rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusions.”

IV.

GOVERNMENT : HUMAN OR DIVINE ?

“ At length they choose,
Old Ignorance and Bigotry must blight
The purposes of those who dare to think
And act against the usages of the past.
They must be sent * * to inflame the love
Of antiquated laws, and teach that God
Enshrines his Godship in a holy book.”

—*Hudson Tuttle.*

PRESIDENT. “ This session will conclude the discussion for the present.”

CLERGYMAN. “ Suppose I were an Atheist, denying the being and personality of God. What kind of an argument would I advance on this question? Denying the existence and personality of God, I *must* oppose this Christian movement. I would not charge any one with Atheism, but must say that arguments in opposition to our proposal to recognize the sovereignty of our Maker must savor very strongly of the Atheistical element. Suppose I were a Deist, admitting the being of God, but denying the authority of Christ's gospel, what kind of argument would I offer? I must deny the right, the authority of God's Law in the United States Constitution. To be consistent I must oppose it.

“ I maintain, sir, that this is a movement in the right direction. As a Christian I cannot take the back track, I must go forward, I must recognize God, I must recognize my dependence upon Him and His Son, I must be governed by those blessed *higher laws* that contribute to my personal benefit beyond the Jordan of Death. I feel that in aiming at this

purpose that I am doing exactly right. I cannot feel that my whole Christian education has been a mistake, a fallacy from the beginning, nor that of my brethren around me. We feel that we are doing exactly right—right in the presence of our fellow men, and our own consciences; right before God and posterity, and right for a coming eternity.

“We admit that we are Christians; that our faith and principles are gathered from the inspiration of God, His declared will. It seems to me this reform is entirely consistent with the letter and spirit of the Great Text-Book of our Christian faith and practice, and that we can reach no other proper conclusion.

“The God of this nation was with our fathers, and they were successful in the great battles which they fought against the powers that threatened to subject our interests and destinies to the demons of monarchy and despotism. We acknowledge that God who fought our battles in the first and last great struggle for the protection and perpetuity of our civil and religious institutions. We look upon God as that Blessed Being who has given laws eminently adapted to the necessities of men, and in keeping of which there is certainly great reward. We look upon him as the Author of the Bible, containing a code applicable alike to the details of social and public life, and which if obeyed redound to the glory of God in the highest, and peace on earth and good will to men. We *recognize this great fact* as citizens, and claim that we should have a recognition of the being and personality of God and the authority of his laws, and the kingly authority of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the public symbols of our political as well as our Christian faith. The duty as a nation, as a God-fearing and Christian nation, is to recognize God and His law as superior over all the kingdoms of this world.

“Suppose the Constitution of the United States were to be submitted to the inspection of the Emperor of China. ‘Here,’ he might say, ‘this great nation is sending missionaries to christianize China through preaching the gospel of

God Almighty and His Son Jesus Christ, and yet there is no recognition of God in the Constitution of that great country from which they come. They do not recognize God, nor His Law, in nor out of the principles in which these missionaries are so zealous in instructing us. Let them go back and recognize what they try to teach us.'

"This would be the conclusion. The nation may be a Christian nation, but there is no heathen that could discover it from the symbols of our civil and political faith. A heathen would see no public recognition of God in this Constitution; he would say the nation refuses to recognize the Savior, and the mediatorial authority of our Lord Jesus Christ. Consistency requires that there should be a recognition so that an air of reverence, virtue, purity, may be thrown over our institutions, and God recognized in the high, as well as the low places of our country.

"Safety, I think, to the institutions of this great country requires that this grand principle of the recognition of God be incorporated in these symbols of our political faith. What is the fact before us? We are driving with the rapidity of time! Whither are we drifting? Under the guidance of corruption we are drifting, as a nation, away from the Divine Law, from the fear of God! But enough. Are we to be guided by the standard of Jehovah's Truth? Under the guidance of God we must have our protection. Sir, in Providence is our safety."

ANTI-RELIGIOUS-AMENDMENT CHRISTIAN. "What is the *origin* of civil government? Where does it originate? Well, says one, it originates in the will of God. Very true, in the same sense that God overrules everything, but *as a matter of fact* government originates with the people forming it as responsible agents under God. The same is also true of church organizations.

"What is the *object* of civil government? Is it to teach or inculcate religion? Or to protect religion and the rights of man? Can any one consistently say that our civil government in its organized capacity has a right to teach or incul-

cate religion? Is that the object of the government of the United States? Who that understands the principle of civil government has the face to say that civil government ought to teach religion? Does it not exist for the purpose, rather, of protecting men in their civil rights by laws and penalties? Is it not to protect every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience? Is it not that religion should be no test in civil matters? The grand object of government among men is to protect all in their civil rights. Now, if this be the case, I ask the question: Is it right for a certain number to demand that their religious ideas shall be taught, and that they shall be made a test in regard to government, and that they shall lie at the basis of it. Is it for those who entertain different religious ideas; those who sustain the government; who pay the taxes; who bear their share of the burden—is it right that they should be compelled to recognize any particular form of religion? This movement is inaugurated for the purpose not only of recognizing the true God and the Savior, but that they should have the Christian religion incorporated in the Constitution. This is plainly declared in the *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the reform. It is an utter perversion of our civil compact to incorporate any form of religion in the fundamental law of the land, and I thank God that our forefathers were wise enough to see this thing.

“Does it dishonor God, and His Son Jesus Christ, to omit their names in the Constitution, and God’s law as the source of power in the civil government? I cannot see it, my friend. God is not honored in *words*. He is to be worshiped ‘in spirit and in truth.’ It is in the hearts of His subjects and not in constitutions that he is to be honored. The Pharisees had the name of God written on their phylacteries so that all men might know they revered Him. So great was their reverence that they would not even pronounce the name of Jehovah on all occasions; but they did not hesitate to despoil widows’ houses. I am suspicious of those who are such sticklers for the name of God.

“But does it dishonor Christ by not mentioning his name in the Constitution? Will the introduction of his name in the Constitution of our country make more Christians. Will it not make more hypocrites and be a disgrace to the church of Christ? Will not persons like some in the Church of England, unite with the church for the sake of getting office? Do you suppose that the mere fact of Christ’s name in that instrument will make men more honest? I cannot see this in the light of history. In the mere fact of making this a government for all classes and conditions of men there is nothing to dishonor the Christian, for every liberty is there provided in the instrument for all to worship God freely in their own way.

“There is in the Constitution nothing against Christianity, nothing opposed to it. Every one has the privilege of worshipping; none are prohibited the free exercise of religious liberty; there is no abridging the freedom of speech; all are guaranteed the right of petition. The people have the right to peaceably assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances; to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. Thus much for the theory in this matter.

“There is a lesson in a *practical* and historical point of view. A wise man has said, ‘History is philosophy teaching by example.’ What is the example? There is the point of interest to us. The spiritual religion, the religion of Jesus Christ and the Bible, is not to be propagated by any great *consolidated* organization. The religion of Christ is not designed to be advanced by any such means, whether ecclesiastical or political. This is the basis upon which I place myself.

“In view of this great principle, and in the face of history, these beloved brethren may succeed in combining the civil and religious governments at last. First, through a recognition of Jesus Christ, the Bible and God, by the nation in its organic capacity; then may fearful things come upon us. To force religion upon men by law—you cannot make men

accept any such thing by a law; you cannot give Christianity power except in the lives of men. The idea of civil government is not to teach religion, but to protect men in their rights by laws and penalties, to protect the right of all classes, to protect every one who bears the burdens of government, every member of the family to be secured against oppression. Let us have the Chinese come, and not force upon them any form of religion. Christianity must depend upon the law of love for its power; the influences of the Holy Spirit for its propagation through the ordained instrumentalities of teaching the pure religion of Jesus Christ, viz.: the churches and the families. If it cannot stand in that way it will not stand in any other way. That is the reason, my dear friend, why I entertain this view. I believe the religion of the Bible to be a spiritual religion. In the name of Christianity I want it to stand separate from the State; to stand in its pure virginity, promoting good will and peace among men by the power of divine love."

C. "We are not misunderstood when we propose to do the work all for the glory of God, all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. We are not misunderstood when we say we hope to bring all to the standard of the law of God, His revealed will; when we say that everything that is not according to God's revealed will has no light in it—no love, no truth. I do say, in regard to this matter of being comprehended, that learned gentlemen, logical gentlemen, honest gentlemen who fearlessly proclaim themselves as opposed to this Christian Movement fully comprehend our meaning; they acknowledge us to be honest, consistent men. We are happy to meet on this floor of discussion men who are honest enough to throw off all disguises of that bad cause, and who argue so ingeniously that you would think the 'worst the better reason.' *

* This charge of sophistry was made in a Christian Convention against the author of this book. The clergy on that occasion applied to him such expressive terms as "Infidel," "Atheist," "Blasphemer," "Scoffer," etc., all of which he enjoyed with unspeakable satisfaction, for they were evidences that his clerical opponents in that Oskaloosa Convention could not meet his arguments.

“ But we do feel sorrow and grief that you, my Christian brother, should not recognize our mutual obligation to God and our country. These words spoken by you are words of comfort to the common enemy. In the ultimate bearing they will encourage the Infidel in his opposition to Christianity, in opposition to God. My opinion is, we must honor the empire of His Son in the world. At the name of Christ every knee shall bow, every tongue confess; everything in Heaven and earth shall result in glory to God. We bow reverently and say, Blessed be the name of God, and the name of the Savior who has done so much for man’s interest; and now it is the prayer of our heart that the good Lord will save us from *ourselves*! In the organization that we have effected we seek the welfare of our country. We pledge ourselves to submission to God as our King and Law-Giver as revealed in the will of God. We must understand our duty, our obligations, and our interest, and leave the consequences to God. The opposition has advanced this idea of man’s sovereignty in civil government. God only knows what it would lead to if it were carried out! There is no dependence to be placed on the will of man to govern. The people on one day cried, ‘Hosanna, blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.’ What did they do the next? ‘Crucify him, crucify him!’ That is the sovereignty of the people. We propose in this great movement to guard society from human impulses, from the uncontrolled will of man. There is a safeguard, and God has given it to us. Righteous are his laws. He has given a rightful rule which says, ‘Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.’ Can man save us? Has he a law which teaches thus far and no further? That is what no one dare assert. What is the true theory of government? All power inheres in God, substantially in God. When you ask what is the design of government, we answer, it is for the glory of God. Man is by nature a religious being, and is by nature a social being. If a man says he is not a religious being, then he lives but for to-day, recognizes no power higher than himself,

makes a god of his belly, and glories in his shame. Where you see no fear of God, you see corruption. We want a government that shall honor the Lord Jesus Christ.

“In the taking of an oath nothing is recognized. The religion of Christ, of the Bible, requires that an oath should be in the name of God. ‘Thou shalt fear the Lord and swear by His name.’ The Psalmist expresses it, ‘I will lift up my hands in Thy name.’ How finely this is expressed: ‘Lifting up holy hands without wrath or doubting.’ If there is anything awful it is when man names the name of his God! at the bar of his God swears his allegiance to the country and to God. That is what we call religion in government. It is not that government shall administer the sacrament, or baptism, or the Lord’s Supper. We want no Church-and-State union. We want to avoid the evil that portends from the growing system of Roman Catholicism, and their Popes, and their dark, deep designs. It is not such Church-and-State union as here indicated in the Popes and in the character of the Roman Church and the Roman religion that we want to see. But now we have no safeguard. Is Infidelity, or an Infidel form of government a safeguard of society? Has God left us to that which in its history has been cruel as the grave? We have had the presentation of the view in this Convention as if there was nothing else dangerous but the religion of the Savior! But I say that Infidelity, when it had the power, cursed the land; that system when it had the power, set up a harlot to be worshiped, and on the other hand profaned the name of God. We must have a safeguard. We must be guarded against Infidelity as well as false religion. We know the history of the world teaches that false religion, Atheism, Infidelity, are equally dishonoring to God and ruinous to man.

“Union of Church and State. We hold that Church and State are God-ordained institutions. Some suppose that God’s government and man’s government are entirely distinct. If we are going to designate them by any particular terms, we would discriminate by calling the Church the

'sister,' and the State the 'brother.' She would regard his purity, would purify him by her genial influence, and improve his character and life. What do we ask the brother to do? To defend the privileges of the sister that he loves. The Church has a brother in the State, and God is their Heavenly father. United in those heavenly relations they love each other fervently.

"There is nothing sectarian in this movement. The acknowledgment of God is not sectarian. The acceptance of the Bible as a guide is not sectarian. There is nothing claimed but what the nation owes to God."

A. "Let us look at this matter in a historical point of view. How does it happen that there has been such a terrible perversion of Christianity? During the dark ages what terrible oppressions in the name of our holy religion? Although Christianity comes as a beautiful virgin out of the hands of our Redeemer, the idea of Church power, in reference to outward organizations was first entertained in the Church for the purpose of protection against the inroads of heresy, Paganism, and the crushing power of the Roman Empire. This was the object of the grand consolidation of Church and State. Mark you, I am speaking of the original Christians who became Catholics. Previous to this, in Apostolic times, the Christians were united here and there by the bonds of love in the simplest church organizations. The ecclesiastical combination was first effected for self-protection. This was done in all sincerity—as these brethren are doing here in America. They thought they were engaged in God's work. I do not doubt my brethren are honest in thinking they are doing God's service. We often do honest things that are disastrous.

"The *clerical* above the people; then they must begin to introduce the idea of *Episcopus*, that is, a Bishop, then a Lord Bishop. Here was church organization. The churches began to be corrupt before they gained power in the civil government. Remember there was no Protestantism then. The Catholic Church was the only Christian Church on earth.

They must have a *papa*, a father, a pope. How innocent it appeared at first—a good father should be over them to protect them, for defence. The next step was, ‘none could be saved who were out of the Church.’ ‘*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus.*’ Then the Pope was not to be the ‘Head of the Church’ merely, but the ‘Ruler of Nations,’ and Emperors as great as Charles V must even pay obedience to the Pope of Rome. It was against the supremacy of the Pope that Henry VIII rebelled. The English Church was a modification of the Church of Rome.

“Now, my friend, you see how it was once felt necessary for the Church to exercise power and control in State affairs. When the power was gained then came the fearful oppression that weighed down the people. It was a long time before Luther could see it, and yet he was not to our conceptions of to-day more than half Protestant. Things that he admitted at Wittenburg would astonish my charitable brother here exceedingly, but we praise Luther because he stood at the ‘Diet of Worms’ and defended Protestantism, and yet it was only half Protestantism. He still held to certain ideas of Church consolidation, that Church and State must be combined. From these ideas resulted the civil wars of France, during the last half of the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries, including the massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew’s Eve, and at last of the driving out of the 500,000 Huguenots, and the terrible ‘thirty years war’ on the Continent, the most devastating and fearful event that ever swept over Europe.

“The Church of England drove the Puritans to Holland, and from there they came to this country, but even they were not fully emancipated from the spirit of intolerance and a desire to incorporate religion into the State, as has been shown. How stands the case now? I do not dispute the honesty of these beloved brethren. I have never thought that they were dishonest in the expression of their opinion; but I fear the results of this making the power of the government an ecclesiastical power. Any *force* to convert men

to Christianity, except the truth contained therein, is not the method, is not the system, in my estimation, which is designed by God to promote His pure and holy religion.

“There is another dangerous feature to this question. Get your amendment allowing none but Christians to hold office and manage the affairs of the government, and what will be the result? Then comes the question, ‘Who are Christians?’

“How is it in China? The Jesuits are there converting the Chinese who are flooding this country all along the Pacific coast, and since the completion of the Pacific Railroad have already begun to pour into the Mississippi Valley. Catholicism has made rapid headway in Ireland and Mexico. From those countries a surplus of power can be sent. France and Spain can spare thousands of Catholics. The Catholics are making rapid headway in converting the blacks of the South. Put that amendment in the Constitution, and the Pope, now driven off his throne, and probably looking out for a new foothold, will send his emissaries to convert the blacks of this country. Ten, twenty, twenty-five years from now and the Catholics may have the votes and you will see a union of Church and State under the Pope. It will then become a popular measure, and you may yet be the means of assisting that great Popish Church to power.

“‘We as a nation, have experienced throughout our whole history the most signal manifestations of God’s protecting and fostering care, while even the name of God is unknown to the Constitution itself.’ All of which is as good proof as we want that God is not displeased with the work of our forefathers, who did not think it proper to mix the great and good name of God, and the glorious cause of the Christian religion with civil government.”

LIBERALIST. “My clerical friend says Infidelity is ‘cruel as the grave.’ This is a specimen of the usual twaddle against Free Inquiry. Doubt is Superstition’s deadliest foe. A Christian is afraid to doubt; believes he endangers his soul’s eternal happiness by doubting; yet to the spirit of

Free Inquiry is the world indebted for its civilization. The disposition to investigate cultivates the intellect, and whatever expands the intellect weakens Christianity. All that is really valuable in Protestant Christianity is composed mainly of this element of doubt. But the superstition in Protestantism is more virulent than in Catholicism, and destroys the liberal tendencies which might otherwise characterize the Protestant religion. Inquiry has always been looked upon by bigots as fatal to belief. Voltaire did more in uprooting old prejudices than did Luther and all his coadjutors. He more effectually delivered people from superstition. Wherever Christianity has had undisputed sway it has stifled inquiry and dug the grave of every doubt that came within the reach of its merciless grasp."

C. "The tendency of public sentiment is towards lawlessness, disregard of authority, laxity of principle in secular affairs. This is not surprising, considering our political theory. Men are not likely to hold in high esteem a law that has for its authority but barely a despised majority. In our legislation who will be influenced by an appeal to religious principles that are studiously excluded from the fundamental law? A quotation from the Gospels in Congressional debates would be heard with derision. In framing laws, no higher standard is appealed to than heathen morality. Hence, we who glory in the Christian religion as the savior unto life, in time as well as eternity, are bound to the dead carcass of heathenism, and our national life will rot with it. What shall deliver us from the body of this death?

"As against the conclusion that there is an important religious defect in our Fundamental Instrument, is alleged our continued prosperity under it. God, it is argued, would not permit the prolonged prosperity of a Government based upon an instrument in which His Sovereignty was sinfully ignored. The argument takes for granted that God will always punish *immediately*. On the contrary, He may permit a nation which ignores His authority to go on to the highest pitch of prosperity and power, that He may make manifest His sover-

eignty in its humiliation. He permitted the tower of Babel to reach a mountain height before He confounded the language of the builders. And from this point of view the following sentence in the speech of Dr. Franklin assumes portentous proportions : 'I believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel ; we shall become divided by our little, partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves will become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages.' May not our Constitution, confessedly one of the master-pieces of human workmanship,—framed (alas ! without reference to God) '*to form a more perfect union, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity,*' or, in other words, built, as was Babel, '*lest we should be scattered abroad,*'—may it not prove another Babel which shall serve to make manifest that Jehovah is jealous for His honor ? It is a fearfully significant fact that the troubles from which God has recently delivered us arose from *confusion of language* in regard to the very Constitution which was the tower of our hope, and the troubles which now threaten us arise from a similar confusion. May it not be that in our past deliverance He manifested His forbearing mercy by giving us opportunity to repent ; an opportunity which, if not improved, will be followed by an utter destruction not only of the government based upon the Constitution, but of the Constitution itself ?

"No thoughtful observer can entertain doubt as to the glorious future of this people. It may be, however, that for that glory we are to be prepared by national chastisements bitter and severe, scourging us to the recognition of Jehovah as our King. If indeed, our fathers erred in not according unto Him the honor due, let us not wait for further chastisement, but perform our duty *now*. Let us inscribe His name upon our banner, that we may be that happy people whose *acknowledged* God is the Lord.

"Says Plutarch, 'Religion is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation.' Montesque, 'Religion is the

support of society.' Washington, 'Religion and morality are indispensable supports to political prosperity.' Burke, 'Religion is the basis of civil society.' Dr. Bushnell, 'From the atheistic error in our prime conceptions of government has arisen the atheistic habit of separating politics from religion.' Dr. Tyng, 'The production of God's revealed will as the rule to be adopted for the government of man; the reverent assertion that his law should be the only line of human dominion; the position assumed that human society should be organized and governed for the purpose of spreading his truth and giving knowledge of his salvation, was far less scorned in Nineveh or Babylon, than it would be now in the Parliament of Britain or the Congress of the United States. The apostacy of man then ruled upon the plea of open idolatry, here on the more offensive and scornful ground of absolute infidelity.'

"Now the question arises, has a man the right to oppose *right*, and thus favor and propagate wrong? That he has the *power* so to do, we admit; but the first proposition we most positively deny. A man never has the right, under any circumstances, to do wrong, and if he does so is amenable at the tribunal of right. As well might we say that a man has the right to take his own life, because he has the power to do so. It is the duty of every Christian man, to be fully ready, at any and every moment, to advocate the claims of the Christ who bought him; and it is absolutely sin in that man, to co-operate with the enemies of his Master, in their efforts to hinder the progress of His great work.

"The work of the whole train of unbelievers is to denounce every Christian movement as 'fanatical,' and tending to personal injury; but it is the work of the believer to build up the cause of truth and righteousness, and when he forsakes this sphere, he makes a most vital stab at the cause he professes to love. As we have repeatedly said, there is no neutral ground between right and wrong. We are either friends to the right or wrong. There is no disputing this; and when

we join with the rabble to crucify Christ, we are verily guilty of consenting to His death."

A. "The great requirement of humanity is that the laws of a nation shall be general in their scope and application, equal and impartial to all. You ask, 'Has a man the right to oppose *right*?' What is right? The answer is as variant as human organizations are different. So far as human legislation has gone, it has left man as it found him—strong if he were strong before, and weak, if he were weak. Law, to be true to nature, must acknowledge the equality of all men and women; not the equality of their physical, moral, or intellectual powers, but the universality and equality of human rights. Government has guaranteed the *freedom* of man's nature, not the *powers* of it. The true position of government is in favor of general legislation and against special privileges. To acknowledge God as the source of authority in government is to deny that the people are the source of all political power, which denial lays the foundation for the divine right of kings.

"In respect to matters purely of a religious nature: If the nation acknowledged one sect it would offend against the rights of all other sects. If it took into favor the religion of the majority, it would tyrannize over the minority; if it established the religion of the Christian, it would disfranchise the Infidel, Jew and Heathen. To say that a man has no right to oppose right can receive one answer applicable to all cases. *No man has a right to infringe upon the rights of mankind.* If this principle is correct, (and who denies it?) your Movement is wrong."

L. "Infidels have afforded you Christians a great deal of material for sermons. We do not know that we are enemies to the man, Jesus Christ. He was an infidel to the church of his time, and was generally as outspoken against political and religious corruption as infidels of modern times. You have made him the founder of your religious system, a hero, a god. You have inculcated in the minds of the people for the man Jesus a superstitious reverence. If you can succeed

in having him acknowledged king of nations, temporal as well as spiritual, then will be inaugurated a State-religion to be supported at the public expense. The issue is plain: *Either government is divine, or it is human.*

“In your efforts to crush out free thought you will never rest until you secure your own overthrow; although at first you will meet with considerable success, which will inflate you with a desire for yet greater achievements. Gentlemen, were I a Christian and felt as I think a Christian must feel, that the kingdom of Christ should rule on earth as in heaven, I do not see how I could consistently oppose the movement. As it is, being an anti-Christian, I must oppose it, and think I am serving my country in so doing. Logically your whole Christian scheme is at variance with human government, and favorable to priestly and kingly rule. Divine government: its meaning is despotism. Human government, on the contrary, signifies that we shall rule ourselves. Our desire is the perpetuity of the Republic. The Christian prayer is that it may be superseded by a kingdom. This sentiment is contained in the prayer which, judged by a Christian standard, is the Model Prayer. Every time a Christian repeats the ‘Lord’s Prayer’ he desires the overthrow of our American, infidel, form of government. ‘Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. *Thy kingdom come.*’ We want no kingdom. A Republic, or pure Democracy, is the true type of government. The nations are weary of kingdoms, and are outgrowing them. It was well enough for men in the infancy of their race to imagine that heaven was a kingdom. They knew no better then. They do now. Every Republican and Democrat should favor a revision and improvement of the ‘Lord’s Prayer’ and also omit the first word of its title.”

V.

AN "AMBASSADOR OF GOD."

"Bigotry trembles and quivers with fear."—*Nettie M. Pease.*

Among the many able men who are enlisted in the Movement for recognizing God in the Constitution, stands one who may be deemed a Goliath in the service of God. That man is the famous opponent of Free Masonry, President Blanchard, of Illinois. He delivered a speech at the Clerical Convention, in Monmouth, Ill., in the spring of 1871. It may be considered as fairly representing the earnestness of the clergy in the political-religious struggle in which they are embarked. Mr. Blanchard and his speech were heartily endorsed by their official organ in its issue of April 15:

"Pres. Blanchard's address before the Convention at Monmouth, which we give entire from the author's manuscript, needs no special commendation from us to secure for it the attention of every reader. Its vigor, point, and clear, sharp logic will be duly appreciated. There never was a great political question which opened up so wide a field for study and demanded such profound and careful thinking as that in behalf of which this address was delivered. Our readers will notice a marked feature of this address—its stinging sarcasm. That man must be daring indeed who would venture to measure his sword against Prest. Blanchard's keen and flashing blade. We are persuaded that calm and solid argument must do the greater part of the important work before us.

"This is what carries weight and produces conviction with thoughtful and earnest men. But there is a class of shallow writers, who sagely pronounce judgment in regard to a question which they have not even begun to study, and whose anxiety to be popular leads them into inconsistent statements.

Such meet their appropriate treatment and get their richly-merited deserts at the hands of the author of this admirable address, while thoughtful students of political science will find in it a closely reasoned argument worthy of their profoundest consideration."—*Christian Statesman*.

Hundreds of speeches of similar import have been delivered. It is my purpose to fairly and fully present the arguments upon which God-in-the-Constitution Christians rely for success. If those arguments cannot be refuted, then, eventually, the people will be compelled to yield up the democratic principle of self government, and submit to the imperial sway of the priesthood.

“ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT BLANCHARD :

DELIVERED AT THE MONMOUTH CONVENTION.

“We are an English nation. We have received immigrants, speaking other tongues, enough to people States; but not enough to organize a Legislature, enact a law, or try a case in court. And if we wish to know whether our institutions are christian, pagan, or atheist, we must go back to the fires that forged them.

“The founder of the English Constitution, and the framer of its first code of laws, was annointed king by the pretended vicegerent of Christ. He translated the Book of Psalms into English; and (Hume, even, relates it without a sneer,) spent one-third of his time in study and devotion. Alfred the great was a christian, and founded a christian State.

“Blackstone, who, one hundred and thirteen years ago, (1758,) expounded, in Oxford, the system inherited from Alfred, is, to-day, read by more Americans than Englishmen. His Commentaries are the first book which is put into the hands of students of law, who are told by American Judges, that, ‘The man who understands Blackstone, is a good lawyer.’

“This great writer, eight centuries and a half after Alfred, found the English system polished and perfected by progress. But eight hundred years of English history had not taught

him that christianity was a dangerous element in the British Constitution, or, that its distinct profession and printed avowal, as the basis of English laws, had made the English people inferior to their neighbors. The language of Blackstone is explicit. He says, 'Every man finds that his reason is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error.' And he holds that God has seen fit, in compassion to us, to discover and enforce the laws of reason by distinct revelation. 'The doctrines thus delivered,' he continues, 'we call 'THE REVEALED OR DIVINE LAW,' and they are to be found in the Holy Scriptures. 'Upon these two laws, the law of Nature and the law of Revelation, depend all human laws.' (*Blackstone, Int., Sec. 2d.*)

"Nor has more than a century's experience taught the American disciples of Blackstone, since we have cast off forever all organic union of Church and State, and have no voting Bishops in our Senate, as they have in their 'House of Lords,' that the legal profession and avowal of the truth of the christian religion is dangerous to the Republic, or to the liberty of its citizens. Our most learned Judges and Jurists have not been afraid of the Bible, nor of saying they believe in it.

"The Supreme Judges of Pennsylvania say from the Bench, 'No free government now exists in the world, unless where Christianity is acknowledged, and is the religion of the country.' And, in the same case, Daniel Webster said, 'There is nothing we look for with more certainty than this general principle that Christianity is a part of the law of the land.' '*Every thing declares it.* The massive Cathedral of the Catholic; the Episcopalian church with its spire pointing heavenward; the plain temple of the Quaker; the log church of the hardy pioneers of the wilderness; the mementoes and memorials around and about us; the consecrated grave-yards; their tombs and epitaphs, their silent vaults, their mouldering contents, all attest it. *The dead prove it, as well as the living.* The generations that are gone before speak it and pronounce it

from the tomb. We feel it. All, all, proclaim that Christianity; general, tolerant Christianity; Christianity independent of sects and parties; that Christianity to which the sword and faggot are unknown; yes, general, tolerant Christianity is the law of the land.' (*Gir. Will Case, Web., vol. 6, 176.*)

"Now, some of our friends admit this, and argue from it that we ought to be content with it. They say, The Constitution recognizes the Common Law, and Christianity is part of that law; therefore the Constitution recognizes Christianity. But if this be so, if the laws acknowledge Christianity, why should not the mother of laws, the Constitution, without whose consent, implied or proved, laws cannot draw breath;—why should not *this* law, underlying all other laws, so acknowledge it? How comes this strange phenomenon, that, the invariable parties of despotism, viz., priests and infidels, have alarmed our fathers, lest a printed acknowledgment of the Bible should make our government despotic; turn it into Church and State, and coerce conscience, like Italian priests; or chop off heads, like French atheists? What has the Bible done, during the thousand years since Alfred the Great, that the very apostles of despotism and disorganization, priests and infidels, should succeed in alarming us concerning its recognition by our Constitution?

"The Bible has not burnt heretics. The priests, who hate the Bible, and whom our atheists love and vote with, did that. The Bible forbids it. Christ and Christianity forbid it. Christian Churches have neither jails nor sheriffs, nor dungeons, nor thumb-screws, nor torture-boots, nor racks. These all belonged to the gentlemen of the Cincinnati School Board and their brethren, who vote the Bible out of Schools! But what has this hated and hunted Bible been doing this last thousand years?

"I will not attempt to answer. Christian Civilization answers—has answered it. The Bible has emancipated the serfs of Europe and the slaves of America. The title deeds of emancipated villains, from Alfred down, run, '*pro amore Christi,*' '*pro salute animæ;*' for the love of Christ and *the*

salvation of the soul, thus showing that the Bible emancipated them. And we all know, for he declared it, that Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was the result of his '*vows to God*.'

"And now, are we to be scared from our proprieties; and the blessed Bible, which has for ages been striking the manacles from man, be set aside and insulted—cast out from our schools first, and next, perhaps, from our families and courts of law, by men who are re-building the cloisters which cursed the dark ages, and their human jackals, the atheists of the barricades and the guillotine?"

"I am not speaking in condemnation of the Catholic Church; that church in which Luther prayed and found Christ; in which Pascal wrote; and Fenelon was an archbishop; and Father Hyacinthe is a priest. I am censuring the Jesuits and their shadows, the atheists, who result from and follow them. 'The Society of Jesus' was formed 1540 years after Christ, and twenty-three years after the inauguration of Luther's Reform—formed by a Spanish soldier and ignorant fanatic. Its members, the Jesuits, after being expelled by the kingdoms and principalities of Europe, as poisoners-general, and absolvers of poisoners, were suppressed and outlawed by the Pope himself, a little less than a century ago (1773).

"It seems not generally known that the Romish priests in this country are Jesuits, and it is not sufficiently considered that Jesuitism is something very distinct from the Catholic Church proper—so distinct that the head of the Church, Clement XIV, suppressed it. Yet these Jesuits are the men who stand at every schoolhouse door in the United States, demanding the expulsion, not only of King James' version, but of the Douay version, and all versions of the Bible. And as mere atheist schools never did and never can subsist, as such, but a little while, the Jesuits intend and expect to control the schools.

"They wish to control the schools, where our law-makers are taught, because they mean to control the government and

the revenue. Yes; it is this once suppressed Order, from which Europe turned away aghast, that now stands forth in this country, with no change in its principles, and no abatement of its spirit, demanding the keys of the schoolhouse, the keys of knowledge, and the keys of the national exchequer!

“The relevancy of this to Christianizing the Constitution is, that the questions include each other. If the arm of the State is to hold the Bible in our schools it must have the Constitutional right to do so, which it certainly has not, while the letter of our Constitution knows no difference between Jesus Christ and the smeared log of wood set on end, to which the South Sea Islander sacrifices his hog.

“But it is said: ‘The wisdom of our fathers left the Constitution in its terms indifferent to God and religion, and there let us leave it.’

“I answer, that the wisdom of our fathers was the wisdom of men in distress. They were meeting the bills of a seven years’ war. They were poor; and ‘the poor useth entreaties.’ They were bankrupt by the failure of their ‘Continental money.’ Republicanism was an experiment. They had struggled up to it through their own honest fears for its success. They had rushed upon republicanism while pursuing the retreating troops of the king, as soldiers upon a bridge, by night, in a tempest, and the stream at flood, without knowing whether the enemy might not destroy the pier on the opposite shore, and they sink in the stream of time as all the old republics had sunk.

“Nor was this all. They had been fighting against English battalions, in support of English principles, and the liberties of Englishmen. They were themselves Englishmen, and the children of Englishmen; and yet their beloved country was torn and bleeding by the teeth and claws of the British lion!

“In that evil hour, Satan had suddenly turned democrat. He had pushed a gay, brilliant and unstable people from their old Bourbon moorings, and has kept them, ever since, vibrating, pendulum-like in politics, between Agrarianism

and Empire; and, in religion, between the fool's-cap of the atheist and the cowl of the priest. That strange people lent us money, and sent us war vessels in sight of our coasts, not so much to help us, as to harm England.

"So strange, so wonderful are human affairs. France, trained for centuries to hate English Protestantism and constitutional liberty, now helped us establish both, in order to weaken her hated rival. Thus—

'The busy trifler deems himself alone,
Frames many a purpose, and God works his own.'

"Nevertheless, France had helped us, and our fathers were grateful. French democracy, too, was then at its zenith, like a cold and fickle Aurora Borealis, dazzling the dark heavens of all Europe. What American Puritans had done by faith in Christ, the French democrats undertook to do in contempt of Him. In 1787, while our Constitution was being framed, they had obtained a cheap celebrity by subduing their king, who, though not the best man nor the best king that France ever had, was, doubtless, the best Frenchman that ever wore a crown. Six years later they brought him to the block. England had beheaded her Charles I; why not France her Louis XVI? Americans were democrats; why not Frenchmen? But then they must be original in something; so they conclude to be atheists! Then, indeed they will be free; freer than cattle, and more brutish!

"There is no God in priestcraft; nothing but shows and inventions. The people find it out, and become atheists. Then they become wretches, and fly back to priestism as the lightest curse of the two.

"But France had not worked this sum through to its answer. French democracy looked lovely when our constitution was framed, and many of our people were charmed with it. Such were the people and such the causes, which gave us a Constitution containing no recognition of God, except its date, to distinguish us from Africans who worship a baboon.

“Nor were gratitude to the French, and the reaction of their sentiments, the sole, perhaps not the chief, causes which made the terms of our Constitution neutral respecting Christianity. American party-politics began before the Constitution was born. It was foregone that if there was to be a President, Washington must be he. The Puritan John Adams followed; and Jefferson, who excelled as statesman and demagogue, both simulated French principles and used them for his elevation to the Presidential chair. True, he had said in the Declaration of Independence, that ‘God had created all men equal;’ but he was careful to insert that, after God had created men, he left them to themselves; so that ‘*Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,*’ though it is presumable that he never saw one of his sheriffs obtain consent of the man whom he was hanging, during his whole administration. But French infidelity had made rapid progress since July ’76, and, in the eleven intervening years, had become strong enough to exclude the very name of God from our national Constitution in 1787.

“Such is the history of our national mistake. Such the causes which induced the most intelligently religious people on earth, a people who, in their national capacity, fasted, and prayed, and gave thanks to God, to exclude His name and sanction from their Constitution; though they call on Him by their chaplains, appeal to Him by the oath, in their wills, and legal forms; and declare, in their very indictments, the crime to have been committed without the fear of God, and by instigation of the devil.

“This piece of history explains our Constitutional status.

“Priests and atheists excluded the Bible from our Constitution. Priests and atheists together voted out the Bible from the Cincinnati schools: and the same parties seek to push it from our national free schools, where the minds come from to administer our government; and for what? Not that they expect governments to stand denuded of ideas of God and religion. They know that *that*

never was and never will be. But, as when one force displaces another, the displacing force takes the place of the one displaced, they mean to crowd out the blessed Bible, the word of God, from American institutions, and put into its place the word of a priest.

"But this their hope would be vain and illusory were Protestants agreed among themselves. But as if wonders were never to cease, the papers which put themselves most decidedly on record against recognizing Christianity in our Constitution are the organs of the Spiritualists, who reject all revelations, except such as they get from day to day from one spirit or another, and the organs par excellence of New England Puritans, whose fathers never omitted God from a public document.

"Mr. Palfrey (a Unitarian) says, in his excellent history, 'The Puritan was a Scripturist.' He 'searched the Bible not only for principles and rules, but for mandates—and when he could find none of these, for analogies, to guide him in precise arrangements of public administration.'—PAL. HIS. N. ENG., I. 274-5.

"And we learn from the same author that the one grand object of the Puritans, as given by their own Winthrop, was:

"'Through a more than ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seek out a place of co-habitation and consortship, under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical.' (*Pal. I.* 313.) And their first or Mayflower Constitution, which Bancroft and others have made familiar, declares their grand generic purpose in that instrument and their action under it to be: '*The glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith.*'

"Now, there are two religious papers which profess to be the lineal descendants and present exponents of New England Puritanism, and another, the New York *Independent*, which once professed the same. Of these, the Chicago paper has advocated excluding the Bible from the schools, and the other two resist the attempt to recognize it in our Consti-

tution. It is not for us to explain this phenomenon, but, if refutable, to refute their arguments.

“The Boston *Congregationalist* observes :

“‘If Christianity is not now in our Constitution and laws, it cannot be put in by any cunning phrases of amendment. The effort to insert distinctively Evangelical sentences into this instrument would stir up an intensity of religious animosity. * * The effort is sure to fail, as it ought to fail. If the thing could be done, there would not be an ounce weight more of Christianity in the nation. No Christianity in the Constitution because the words are not there? Is there any salt in the sea? there are no lumps of salt visible! Go to, now: let us form a national society to put salt into the Atlantic ocean.’

“How weak are such utterances! How changed in sentiment and spirit from the Puritans whom they aspire to represent! ‘No cunning phrases of amendment can put Christianity into our laws and Constitution.’ True; and the like is true of every amendment that ever has been or may be adopted. But the discussion which precedes and enacts the amendment *may*, by inserting its sentiment in the convictions of the people, and by appealing to a conscience in statesmen and politicians, make one.

“But our attempt to insert a clause in our Constitution, defining by what God witnesses are sworn in our Federal Courts, will ‘stir up religious animosity.’ This objection concedes that there is no recognition of Christ in the Constitution, else, why the ‘animosity,’ if we put into it words, only what is now there in fact?

“And do these professed ‘Puritans’ wish us to live, like cringing savages, over a sleeping volcano of ‘religious animosity,’ in the empty hope of permanent security by not stirring its fires? For one, I am willing that Elijah’s issue between the true God and the false should be put to the American people. If we are to become a nation of atheists, let us know it and teach our children to submit to it with a grace; or if Baal be God, let us serve him, and obey his

priests. There is no heaven for cowards, and no salvation for worldlings. The 'fearful' are classed and cast out with the 'unbelieving and abominable;' and justly, for why should we wish to steal glimpses of Christianity through our national Constitution, without letting those who reject Christ know that we believe such glimpses are to be had there? It is unfair to the atheists, who have their rights as men! No. Truth cannot live by the sleep of error.

"And then see how this writer turns on himself, and, after, by implication, conceding that the Constitution has no Christianity which atheists are bound to respect—begging us not to waste them by attempting to put 'Christianity into the Constitution'—warning us not to stir their 'animosity' by asking its constitutional recognition—he, in the very next sentence, finds the Constitution as full of Christianity as sea-water is of salt! and burlesques our movement by likening it to a national association to put salt into the sea! Surely, if this writer's last idea is correct, if the Constitution is as full of Christianity as sea-water is of salt, not even atheists, if they be reasonable ones, can object to our making the Preamble conform to the Constitution by stating the fact. An honest atheist will consent to put Christ into the Preamble, if first he will consent to have Him in the Constitution. It is only apostate Puritans who wish to enjoy Christ and deny him, and live, like Peter, by a Savior whom they dare not own.

"But objections to things inherently good, are apt to demolish each other. So Mr. Greeley's *Tribune* demolishes the above writer's sea-water assertion, that the Constitution is already saturated with Christianity, and so needs no amending. Mr. Greeley destroys this by declaring that:

"The proposed recognition of God involves a more fundamental and sweeping change than was effected by our fathers' separation from Great Britain: 'and by quoting our national Treaty with Tripoli, in 1796, which was interpreted and ratified by our highest national authority, which asserts

that ‘ *The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian Religion.*’

“ This, too, is what this National Association asserts :

“ ‘ We hold that in an hour of national feebleness and gratitude, and patriotism, our fathers undertook two impossibilities, viz., to make a constitutional peace between slavery and liberty, and between French atheism and English Protestant Christianity. The failure of their first attempt is proclaimed by near a million graves for our dead, and by millions on millions of taxes on the living. May the most merciful God grant their second failure prove not worse for us than their first. There is no peace, can be none, between the truth and a lie ; and Christ was and is ‘ The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.’ Our national oath is His, and not the oath of the Chinaman, Mormon, or Mohammedan ; and if our Constitution means that our President shall swear by the God of the Bible, and not by a dead cock, or by a gree-gree or fetish, or Brama, or Confucius, or Allah, or his Prophet, or the God of the mysteries of Salt Lake, it ought to have the honesty to say so. It must say so or perish, like the phantom nations, in blood. Like Pilate, we have this Savior on our hands ; and we must soon decide Pilate’s question concerning him : ‘ What shall I do with Jesus which is called Christ ? ’ We shall own Him, or crucify Him and save Barabbas.

“ Nor have we an election, as Professor Taylor Lewis has shown ; this discussion has not been sprung by those who own fealty to Christ, but by those who are bringing us to swear fealty to priests, or to the no-god of the atheist, who lives at the half-way house to priestly despotism, and on the direct road. These two personages, Priest, Atheist and Company, (the ‘ company ’ including all who go with them,) are employing the old game of the slave-holders, using our Constitution to tie our hands, while their hands are free to assail us. They intend to cast out Christ and the Bible from our Government and laws, to compel us to worship

their gods, at Rome, at Constantinople, in China, at Salt Lake,

'At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.'

"Nor are we to be deterred by the hue and cry of 'Church and State,' which was raised against us as abolitionists, and has been raised against every good cause which has appealed to popular sentiment ever since we were a nation; and raised, too, by the very men who, if we were going for Church and State, and would take them as leaders, would go with us; the men who to-day vote to tax us to support Romish priests and their houses of women of which men hold the keys.

"I say not that no good men fear Church and State. They do, and ought to dread it. When the Bible and Christians had illumed the old world by the martyr fires which burned them, when priests and despots who kindled them looked hateful and ghastly in the light, and the nations were bursting their bands, the despots dragooned and drove our fathers to this country, and changing their tactics from murder to seduction, they and their Protestant clacquers have held up to the gaze of the world the errors of our fathers, which priests had taught them, and which they had not time to unlearn, nay, which priests themselves now practice, whenever on earth they will not lose more than they will gain by it. They whose religion still burns heretics have filled earth with Salem witchcraft and Servetus. Be it so. Let us, along with our own, confess the sins of our fathers, as did Daniel, and profit by and shun their errors.

"But owning Christianity is not necessarily 'Church and State.' Even though we put it in our national Constitution. 'Church and State' means coercion of conscience and compulsory religion, and Lord Mansfield, speaking for England, and our own learned Judges, for America, have fully declared that conscience is not amenable to human courts, and that coerced religion may make hypocrites and martyrs, but not Christians. We have learned something, and, if

teachable, may yet learn more ; how conscience can be left free without dethroning Christ, or putting Christianity on a constitutional level with that of Asiatic Thugs or Mormon Danites, who are assassins upon conscience and by religious conviction.

“You and I may err—may not precisely see where the line runs in practice, which separates Church from State. But we may surely trust this nation to discuss the question of a religious amendment ; aye, and to adopt the proposition that Christianity is true and Paganism is false, without fear lest our Sheriff shall enforce Christ’s worship by the civil sword, or drag our American Pagans to his communion table by the throat.

“After all, the question is, for us, one of fact. Does God in Christ rule the nations ? As the Bible, and, I had almost said, history declares he does. If so, will acknowledging this truth, nationally, hurt us ? If Illinois is under the Federal Government at Washington, is it wisdom or ruinous folly to blink or deny the fact ? So it may be our saving wisdom to own the *spiritual providential* government of Christ, though unlike our Federal Government, His angel marshals carry no revolvers, and His prison is not like a jail in Washington City.

“Nor can we long escape this question. We must soon say what we mean when we swear a civil officer or a witness in court, or dispense altogether with Christ, and His oath, and human conscience and retribution as means of ascertaining truth and administering justice. Then will come, thick and fast, the self-inflicted terrors of our rejected God. Men will destroy each other like enraged insects ; every city become a Paris, and every country a France. Nor can the nations long escape their blessed and benign Ruler by hiding their constitutional eyes and stopping their national ears. For, ‘*Behold He cometh with clouds ; and every eye shall see him ; and they also which pierced Him ; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him. Even so : AMEN !*’ ”

Old style! If you cannot convince by argument, you may frighten the timid and superstitious by a threat of "Divine wrath!"

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe relates that in the unpopular days of abolitionism, a meeting of anti-slavery people was interrupted by a violent hail storm, the roar of the elements drowning, for a time, the voices of the speakers. During a lull and an awe-like stillness, a frightened Methodist minister arose, and, with quivering lip, remarked he felt that God, in His wrath, was about to smite him for being present in such a meeting! At this juncture an old negress pointed her long, bony arm and finger toward him, and sought to soothe him: "Don't be skeered, chile! keep quiet; for I 'spect as how God has not so much as hearn tell on ye!" The shouts of laughter which greeted this quaint speech submerged the sanctity of the priest.

"In the dark hour of the American Revolution," says Mr. Blanchard, "the Devil turned Democrat." He, doubtless, had become disgusted with clerical rule and its attendant train of corruption.

The President muddles history when he affirms that France helped us establish Protestantism and constitutional liberty; and yet, strangely enough, when liberty was established, *Protestantism was left out!* which is the very thing complained of, and which omission President Blanchard charges to the devil! Mr. Blanchard deprecates the idea that our government derives its just powers from the governed, and thinks it an infidel, anti-God principle.

His effort to class atheists and priests together is too weak to require more than a passing comment. The interest of the priesthood is unmistakably against atheism. To blot out God is to extinguish the priesthood

Church and State, he says, "means coercion of conscience and compulsory religion." He disavows, on the part of the religious "reformers," any intention to coerce conscience or to compel religious worship. But the amendments they seek would empower them to "coerce." Protestants have ever

used the power which they possessed. They will always exercise the power granted them, "whenever" (to quote Mr. Blanchard's own words against the Catholics) "they will not lose more than they will gain by it." Every word which a Protestant employs against Catholic persecution, applies with equally fearful force against Protestant cruelty. History proves it. Mr. Blanchard had not the temerity to deny it—notwithstanding the braggadocio spirit which permeates his address. Yea, he felt himself forced to acknowledge it, and said "be it so," and forthwith proposes to confess, not only their own sins, as Protestants, in causing the bloody reign which history charges against them, but the sins of their fathers. But he impliedly asserts that the sons are so much better, more tender and merciful, than the fathers, that the former can be trusted with the ecclesiastical power which the latter abused. And, in the penitential mood, hopes to "profit by and shun their errors." How humble! 'Tis not their nature, but this infidel government, with its "godless Constitution," that makes them so. It is best to keep them humble. Humility becomes them—better fits them for heaven. Makes them more agreeable to live with on earth—no slight consideration! When the President says, deprecatingly, while begging for the clerical power which a religious amendment of the Constitution would give Christians, that "*we (Protestants) have learned something, and, if teachable, may yet learn more,*" we are glad to know it. Their teachability and humility—acquired under the liberal rule in this country, which protects all religions alike, furnish the best reasons that could be assigned for continuing our present infidel form of government, and refusing to recognize *any* God as the true one. No, no, President Blanchard, the power you ask for is fraught with danger to the dearly bought liberties of American citizens. Those Church-and-State cat's-paws, perchance, have no claws in sight, *but they are there!* Let us see if this is not so: City governments have sometimes favored your pharisaical regard for a "holy day." The workingmen

of New York City were desirous to parade on Sunday. This was deemed by the pious ones a desecration of the "Lord's Day," notwithstanding numerous religious societies had paraded on Sundays. The city officials had their orders. The newspapers contained the following :

"THE INTERNATIONALS NOT TO BE PERMITTED TO PARADE ON SUNDAY.

"At a meeting of the Board of Police to-day the following resolution was adopted :

"*Resolved*, That the Superintendent be directed to notify the officers of the International Societies of this city that the proposed parade of societies on Sunday next will not be permitted on that day. The parade or demonstration, if made, must be on some other day of the week than Sunday. Further, the Superintendent is directed to take the necessary measures to prevent the parade on Sunday, in case the societies persist in parading on that day."

The workingmen finally did parade on a Sunday. Had the Christian religion been the religion of the State, those sons of toil would have been prevented, at the point of the bayonet, from thus "desecrating" Sunday, and compelled to lose a day's labor if they paraded at all.

"Holy men" only would be elected to office. The General Secretary of the National Association to recognize God, Rev. D. McAllister, delivered a speech on Sunday evening, Oct. 29, 1871, in New York, in which he said :

"Instead of electing Christian men for office, we find that the electors choose the worst class to the highest office in the land. The pagan and the infidel are just as eligible to office as the most sincere Christian. Let us say that we will have none but God-fearing men to rule over us, and pass laws to that effect." "An infidel is declared by State and Federal enactments to be qualified for the highest office in the land. In conclusion, the speaker urged that the movement to secure the recognition of God in the Constitution be agitated until it was incorporated therein. Then we would be able to prevent the election to office of men who were notoriously corrupt."—*New York Times*.

A Reverend gentleman, by the name of Smart, made a

furious attack upon a secular paper called the *Observer*, published in Romeo, Mich., by two liberal-minded gentlemen, Hanscom & Ewell, because it treated the clergy (so the Rev. thought) *disrespectfully*, and dared to publish favorable notices of Spiritualists and other liberal people. One disrespectful (?) item was :

“It is questionable piety that induces some preachers to go and pray with the female portion of a family when they know that the men are necessarily absent at their places of business.”

A paper that would have the audacity to publish even those few lines of truth about clergymen must be squelched. The Detroit papers contained the following :

“*Resolved*, That we have listened with pleasure to the Rev. J. S. Smart’s sermon, reviewing ‘our local press,’ and exposing spiritualism, and desire to express our hearty approval of it as a bold, fearless, and timely enunciation of important truth, for which we hereby tender him our sincere thanks.

“*Resolved*, That a paper conducted in the interests of spiritual infidelity, making frequent attacks upon the Bible, the clergy, and the Christian religion, ought not to be sustained by a Christian people.

“*Resolved*, That we demand, as a condition of our future patronage, that the *Observer* change its course in this respect.”

Is not that a fine example of the clerical estimate of freedom of the press? This “meek follower of Jesus” boasted that he has had sixteen different battles with the press, and always came off victorious (!). The clergy are *so* mild, *so* gentle, they would not “coerce” anybody if they had the power! They would not rule the people with a rod of iron! They would not muzzle the press in the interests of God, and Christ, and their own glory—not they! They never did any such thing!

Such godly men as President Blanchard, and Reverend Smart, and Prof. McIlvaine are a fair type of the American clergy. They would gladly subvert American institutions if

they could be assured that such an act would secure their own spiritual and temporal supremacy. There are individual exceptions, it is true; there are some among the preachers who are noble, liberal-minded gentlemen—no thanks to their theology. As a class, or profession, they are arrogant, self-righteous, and extremely superstitious, never failing to make the most of calamities and pestilences, to fan into a flame the dying embers of a once powerful faith of the people in special providence. No opportunities are neglected to excite in the minds of their hearers a reverential regard for themselves as a superior order of men, called by Heaven to a holy mission, *ambassadors of God*. These Protestant priests are not Catholics. They are anxious the public should understand they have no sympathy with them; but they fail to show wherein they love liberty more than their Catholic Christian neighbors. Day and night they plot and strive against Catholic Christian rights and the rights of Infidels. Busy are they in the inauguration of a stupendous religious conflict in this nation. Refuse to recognize God in the Constitution. What then? Says Mr. Blanchard: "Men will destroy each other like enraged insects; every city become a Paris, and every country a France."

That would' be a terrible state of things, but preferable to the horrible rule of "God's Ambassadors."

Says Mr. Blanchard: "If the arm of the State is to hold the Bible in our schools, it must have the constitutional right to do so, which it certainly has not."

There is trouble coming to this nation through this very question of Bible-reading to children. It is one branch of the God-in-the-Constitution movement. A chapter, at least, will be needed to present the salient points. Suffice it to say, now, that when Mr. Blanchard tries to fasten the guilt of bloody religious persecution upon the Catholics, and to exonerate Protestants, by the weak and transparent subterfuge that "The Bible has not burnt heretics," it is a sword with two edges. The Catholic could as easily prove that

the Mother Church, or even the Order of Jesuits, had not burnt heretics. If the Bible and the Church have not burnt heretics, Bible-believers and churchmen have.

Mr. Blanchard, after denying they meant to have a union of Church and State, admits that he and his Christian brethren may *err* as to "where the line runs *in practice* which separates Church from State." A serious matter to the liberalist, *in practice!* Gentlemen, we know you. Notwithstanding this liability of Christians to err in determining what belongs to the Church and what to the State, President Blanchard, with wonderful coolness, thinks we may trust the nation to "adopt the proposition that Christianity is true and paganism is false, *without fear lest our sheriff shall enforce Christ's worship by the civil sword, or drag our American Pagans to his communion table by the throat.*"

"Not if the Court knows herself!" It is not a great while since a brave, upright man, by the name of Kneeland, was dragged before a Christian Justice to answer for an honest expression of opinion about God. A little more than a hundred years before (in 1723), a charge was made by the General Court of Boston against the paper of James Franklin, because it had "a tendency to mock religion and to bring it into contempt:" that the "Holy Scriptures are therein profanely abused; the reverend and faithful Ministers of the Gospel [Oh!] injuriously reflected on," etc. The articles (which the historian declares were considered offensive on account of "gently satirizing religious hypocrisy"), were condemned. They were written by that then rising young man, Benjamin Franklin.

From the time of the landing of the Puritans in America, and for generations thereafter, until the introduction of infidelity "from France," *by the devil*, history proves that "Christ's worship" was enforced.

Though there is much that is weak and unsound in President Blanchard's address, yet it cannot be denied that such an appeal will produce a strong impression on the minds of Christian people. In it there is considerable correct

reasoning from premises which Christians are disposed to take for granted, and to them the conclusions will seem just.

Here is a blunder into which the learned President has fallen—a very common blunder—to-wit : that "Christianity is a part of the law of the land." If that were true it would be no reason why our law-makers, and the people generally, should embrace the Christian religion any more than because our ancestors were "ape-like men" (see Darwin), we should embrace baboons ! If it should be proved that Paganism is a part of the "common law" ought we all turn Pagans ? Now, it can be easily shown that the "common law" is older than Christianity. There are some sayings in the English old law books that Christianity is part of the common law. It is true that the great Sir Matthew Hale entertained this idea. Blackstone taught it. Daniel Webster affirmed it. But the illustrious Thomas Jefferson, in a very masterly manner, brought to light the fraud upon which the assumption is based. In his letter to Major Cartwright, the Whig patriarch of England, he exposed the fallacy of any such claim, and defied all the lawyers of England to contradict him. Not one dared to enter the lists against that noble champion of civil and religious liberty. All the cases in the books were examined by the close, critical, lawyer-like mind of Jefferson.

Common law was based upon "ancient writings," "old records." The mistranslation of the words "*ancien* Scripture," which arose from fraud or blunder, is the flimsy foundation, completely demolished by Jefferson, which sustained this piece of pious imposition ; it was the hook upon which were hung the decisions of English Judges, that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land.

I am thus precise about this matter because the imposture was the ground upon which the English courts armed themselves with power to sustain Church and State, crush out the liberties of the people, and strangle freedom of the press and speech. The time may come when, in spite of our

sense of safety from the fires of persecution, we shall need every fact to overthrow the last vestige of ecclesiastical power, which, as can be seen, is incompatible with American institutions. To accomplish more fully this purpose, I submit the letter written by Mr. Jefferson to Major Cartwright :

“ I was glad to find in your book a formal contradiction, at length, of the judiciary usurpation of legislative powers ; for such the judges have usurped in their repeated decisions, that Christianity is a part of the common law. The proof of the contrary, which you have adduced, is incontrovertible ; to-wit : that the common law existed while the Anglo-Saxons were yet Pagans, at a time when they had never yet heard the name of Christ pronounced, or knew that such a character had ever existed. But it may amuse you to show when, and by what means, they stole this law in upon us. In a case of *quare impedit* in the Year book. 34. H. 6. folio 38. (anno 1458) a question was made, how far the ecclesiastical law was to be respected in a common law court. And Prisot, Chief Justice, gives his opinion in these words : ‘ A tiel leis qu’ils de saint église ont en *ancien scripture*, convient à nous à donner crédençe ; car ceo common ley sur quels tous manners leis sont fondés. Et auxy, Sir, nous sumus obligés de conustre lour ley de saint église ; et semblablement ils sont obligés de conustre nostre ley. Et, Sir, si poit apperer or à nous que l’évesque ad fait come un ordinary fera en tiel cas, adong nous devons ceo adjuger bon, ou auterment nemy,’ &c. See S. C. Fitzh. abr. Qu, imp. 89. Bro. Abr. Qu. imp. 12. Finch in his first book, c. 3. is the first afterward who quotes this case, and mistakes it thus : ‘ To such laws of the church as have warrant in *holy scripture*, our law giveth credence.’ And cites Prisot, mistranslating ‘ *ancien scripture* ’ into ‘ *holy scripture*. ’ Whereas Prisot palpably says, ‘ to such laws as those of holy church have in *ancient writing*, it is proper for us to give credence ; ’ to-wit, to their *ancient written* laws. This was in 1613, a century and a half after the dictum of Prisot. Wingate, in 1658, erects this false translation into a maxim of the common law, copying the words of Finch, but citing Prisot. Wing. Max. 3. and Sheppard, title, ‘ Religion,’ in 1675, copies the same mistranslation, quoting the Y. B. Finch and Wingate. Hale expresses it in these words : ‘ Christianity is parcel of the laws of England.’ 1 Vent. 293, 3 Keb. 607. But he quotes no authority. By these

echoings and re-echoings from one to another, it had become so established in 1728, that in the case of the King vs. Woolston, 2 Stra. 834, the court would not suffer it to be debated, whether to write against Christianity was punishable in the temporal court at common law. Wood, therefore, 409, ventures still to vary the phrase and say, that all blasphemy and profaneness are offences by the common law; and cites 2 Stra. Then Blackstone, in 1763, IV. 59, repeats the words of Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the laws of England,' citing Ventris and Strange. And, finally, Lord Mansfield, with a little qualification, in Evan's case, in 1767, says that, 'the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law.' Thus ingulphing Bible, Testament, and all into the common law, without citing any authority. And thus we find this chain of authorities hanging link by link, one upon another, all ultimately on one and the same hook, and that a mistranslation of the words '*ancien scripture*,' used by Prisot. Finch quotes Prisot; Wingate does the same. Sheppard quotes Prisot, Finch, and Wingate. Hale cites nobody. The court, in Woolston's case, cite Hale. Wood cites Woolston's case. Blackstone quotes Woolston's case and Hale. And Lord Mansfield, like Hale, ventures it on his own authority. Here I might defy the best read lawyer to produce another scrap of authority for this judiciary forgery, and I might go on further to show how some of the Anglo-Saxon priests interpolated into the text of Alfred's laws the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd chapters of Exodus, and the 15th of the Acts of the Apostles, from the 23rd to the 29th verses. But this would lead my pen and your patience too far. What a conspiracy this, between Church and State! Sing Tantarara, rogues all, rogues all. Sing Tantarara, rogues all!"

VI.

OUR COUNTRY, OR RELIGION : WHICH ?

“ Still shall we nourish the light
Our fathers lit for the chained nations
That darkled in Tyranny's night !”

—*William Ross Wallace.*

“ To the voting citizens of the United States, and to all thoughtful persons who love their country.”

Such is the “taking” title of an eight-paged tract, which has been extensively circulated. I will submit those portions of it with which the reader is not already familiar, and I think the verdict of every unprejudiced mind will be that the title should have read as follows: To the voting citizens of the United States *who love their religion more than their country.*

This tract, which was sent out from “head-quarters”—Philadelphia—invites the reader to consider, in making up his judgment “upon these proposed amendments,”

“That the Constitution of the United States is our charter as a nation. It contains all the forms under which our national life shall appear, all the powers which our national government may ever exercise. If this Constitution be sound, we may expect our national life to be healthful and vigorous. If anything goes wrong with the nation, it may fairly be asked whether something be not wrong in the Constitution.

“CONSIDER

“That the Constitution is as the people make it. Its wisdom is their wisdom. Its goodness is their goodness. It is their creature and mouthpiece and image. Whatever describes it describes the people that made it and live under

it contentedly. They are responsible for all its contents and all its character.”—*Christian Tract*.

Is it not galling to Christians that they are blessed by an Infidel form of government? When religion controlled the State, Christians roasted each others' bodies, and each damned his neighbor's soul. Infidelity, “cruel as the grave” (?) is powerful enough now to compel Christians to abstain from their old pastime of butchering each other for the benefit of religion.

“CONSIDER

“That Civil Society and Government is not man's invention any more than the Family is. Both are natural, both are necessary, and both are the appointments of Him who made man. The state is God's ordinance.* The people may choose what sort of a state they will have. And it is in this sense and to this extent true that, as our Declaration of Independence has it, ‘Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.’ But some sort of a state, some sort of a general agency to make, to apply, and enforce laws of order, right, and peace, men must have. A nation is a kind of public person, which God has created as really as He has created private persons; and government has God appointed to be that public agency for the honor and welfare of the nation. So the Bible teaches us, ‘There is no power (government) but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God.’ It is the will of God, no less than the interest of man, that government be honored and obeyed. ‘Whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation’—that is, condemnation and punishment. God will see to it that bad citizenship, that treason and rebellion shall be requited as they deserve.

“But if Civil Government be God's ordinance and creature, should not Government acknowledge God? If God upholds Government, should not Government confess its de-

* This is the reason that patriotism and all good citizenship is a part of religion. It is a duty to God as well as to ourselves, our neighbors and our children. And this is the reason why war may be lawfully undertaken on behalf of one's country. Such a war is as righteous as it is necessary. See Nehemiah 4 : 14. ‘Remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses.’—*Note to Christian Tract*.

pendence upon God? Both these things are plainly just and right. Both should be done by every state and nation. The government that neglects or refuses to do these things does God a great wrong and dishonor, and shows itself to be ungrateful, rebellious and proud.

“Now the place where our nation should make these acknowledgments, and the only place where we can adequately do it, is in the Preamble and the body of the Constitution.

“And since the Constitution is as the people make it, since the people are represented in the Constitution and are responsible for it, if the people refuse these amendments they incur great public guilt.”—*Christian Tract*.

Observe the Jesuitical cunning of the authors of the tract. They discovered that their opposition to the democratic sentiment, “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,” was very unpopular; so they endeavor to conceal their design by admitting that “the people may choose what sort of a state they will have.” “In this sense and to this extent,” they admit the Declaration of Independence is correct in asserting the inalienable right of men to govern themselves. After thus disposing, as they think, of the prejudice against their warfare upon our declaration of independence, meanwhile having kept their gaze fixed upon the real object in an opposite direction, they deliberately set about insisting that “government should confess its dependence upon God.” They make God stand in place of “government,” and the Bible in place of God. When, therefore, they say “government” should “be honored and obeyed,” they mean that God should be honored and obeyed, for government is merely God’s agency. Lastly, the Bible is, after all, what must be acknowledged as superior to the nation, to the Declaration of Independence, to the Constitution itself, and bowed down before, and worshiped, as *God visible*. By the time we have reached this inevitable conclusion from their premises, what has become of the “consent of the people”?

See, in their note, the Christian justification for war! War is a part of their religion. So they claim. When they overturn that “infidel” sentiment, the “consent of the gov-

erned"—the true basis of government—and have erected their religion, their Bible, and their God in its place, then they will assert at the cannon's mouth what they now print in tracts: "War may be lawfully undertaken on behalf of one's country." "One's country" with them will mean *one's religion*, which will have swallowed the country! The war-cry may yet ring throughout this land, "Remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and *fight* for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses."—*Bible*.

"Hip! hip! hurra!! down with the Infidels! the Spiritualists! the Sabbath-breakers! Only 'Godly men' shall rule!"

See that long line of pious crusaders against Free Thought and Free Thinkers, wending their way home from their horrid butcherieš! As they draw near, we read on silken banners such holy mottoes as these: "Such a war is as righteous as it is necessary." "The Lord is great and terrible!"—*Bible*. "The Lord your God which goeth before you, he shall fight for you!"—*Bible*. "The Lord thy God is among you, a mighty God and terrible!"—*Bible*. "Have I not commanded?—be not afraid, neither * * * dismayed!"—*Bible*. "The battle is the Lord's!"—*Bible*. "Who is a strong Lord like unto thee!"—*Bible*. "The Lord is a man of war!"—*Bible*. "Then shall the Lord go forth and fight!"—*Bible*. "I myself will fight against you in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath!"—*Bible*.

Bible maxims! On each banner a blood-red cross! Adopt the Bible as the supreme law of the land and there would be an abundance of appropriate mottoes for banners. They would be culled from its blessed pages. They would have the advantage of being—unlike ordinary mottoes in use during a presidential campaign—the expression of the highest law (!) and possessing the binding force of positive commands! Of course, the wicked stars and stripes would be blotted out! They would be deemed too secular!

We will now receive another dose of tract:

“ CONSIDER

“ That at the beginning of our national history God was formally acknowledged. The charter of all the colonies acknowledged Him. The Articles of the old Confederation acknowledged Him. All the earliest Constitutions of the States acknowledged Him. But when the present Constitution of the United States came to be formed the acknowledgment was omitted. The wretched infidelity of France was then abroad on all the air of the world; everything was more or less infected with it; and our statesmen mistook its teachings for the voice of true philosophy and real progress. In their reaction against state churches, state creeds, and priestcraft, they went to the dangerous extreme of ignoring God.”

Yes, and they might have said that the “late” Southern Confederacy acknowledged him; but it was whipped, notwithstanding.

That “our statesmen mistook” the fundamental principles of our nation for the “voice of true philosophy and real progress” is not borne out by the facts. They made no mistake about them. The “philosophy” they adopted was the “Rights of Man”; “Greatest good to the greatest number”; “Freedom and Equality.” Such was their political philosophy. To these principles might be added many more, not the least important of which is, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” If, as they say, those principles are the result of the “wretched infidelity then abroad on all the air of the world,” glory be to “wretched infidelity.” It is dearer to the loyal American heart than all the religions ever manufactured.

The result of the mad career of the religionists to Christianize our Constitution will be to make religion a still greater stench in the nostrils of the thinking classes than it ever has been. It will be discovered that the human race can do better without religion than with it. Religion has cursed the world. This religionists themselves acknowledge. A thousand religions: nine hundred and ninety-nine of them false, by the verdict of each denomination. It is claimed

by all God-worshipers that a false religion is worse than no religion. If there is a *true* one it exerts but a confessedly feeble influence. Religion in general has rendered human nature worse, by everywhere exciting enmity between the members of the human family. It has always been an uncompromising foe to mental freedom. Its blood-stained history shows it to be an infuriated beast. Experience has proved it to be safe only when chained. The founders of our Republic chained it.

All that is required to render the race happy are a few self-evident moral and intellectual truths, denuded of all idea of a Supreme Ruler of the Universe. Our present United States Constitution contains the elements adequate to a higher state of civilization than can be evolved by the most perfect religion extant. It ignores the existence of a God, and only alludes to Religion to pluck out its teeth and its claws.

"We do not hate our enemy—

* * * * *

We love our land; we fight her foe;
We hate his cause, and that must fall.

"Our country is a goodly land;
We'll keep her always whole and hale,
We'll love her, live for her or die;
To fall for her is not to fail.

"Our Flag! The Red shall mean the blood
We gladly pledge; and let the White
Mean purity and solemn truth,
Unsullied justice, sacred right.

"Its Blue, the sea we love to plow,
That laves the heaven-united land,
Between the Old and Older World,
From strand, o'er mount and stream, to strand.

"The Blue reflects the crowding stars,
Bright Union-emblem of the free;
Come, all of ye, and let it wave—
That floating piece of poetry."

That our Fathers made no mistake about the voice of "real progress" is evidenced from the fact that no nation has made more substantial progress than this. Its prosperity is the most wonderful ever known. History furnishes no parallel. And this nation is the only one built without recognizing God! If there is a personal God in this Universe who is the author of individual and national prosperity, instead of the people being the authors of their own prosperity or misfortune, then what must the believer in a special providence think of this fact: our national prosperity for upwards of eighty years? To escape the force of this fact, which tells with such crushing force against them, they say God does not punish nations *immediately*, but allows the disobedient to rise to the very summit of power, like ancient Rome, that its fall may be greater! Why should their God offer a premium on disobedience? They have not informed us. It is not proved that the rise and fall of nations is the result of supernatural causes.

"The amendment which is now proposed is no new thing. If it should be made, it will only be the adopting again of what was one of our earliest and most becoming national characteristics."—*Christian Tract*.

Just so. It is no new thing. But the old kingdoms built on the "divine right" of kings, and fully recognizing God, are rapidly going out of fashion. So a recognition of God does not prevent the decay of nations.

More tract :

"CONSIDER

"That God is not once named in our National Constitution. There is nothing in it which requires an 'oath of God' as the Bible styles it (which, after all, is the great bond both of loyalty in the citizen and of fidelity in the magistrate); nothing which requires the observance of the day of rest and of worship, or which respects its sanctity. If we do not have the mails carried and the post-offices open on Sunday, it is because we happen to have a Post-master General who respects the day. If our Supreme Courts are not held, and if Congress does not sit on that day, it is custom and

not law that makes it so. Nothing in the Constitution gives Sunday quiet to the Custom House, the Navy Yard, the Barracks, or any of the departments of Government. The only allusion which it makes to Sunday is a single provision leaving it out of the count of the ten days which the President may have for the consideration of a Bill; but that is not because the day is sacred, but because the President may happen to be a Christian, and may wish to keep the Sabbath. So also the prayers in our Houses of Congress and the appointment of days for national humiliation or thanksgiving are merely religious customs, warranted by the religious sentiments of the people, but not by the letter of the Constitution. How soon and how sadly might all this be changed were an infidel administration to ride into power."—*Christian Tract*.

"Swear not at all," is a contradictory command from the same book!

The ablest presidents we have had were Infidels.

Mails should be carried on Sunday as on other days. Why should a government official use one-seventh of the people's time to propagandize his religious fancies? If such a principle were correct would not a Jew, elected to fill the position of Post-master General have a right to have the mails stopped and the post-offices closed on Saturday? Because then we would "happen to have a Post-master General who respects the day." No department of government should have its affairs diverted from their legitimate purpose in order to favor the religion of Jew, Christian or Pagan. Sunday laws ought to be abolished; prayers in the Congress and in Legislatures; the farce of appointment by governmental executive of days for humiliation, and thanksgiving, ought to be sternly frowned down by the American people.

"CONSIDER

"That the Amendments proposed are true, right, and proper in themselves considered.

"Almighty God is the source of all authority and power in civil government—is He not? If not, WHO IS?

"The Lord Jesus Christ (aside from all questions as to his divinity, his humanity, or his mission on earth) is the Ruler among the nations—is He not? If not, WHO IS?

“The revealed will of God is of supreme authority—is it not? If not, WHAT IS OF HIGHER AUTHORITY?”

“The government of the United States, a Christian people,* should be a Christian government—should it not?”

“The blessings of such a government should be secured to all the inhabitants of the land, black as well as white—should they not?”

“Think calmly, wisely, justly, and your answer to each of these questions can only be AYE.”—*Christian Tract.*

My answer is “Nay.” There is danger that the mass of Christians will answer “Aye.” The clergy have a dangerous influence over them. What consummate art is exhibited in the framing of these questions. Not one of them that any Christian can object to without denying his own religion. Reader, are you a Liberalist? Then sound the alarm! Our free institutions are endangered by Christians. The issue is “Our Country, or Religion!” It is the “people” against the *Christian God!* In a voice of thunder-tone the Liberalists should re-affirm that the “people”—not God—are the source of authority and power in civil government.

The nations have no personal ruler. If Jesus Christ is ruler of nations, let him prove his title, or have his ambassadors—the clergy—prove it for him! We are not required to prove a negative.

The highest convictions of each human soul are its supreme authority, higher than any book.

We are *not* a Christian people. There are millions of citizens who are anti-Christian. If there were thirty-nine millions Christians and only one million Liberalists, the thirty-nine millions would have no right to wrest from the minority the rights and privileges which are inalienable.

More tract:

“* A Christian people. They show it by their general demand and respect for the institutions of Christianity. They have of their own means provided a church and a minister of religion for every 1,000 of the population on an average. Consult the returns of the last census.”—*Note to Christian Tract.*

“CONSIDER

“That they [Christians] fairly express the mind of the great body of the American people. This is a Christian people. These Amendments agree with the faith, the feelings and the forms of every Christian church or sect. The Catholic and the Protestant, the Unitarian and the Trinitarian profess and approve all that is here proposed. Why should not the Constitution be made to suit and to represent a constituency so overwhelmingly in the majority? And let two things more be taken into account. 1st. That no manner of injustice is done to the small minority whose views are opposed to these Amendments. No religious test is to be set up. No establishment of any church is to be attempted. No lessening of the privileges or the immunities of American citizenship is contemplated. And 2d. This great majority is becoming daily more conscious not only of their rights but of their power. Their number grows, and their column becomes more solid. They have quietly, steadily opposed infidelity until it has at least become politically unpopular. They have asserted the rights of man and the rights of the Government until the nation's faith has become measurably fixed and declared on these points. And now that the close of the war gives us occasion to amend our Constitution that it may clearly and fully represent the mind of the people on these points, they feel that it should also be so amended as to recognize *the rights of God in man and in government*. Is it anything but due to their long patience that they be at length allowed to speak out the *great facts and principles which give to all government its dignity, stability, and beneficence*? And is it anything but the merest propriety, the simplest and cheapest gratitude, to acknowledge that great God who has brought us so wondrously through the war? He is the author of our generalship, our statesmanship, and all that pure and holy purpose that marked ‘the uprising of a great people.’ Our soldiers confessed His presence on the battle-field. Our Senate bowed before His inscrutable wisdom and His gracious sovereignty. Our President and all our people in their distress called for His aid, and in their thanksgivings declared ‘He hath not dealt so with any nation.’ Let the Constitution say forever what with equal earnestness, truth, and sincerity we have all been saying during the war.

“Much more might be said, but these considerations may suffice to show that the amendments to our national Constitution proposed * * * * * are right, are timely and

becoming. An association has been formed for the purpose of bringing them before the people and in due time securing their adoption. Men of high standing, in every walk of life, of every section of the country, and of every shade of political sentiment and religious belief, have concurred in the measure."—*Christian Tract*.

It can be clearly seen by even a casual reader that, with such an appeal, hundreds of thousands will flock to their standard. "These amendments agree with the faith, the feelings and the forms of every Christian church or sect." That is true; and the authors of the tract further state what is equally true: "The Catholic and the Protestant, the Unitarian and the Trinitarian *profess* and *approve* all that is here proposed." Certainly they do. Some may have thought there was no ground for alarm of Church-and-State union, because the Protestant sects could not cease their sectarian contentions sufficiently long to even insure *Church* union. But those who have been observant of sectarian peculiarities are aware that churches do unite on common ground. They are a unit in their opposition to Infidelity; in favor of the Bible in schools; the enforcement of Sunday laws, etc. Let an Infidel and a Clergyman hold a joint public debate on the Bible; and in any little town where there are even five or six clergymen (and it is a very small or very *liberal* place where that many cannot be found.) These clergymen may have been arrayed against each other in bitter strife, but lo! they become suddenly "of one heart and one soul."

The authors of the tract assure us that "no manner of injustice" is intended against those whose views are opposed to the amendments! They do not deny that they would have the power to do injustice. Their history, as Christians, shows that they never used the power, when they had it, to punish Infidelity. Oh, no! "No religious test is to be set up." I suppose there is not a large-sized kitten under that meal!

The Constitutional-God Christians inform us, next, that they have become not only "more conscious of their rights,

but of their power” ! “ Their number grows, and their column becomes more solid.”

All of which I know to be true. Since 1863, especially, they have been growing in numbers and in influence, and are already bringing to bear that immense influence upon the politics of the country.

The tract closes with a strong appeal to co-operate.

“ WILL YOU CO-OPERATE ?

“ Observe, you are not committed to any precise words of amendment by subscribing this Memorial. You only ask that IN SUBSTANCE the Constitution be so amended. The words may be left to the wisdom of a committee of Congress. Will you co-operate in bringing about any such amendment—that is, any amendment which recognizes God and which intimates that our government is as much Christian as our people are ?

“ JOHN ALEXANDER, Corresponding Secretary of the National Association, * * * Philadelphia, will furnish you copies of this address and other documents bearing on this measure. Circulate such documents among your neighbors and acquaintances. Attend conventions which may be held for discussing the subject. Join in forming auxiliary associations in your county or district. *Sign the memorial of that association*, or any that is near you, that in due time it may be forwarded to Congress through your Representative.”—*Christian Tract*.

They have received numerous favorable responses from some of the most intelligent and influential gentlemen in the nation, many of whom are filling high official positions in the gift of the people, and who ought to be watched by the Liberalists, now that the religious amendment has become a political issue. A few prominent names are published, with their letters, in the tract, as follows :

From Hon. WM. STRONG, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

“ PHILADELPHIA, April 3d, 1866.

“ JOHN ALEXANDER, ESQ.—*Dear Sir* : I have heard the address of your Association ‘ to the voting citizens of the United States, and to all thoughtful persons who love their country,’ and I entirely concur with the views presented by it. The views are worthy of the attention of all our

people, and they are presented in such a manner as to commend them to the considerate reflection of every one.

"I am very respectfully,

W. STRONG."

From the Rt. Rev. C. P. McILVAINE, Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio.

"CINCINNATI, March 7th, 1866.

"REV. T. P. STEVENSON—*Dear Sir*: I am very ready to say, that I consider the Constitution as defective in a most important degree, in having no acknowledgement of God, of Christ, or of the Scriptures, in some such way as the language proposed to be inserted, contains. Whether any movement to obtain the insertion of what ought to be there can succeed, is a question. That it ought to succeed, and that the effort should be made, I am well convinced. If it fail, those who try, will thus far have done their duty, and as citizens, will have held up their testimony before the nation. Therefore, while I do not commit myself to the precise form of words contained in the appeal, understanding it as intended only to suggest the substance of what should be enacted, I wish to be considered as uniting in the movement.

"Yours very truly,

CHAS. P. McILVAINE,

"Bishop Prot. Ep. Church, Diocese of Ohio."

From Rev. T. J. PRESSLY, D. D., U. P. Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

"ALLEGHENY, March 12th, 1866.

"*Dear Sir*: The Faculty of our Institution most cordially sympathize with this movement, and shall be happy to do what we can in our appropriate place to secure its success.

"With great regard your friend,

"Rev. T. P. Stevenson.

JOHN T. PRESSLY."

From Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN, U. S. Senator from Missouri.

"ST. LOUIS, November 19th, 1864.

"* * * * Let me say that I will gladly help on God's work in the purifying and exalting this nation, and inscribing His Word as its Supreme Law, in any and all ways, and in any and all places. I believe, unless we become in very truth a Christian nation, all other nationality will be ephemeral and delusive. I believe, furthermore, that the world and especially the western world, is awakening from its age of unbelief or spiritual languor, and that we are coming upon periods of active faith, when men will again seize upon, and live or die by religious convictions as in days of old. Let us then, by all means, help forward that expression, which shall inscribe as the banner of our people, The Banner of the Lord.

"Yours truly,

B. GRATZ BROWN."

From the Faculties of Princeton Theological Seminary, and College of New Jersey.

"We cordially approve of the object of the foregoing memorial, and desire to do all we lawfully can to promote it.

"CHARLES HODGE, LYMON H. ATWATER, JOHN T. DUFFIELD,

"ALEX. T. MCGILL, HENRY C. CAMERON, JOS. C. MOFFAT,

"WM. H. GREEN, I. H. McILVAINE, C. WISTER HODGE.

"We add our cordial concurrence.

"M. W. JACOBUS,

D. ELLIOTT,

"S. G. WILSON,

A. A. HODGE.

"Professors in Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa."

From Rev. SAMUEL ROOSEVELT JOHNSON, D.D., Professor in General Theological Seminary, Prot. Ep., New York.

"BURLINGTON, N. J., April 2d, 1866.

"*Dear Sir*: I am desirous to see the recognition of the belief in God, of the belief in Christian faith, in the Constitution, and whenever it can suitably be introduced. I have flattered myself, with Bishop McIlvaine's view, that our great nation does substantially and largely declare itself a Christian nation; and also that God does not look so much at paper documents as he does at the very Christianity which pervades the people. Still, as we have been pointed at by many as being not committed to any religion whatsoever, I am one who would gladly relieve enemies of an ungracious opportunity, and friends of an oppressive and anxious thought.

"Ever most truly and respectfully,

"SAMUEL ROOSEVELT JOHNSON."

From Rev. HENRY SMITH, D. D., Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"CINCINNATI, O., January 29, 1866.

"JOHN ALEXANDER, ESQ.—*Dear Sir*: I have no hesitation in saying that I regard the object had in view by the 'National Association for the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States,' exceedingly important; and the measures proposed to secure the object, are in my judgment, both wise and timely. I shall be glad to co-operate in any way in my power in securing the end proposed.

"I am very truly yours,

HENRY SMITH."

From Rev. FRANCIS VINTON, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

"TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK.

"Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25th, 1866.

"REV. T. P. STEVENSON—*My Dear Sir*: It gives me satisfaction to know of the movement to procure an Amendment of the Constitution of the United States which shall acknowledge God and our Lord Jesus Christ.

"If such a fundamental recognition of HIM should be made by the people of this country, it would be the token of His Presence both now and always. It is gratifying to observe the pious acknowledgment of God on the public coins. Let the same acknowledgment find place in our Constitution and we shall become in principle a Christian Nation.

"Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS VINTON."

From Rev. H. L. BAUGHER, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College, (Lutheran,) Gettysburg, Pa.

"PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE, March 8th, 1866.

"* * * * It is strange that the recognition of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ as the Ruler of the Universe, in this dispensation of mercy, should have been so long overlooked and neglected in the fundamental article of our government.

"I rejoice in this movement, and feel that we cannot be safe as a nation until the name of our God and Savior is put into our Constitution, and recognized always and every where as the source of our power. Right

gladly will I co-operate in this work, and hope and pray that it may meet with complete and abundant success.

H. L. BAUGHER."

"We cordially concur in the general views expressed by President
Baughner. M. L. STOEVER, F. A. MUHLENBERG,
ALFRED M. MAYER, M. JACOBS,
"Professors in Pennsylvania College."

—*Christian Tract.*

Senator B. Gratz Brown sighs for the good old time of "active faith"—the halcyon days of witch-burning, Quaker-hanging, heretic-roasting—when men will "*live or die by religious conviction* as in days of old." So *he* talks war, too.

The Rev. Francis Vinton was gratified "to observe the *pious* acknowledgment of God on the public coins." With what unction he must have laid the sweet thought to his soul, that, at any rate, there was an acknowledgment of a *nickel* God! The progress made in a few short years must be a source of comfort to every pious soul! The old, bungling copper cent had the figure of a woman's head, generally called the head of the Goddess of Liberty, with the word "LIBERTY" enstamped upon it, and thirteen stars encircling it. But that is too common, too plain and simple, like the Fathers of the Republic. Note the progress (!) It is reported that during the late war, while one of the officials at Washington was in prayerful meditation to know what motto he should choose for the then new nickel coins, he asked one of his fellow officials to assist in extricating him from the mazes of the profound question by suggesting some appropriate Bible motto. He thought he could assist him, and suggested Acts iii: 6, "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee," from which it will be seen he was nothing but a profane wit; and it is a matter of surprise how such a man was ever appointed to fill an official place in Washington. In sheer desperation the man of God selected, "In God we trust," thinking he was quoting Bible. When he was a very small boy he had read something that sounded like it.

I will close this chapter by showing that the Catholics have the same idea as Constitutional-God Christians of the

superiority of Religion to the political institutions of the country. The *Catholic World*, a skillfully conducted quarterly, says :

“While the State has rights, *she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority, and that authority can only be expressed through the Church*—that is, through the organic law infallibly announced and unchangeably asserted, regardless of temporal consequences.”

The Catholics of the United States can gracefully say to Constitutional-God Protestants, “Thank you, gentlemen, for at last coming to the true doctrine of Church-and-State. Now, you may as well renounce your right-of-private-judgment conceits—which you have learned by sad experience, you know, never could be made practical without ending in rank infidelity—and come into the bosom of the true Christian Church, and we will all vote together for the reign of Jesus Christ on earth.”

The New York *Tablet*, another Catholic journal, clearly defines the position of the Church on the question of Our Country and Religion :

“The authority of the State, held as a trust from God, is held subject to the law of God, and the Church is the divinely-appointed guardian and judge of that law, whether the natural law or the supernatural law. The State has no right to do or command any thing not authorized or permitted by the law of God as interpreted, declared, or defined by the infallible Church of God ; and the faithful are forbidden to obey it when it commands them to do anything the law of God, as declared by his unerring Church, forbids or does not permit. This, of course, asserts the supremacy of the spiritual order, and subjects the State, whatever its form, to the law of God as defined by the spiritual authority. This is, as far as we know it, Catholic doctrine. The State is not bound by the opinions of churchmen or priests any more than it is by the opinions of statesmen, but it is bound by what the Church teaches and declares is the law of God. The Church defines for the faithful the powers of the State, but it is not the medium through which they are necessarily conferred. If the principles declared in the Declaration of

Independence and the Bills of Rights adopted by several States are incompatible with this doctrine, it by no means follows that it is not true. They who deny the infallibility of the Church must not expect us to admit the infallibility of the State, or of the people, in or out of the convention. We subordinate our politics to our religion, not our religion to our politics; and if the American people do otherwise so much the worse for them."

The *Christian Statesman* finds that view so strikingly like its own that it falls into a spasm, and gaspingly offers the following few words upon it :

"The heaven-wide difference between this theory of the State, and that which underlies the Religious Amendment is so manifest that they can only be confounded by willful falsehood. We hold the equal right of the State with the Church to examine for itself the law of God, and to accept and administer that law, subject to no authority but God himself."

Like the dog who did not know its own shadow in the water, so the *Statesman* fails to recognize its reflection in the Catholic doctrine of Church-and-State union; or, rather, Religion in preference to our country. Or, what may be worse for the Protestants, they are ashamed to recognize their dignified "mother of harlots"—more disgrace to the *daughters* than the mother—upon whom they have heaped so much reproach.

If any one can perceive the "heaven-wide difference" between the Constitutional-God Christians and the Catholics it will be a remarkable discovery. The State and Church together, it is claimed, have the right to examine the "Law of God." Can either, or both, do this without officials? No. The interpreters of "God's Law," then, will be Christian officials! The Protestants have already committed themselves to the doctrine that if there is any conflict between Church and State they are to "obey God rather than man," *i. e.*, the Church is to be the dominant power. Such, too, is the Catholic doctrine. Years ago I informed the clergy, in their Conventions, that this proposed religious

amendment would set them high and dry upon Catholic ground. There is where they now are. They believe and they teach that the Christian Church is capable of making all the laws that mankind need; and Church members arrogate to themselves the ability to make more wholesome laws than the State can create; hence, the State is a superfluity. The State disposed of, the country becomes a Church establishment for the "glory of God"—our country a sacrifice to religion.

Let us breathe freely, think independently and speak boldly while we may, and avert, if it be possible, such a catastrophe.

VII.

CLERICAL EMPIRE.

“Woe to the priesthood ! woe
To those whose hire is with the price of blood,—
Perverting, darkening, changing as they go,
The searching truths of God !

“Their glory and their might
Shall perish ; and their very names shall be
Vile before all the people, in the light
Of a world's liberty.”

—*John G. Whittier.*

Let Church-and-State union be established, and the rule of the clergy would become at once supreme. The men engaged in this movement have labored to convince the people that the proposed religious amendment is nothing of the nature of union of Church and State. Sagacious men ! They know that such a principle is exceedingly distasteful to the American public, and in fact is repulsive to the majority, no doubt, of the American clergy themselves ; but when the existence of the Church is jeopardized in the contest, it will not be difficult for them to decide in favor of Christ and his kingdom, in the form of Church-and-State union, against the rule of Infidelity. Rev. J. H. McIlvaine anticipates the objection that must arise in the minds of nearly all inquirers. He says :

“*It is nothing of the nature of a union of Church and State. A union of Church and State is not possible without an established Church, which, of course, in the present state of Christianity must be some one branch or denomination of Christians to the exclusion of others. This would place all*

other denominations under the disadvantages and disabilities of dissenters. In direct opposition to this, we hold that all such arrangements are contrary to the true idea of Christianity and equally so to that of the State; and that they ever have been, and ever must be, a great *fons et origo malorum*—a source of innumerable social and moral evils. We hold that the Church and State are co-ordinate institutions of God, essentially independent of each other, and both alike immediately responsible to Him. What we seek is, that the nation, as such, in its fundamental and organic law, should explicitly acknowledge its own responsibility to God, and the supreme authority of his moral laws.”

The professor supposed a barrier to such an union that does not really exist—the denominations, one jealously watching the other; as though it were impossible for a few of the strongest and most orthodox to unite for a fundamental purpose, and so secure the result that he supposes is impossible—“the exclusion of others.” This state of things even now exists. See the Young Men’s Christian Association, composed mainly of Evangelical, or Orthodox Protestant Christians, to the exclusion, in many places, of Universalists, Unitarians, and other so-called liberal Christians. If Christians will thus unite against Christians, what favor may Infidels, Atheists, Jews and Pagans expect from them? If “all such arrangements” are contrary to the “true idea” of Christianity, it is a singular fact that whenever Christianity, Protestant or Catholic, has followed its own will, unchecked by civil power, it has sought to make government subservient to its own despotic sway, which has truly been a “source of innumerable social and moral evils.”

Church union, for which so many Christians are zealously striving, will form the basis of union of Church and State. Church union is supposed by many to be an utter impossibility. It is argued that the sectarian strife between Protestant denominations will form an impassable gulf between them and union. Protestantism confesses itself threatened by a common danger—Infidelity in various garbs. Now, the question is, will Protestants unite for a common purpose? Will they willingly sink denominational differences for the

sake of acquiring greater influence, and finally controlling the government? Is there anything analogous to this now? I answer, The Young Men's Christian Association is to Protestantism what Jesuitism was to Roman Catholicism. It wields a tremendous power already. The very fact of the existence of such an association is a conclusive answer to the question, "Will Protestants unite?"

A religious paper, called the *Church Union*, which was formerly published in New York city by Henry E. Childs, and afterwards by C. Kennedy, was for a while edited by seven different editors of seven different denominations, neither of whom was known to the other six—they being in the employ of a combination of sects, under the business management of parties who kept the names and locations of the editors from each other. The *Church Union* published at the head of its editorial column the following:

"BOND OF UNION:

"We, the undersigned, believers in the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, do hereby pledge ourselves to secure, under God, an open communion, and the recognition of one evangelical ministry, by the interchange of pulpits, thus to make visible the unity of the Church.

"And we furthermore solemnly pledge ourselves to stand by each other in securing these ends."

The indications are that a union of Church and State is intended to follow a union of the Churches under "one evangelical ministry, by the interchange of pulpits."

When the united Protestants will find themselves still too weak to cope with the common sense of the people, they will, as a *dernier* resort, join hands with the Catholics. This will appear to the majority of readers very improbable. But when the issue will be Christianity or Godlessness, Protestants, with comparatively few exceptions, will declare themselves in favor of Christianity *in any form* in preference to practical Atheism. Hence, instead of a union of Protestants and Catholics against the opponents of Christianity being

improbable, it is indeed likely to take place. There is more nominal than real difference between Catholicism and Protestantism. The bitterness that formerly existed between them has measurably subsided. Thousands of the wealthiest and most cultivated Protestant families in America do not look upon Catholicism as the hateful, hideous thing that the impetuous Luther and stern Calvin represented it. Protestants of to-day do not share the prejudices of those vindictive sectarians against the Mother Christian Church. The feeling is becoming generally prevalent among them that there are many, very many, true, noble Christian men and women in the Catholic communion. Therefore, it has become fashionable for wealthy Protestants to place their daughters in Catholic schools, which are celebrated for their thoroughness and good moral influences. The careful training, and vigilant guardianship exercised over young ladies by the conductors of Catholic educational institutions, is conceded to be superior to anything furnished by Protestant schools, colleges or seminaries. Sagacious Protestant instructors perceive the advantages offered by Catholic institutions of learning, and are imitating them.

In church matters, also, the Protestants are either going back to Catholicism, or forward to free religion—another name for open Infidelity. The principal difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is the Infidelity in the latter. Affirmatively the two are substantially the same. Protestants, from Luther down, have acknowledged that in Popery are to be found *all* the truths of salvation, as they term them. Says an able Catholic author, “The founder of the Catholic Church is our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and her Apostles are Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint John, and the other messengers of Faith appointed by the Founder.

“The founder of Protestantism is Luther, and its apostles Calvin, Zwinglius & Co.

“There’s a choice for you.”

In former days the crucifix, or cross, was almost detested by Protestants, and called an emblem of Catholic idolatry.

It has been coming into more general use, as an emblem among Protestants; showing itself in stained window glass, (as though a little ashamed of itself,) then painted back of pulpits, hung on the walls of Sunday school rooms: and, finally, breaking out on the top of spires.

The Indianapolis *Journal*, of January 28, 1871, contains the following:

“Dr. Pusey, it is said, is founding a new community of Anglican nuns, whose dress is to be entirely white. Protestant Sisterhoods, such as the *Kaiserwerth Deaconesses*, are very flourishing in Germany, and are gaining in popular favor both in England and America.”

News comes by way of English papers that a Mr. McLeod, in Dunse, Scotland, of the Established Scotch Church, “has been introducing Confession and Absolution among his parishioners, urging them to such confession in a pastoral letter, and the matter has been brought before the Presbytery. In Mr. McLeod’s view, a minister, though not warranted to say to the sick and the penitent, as a Roman Catholic priest would say, ‘I absolve thee,’ may say, ‘Thy sins are forgiven through the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.’”

Theodore Tilton’s paper contains an article, in regard to several societies of Protestants, who have adopted practical Catholicism. It is as follows:

“THE PROTESTANT NUNS OF NEW YORK.

“Protestantism, like Catholicism, has its institutions of nuns, and some of the most efficient charities of New York are carried on by sisterhoods of good women who are united by a tie of obligation, wear a grave and peculiar dress, and devote themselves to works of benevolence. These establishments have none of the objectionable features of the conventual systems of the Romish Church. There is no vow of celibacy on the part of the sisters, no slavish superstition of worship, no isolation from the world and the old ties of home and friendship. The ladies who are thus banded together have assumed their obligations from the freest choice, and are associated in ‘homes’ simply because they can thus accomplish more of good than they could by

isolated effort, while they have adopted a simple uniform as a matter at once of convenience and protection. The garb of a sister of charity, be she Catholic or Protestant, insures her against insult, even from the lowest, whatever dens of infamy she may enter, and at whatever hour of the twenty-four she may be abroad.

“The Sisters of St. Mary number about forty, who are under the jurisdiction of one of their members to whom they give the honorable title of ‘Mother,’ a lady who is peculiarly fitted by nobility and firmness of character to be at the head of the establishment. The dress which these sisters wear, consists of a long black stuff robe, made rather full, with a small cape over the shoulders, and girdled at the waist by a heavy cord. A broad collar of white linen is buttoned round the throat, while a linen cap with stiff fluted border covers the head and surrounds the face, and conceals every vestige of hair. Before becoming ‘a full sister’ each candidate must serve ‘a novitiate’ of two years, in order that she may be quite sure of her heartfelt preference for the life she has chosen, as when she assumes the obligations of sisterhood she is supposed to take them for life, although she is at entire liberty to leave the order should she so wish. The uniform of the novices varies from that of the nuns only in the collar and cap, which are of thin lawn.

“Under the charge of those excellent ladies there are three establishments: St. Mary’s hospital for children in West 40th street, where poor, diseased creatures can be brought for treatment and nursing, and which is quite a paradise for little people, with its clean beds, airy rooms, flowers and pictures; St. Mary’s school on East 46th street, which was instituted ‘in order to furnish young girls an education on terms as low as those of the Roman Catholic schools,’ and which is in a very flourishing condition, numbering upwards of one hundred scholars from the daughters of our best people; and, finally, the House of Mercy, quite out in the country, near the river, on West 86th street. This is a home for fallen women, and has accommodations for ninety patients. Here, if anywhere, is there a hope of restoring these poor creatures to virtue, away from the corrupt atmosphere of the city, and under the pure influences of the devoted women who are laboring heart and soul in this good work.

“Another and older association of ‘Protestant Nuns’ is the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, which was established many years ago, and which differs considerably in organization from the society just described. Compared to

the Sisters of St. Mary, the Sisters of the Holy Communion would be held to be 'Low Church' in their principles, though they are all Episcopalians, professing precisely the same form of belief. The members of Sisterhood after a 'probation' of six months, assume their obligations for no more than three years, at the end of which period they are at entire liberty to remain for another term of service or to return to the world. Their uniform is a black stuff dress not differing from the usual form, a muslin collar and small tarleton cap pinned to the back of the head. They number about twenty, under the rule of a 'first sister,' who has been many years in the society

"Although the Sisters of the Holy Communion seem fewer in number than the Sisters of St. Mary, they are so largely assisted by volunteers, who remain for a shorter or longer period at will, that they carry on very extensive charities. St. Luke's Hospital is known to all New Yorkers as one of our most flourishing benevolent institutions, standing in its pleasant yard, shaded with trees and bright with flowers through all the summer, and high up on 5th avenue at 54th street, near the Park. It is an attractive spot, even to the idle; how much more so to the weary and toil-worn sufferers who find refuge in its walls? It contains six wards, three on each side of the house, so arranged as to communicate with the chapel in the centre. Those on the one hand for men, those on the other hand for women and children. During the past year over one thousand patients have received care and attention under its kindly roof.

"On the corner of 20th street and 6th avenue, close to the Church of the Holy Communion, is another most excellent charity under the charge of the Sisters. Here there is a home for old women, where in pleasant and spacious apartments, eighteen of the poor and feeble of the weaker sex pass the few remaining years of their lives in comfort and rest; and a shelter for homeless girls, where young creatures who are friendless and destitute in this great city, are protected temporarily, or till they can find homes and employment. There is also in a lower room, a female school where upwards of one hundred children are daily instructed, and a dispensary open all day for the gratuitous bestowal of advice and medicine.

"Some forty miles out of town, on the north shore of Long Island, there is quite a village which is called St. John-land, and consists entirely of the charitable establishments and buildings of the Sisters of the Holy Communion, and

their assistants. Here there is a home for old men, where in the breezy country they find a rest for the remnant of their days; a home for crippled children, where poor deformed creatures are taught trades, and thus fitted to support themselves; a home for orphan girls, and another for orphan boys: all these houses, with the church, schoolhouse, and residence of the clergyman, make up quite a settlement, and is one of the best and most prosperous benevolent institutions in the neighborhood of New York.

“Finally, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd have charge of the excellent charity, St. Barnabas House. These ladies are few in number and wear no other uniform than a plain black dress and white apron. They are united under an ‘elder sister’; having several ‘probationers’ as their assistants, and are also aided by volunteers who come for a few days or hours as they can give time. St. Barnabas consists of two houses on Mulberry street, near the Police Headquarters. ‘Here, as a place of refuge, are received homeless women and children applying from the streets or wandering in from the country; also women discharged from hospital, cured, and only requiring a few days of repose to gain strength, yet having no friends in the city and no money to journey in search of them elsewhere.’ As it is intended only for a temporary resting place, the larger part of those received are sent within a week to situations, to other institutions, or to their homes. ‘There are here beds for fifty-two women and about as many children, and no person, however low and degraded, or at whatever hour of the night she may apply, is ever turned from their hospitable doors. It is a great thing that in our large city there is such a safe and respectable refuge for homeless wanderers where they can receive kind care and protection.’

“It will be seen by this brief sketch, that the work performed by our Protestant Sisters of Charity is a great and noble one, none the less noble because some of the sisterhood choose to call the room where they worship ‘the oratory,’ the daily service ‘the office,’ and the dining room ‘the refectory.’”—*Golden Age*, May 20, 1871.

A veteran minister in the *Chicago Advance*, December 29, 1870, says, in regard to dealing with Romanism, that Romanists should not be discriminated against, by Protestants, in political affairs. The reason he assigns is that it might rebound upon themselves!

The Catholics estimate their own numbers in the United States at more than five millions. Protestants cannot obtain control of this government independently of them. The "veteran minister," in the *Advance*, deems the exercise of political power by the Protestants independently of, or discriminating against, Catholics, a sacrifice of much that is "manly and noble and Christian." He said were we to exclude Catholics from office, "then, as long as we continue to be more numerous than Romanists, and outsiders are not aroused against us, we might succeed in accomplishing our ends to some extent."

As Catholics and Protestants have so much in common, the union of the two appears to be inevitable. But whether they unite or not, each desiring political power, both will make civil government secondary to religion; the Church will become in practice what it is in theory, the dominant power—provided the clergy can indoctrinate the minds of the people with the old notions of "Divine Government," and excite prejudice against that of the people.

While engaged in an earnest discussion at one time with several clergymen, I endeavored to maintain the soundness of a peoples' government. I received the following reply from one of them :

"But is not '*vox populi vox Dei*?' We reply to this demagogical blasphemy by asking if the yells of a God-denying people is his voice? Were the blasphemies of the atheistical mob that ruled France the voice of God? The assumption is impiously absurd. More truly '*vox populi*' is '*vox diaboli*.' The voice of God is the still small voice in the soul of the spiritually enlightened and faithful child of God. Let us not stultify ourselves by assuming that the political voice of this nation is the voice of the God whom we pointedly ignore in our Constitution and laws.

"What is the union of Church and State which we advocate? During the recent debates in the English Parliament the Prime Minister, who contended for the union, defined it to be '*a recognition in government of responsibility to divine power*.' No one disputed the definition. Is this anything horrible, or even unreasonable? Is it not what every reli-

gious man should desire? We plead for no priesthood, no elaborate State ceremonies, but simply 'the recognition in our government of responsibility to divine power,' in contradistinction from human reason and authority."

The voice of the people is called, by this Divine, the voice of the devil! The leaders engaged in this nefarious movement, of Church-and-State union, know that the people dislike any approach to such union.

In one of the Christian Conventions, Rev. T. P. Stevenson, Secretary of the National Reform Association, Philadelphia, is represented by the *Christian Statesman*, December 15, 1872, as saying that there is no tendency to union of Church and State. "As a nation," said he, "we are not in danger of becoming too religious; we are in danger of losing what little religion is left to us. American liberties are not threatened to-day by the American Church, but the foundations of American society are threatened by a licentious free-thinking which threatens to revolutionize morals and extirpate religion." This free-thinking they desire to prevent. In the same paper occurs the following:

"According to our national constitution no religious qualification is required for the Presidency or any other office. An Infidel, Atheist, or Pagan may hold the highest office in the gift of the nation unchallenged."

Which is the glory and just boast of Liberalists everywhere. The *Christian Statesman* continues:

"The 'Divine right of Kings' was only the true idea of government exaggerated and carried to excess. It was based upon the recognition of God as the source of governmental authority. But kings and rulers had made this idea the cloak for all kinds of abuses and villainies, and there was a rebound in the opposite direction; the idea that society was nothing but a mere compact of individuals for material ends gained ground. When our government was established the 'Fathers of the Republic' were, many of them, under the influence of this infidel idea of human

society and government, and very naturally this bias was felt in the formation of the young nationality."

It is, then, only the "abuse" of kingly power that this class of Christians object to. A king and kingdom is the Bible idea of government.

A clergyman in the Oskaloosa, (Iowa,) Convention did not disclaim Church-and-State union. Said he :

"What are the objections to this proposed union of Church and State? The religious tyranny of former ages? We reply, that the abuse of a system is not conclusive against its use. The abuses of *free government* in Venice and France did not prevent its establishment here. Said Madam Roland, at her execution, 'O Liberty, what crimes have been committed in thy name!' What crimes have been committed in the name of religion! But shall we honor or worship it less? We have no more reason to fear the abuse of religious government than we have of free government. We have learned its fundamental principles, as we have those of liberty. It means 'peace on earth and good will toward men;' and committed to a people free in thought and act, it will, by divine grace, bear such fruit as the world has not yet seen."

The *Church Union* says :

"The political fabric, firmly built and compact in every joint, will be prepared for the long-desired millennial kingdom, with Christ the Divine Head of Church and State. Then will be realized the prayers of saints of all ages, and his kingdom indeed come and his will be done on earth as in heaven."

In all the speeches, sermons and articles by the clergy, on the subject, this idea of Church-and-State union is uppermost, let it be called by what name it may. What does it all mean? It indicates clerical rule, Clerical Empire!

It is not long since a paper called the *Imperialist* was published; it had a brief existence, and died quietly and becomingly. It has, however, assumed another form. Its first was mainly political. Its second is religious predominant. Its "measure" was published in the *World's Crisis*, a religious paper, April 21, 1869, in these words :

"THE IMPERIALIST.

"The public and the trade are hereby informed that arrangements for the publication of *The Imperialist* are now fully completed, and the first number of this long-expected journal will be issued on Saturday, April 3d.

"For the first time in the history of the United States, an American journal dares to proclaim as false, and pernicious in their influence, the Democratic dogmas of 'Popular Sovereignty' and 'Equality'; and to demand that, on the ruins of this unfortunate Republic, shall be reared the firm and substantial structure of an Empire.

"The creed of *The Imperialist* is revolutionary: its mission to prepare the mind of the American people for the revolution that has already begun throughout the country.

"The conductors of this journal believe Democracy to be a failure. Though theoretically plausible, in its practical workings it has been found totally inadequate to the wants of the American people.

"We believe that the national faith, if left in the keeping of the populace, will be sullied by the sure repudiation of the national debt, and that an Imperial Government can alone protect the rights of national creditors.

"We believe that an Imperial Government, in its paternal relation to the people, will care equally for all citizens, and, while guaranteeing security to the rights of capital, will jealously protect the interests of the industrial classes.

"We believe that the Republic means lawlessness, corruption, insecurity to persons and property, robbery of the public creditors, and civil war; that the Empire means law, order, security, public faith and peace.

"This creed *The Imperialist* will advocate earnestly, fearlessly, and without compromise, and many will find in it the open expression of convictions and opinions long held and cherished in secret. Its columns will be free from the low vulgarisms which have heretofore disgraced American journalism, and in the discussion of political and social questions, will unite the high tone and thorough culture of the English weekly press with the more popular features of the best current literature of the day.

"THE IMPERIALIST will be published weekly, on Saturday. It will be promptly forwarded to other cities, and sold by newsdealers throughout the country.

"All orders and business communications may be addressed to the IMPERIAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,

"No. 37 Mercer Street, New York City."

That prospectus was published in many secular and religious papers. The idea of "Empire" in America was appropriately ridiculed. The "Imperial Government" kindly offered what the God-in-the-Constitution Christians now present, to "care equally for all citizens." Both movements contemplate a "high tone." Both pronounce democracy a failure. Both declare that the populace are incapable of self rule. Both denounce the Republic as a synonym for "lawlessness, corruption," etc. Both are bitterly opposed to French Infidelity. Both consider Republicanism as synonymous with mobocracy. Both advocate a "divine government" in contradistinction to a human one.

It is not *impossible* to change this Republic into an Empire. The clergy would hail with delight such a consummation. Their sympathies are with Imperialism and against Republicanism. The latter is anti-priest, anti-church, anti-Bible, and anti-God.

From the *Imperialist* I extract the following :

"The only government in the universe to which the attribute of absolute perfection can be assigned, is that of God, and with becoming reverence we may safely make the assertion that all human schemes are and will be nearer and nearer approaches to earthly perfection according as they imitate more and more nearly the divine model. In that government what we are accustomed to call 'representation' is only known in the form of supplication," etc., etc.

"The divine model" is to be found in the Bible. The whole paragraph is the sentiment of the clergy. This dangerous element is now infusing itself throughout American society in the form of the Christian religion. The bulk of sermons preached from the American pulpits are saturated with this idea of "divine government;" while a few secular papers and nearly the whole religious press sustain it, and deplore the existence of our present Infidel form of government. And is there no danger to be apprehended from such a wide-spread disaffection? It has already assumed a religious form—the worst possible type.

In order that the reader may obtain a truer reflex of the movement, I will present a few more extracts from the columns of the *Imperialist* :

“The people of the United States are to-day living under a government as weak and inefficient as that of France during the last days of the Republic. The hour is near at hand when the words, ‘The Empire is Peace,’ proclaimed by a leader in whose patriotism, ability and fearlessness all can confide, will meet with an enthusiastic approval.

“Does not America need peace to-day, precisely in the sense in which France needed it seventeen years ago? Shall we endure the anarchy of mob-rule until the nation is ruined past all hope of redemption? Shall we practically await the time when the Presidency shall become a prize to be fought for by miserable military adventurers, and submit in silence to the ignorant despotism of the successful contestant? Or shall we not escape from anarchy on the one hand and an unchanging succession of small military despots on the other, by adopting, voluntarily and cheerfully, a strong, permanent, intelligent Imperial government?”

“Never was there a nation that needed more sorely a firm and enduring government. Never was there a people that longed more earnestly for domestic peace.

“The grim soldier who recently succeeded to the chief place in our national government rode into power on the wave of popular enthusiasm aroused by his famous sentence, ‘Let us have Peace.’ Can he give us peace while the power of the government is committed to the ignorant and vicious mob?”

“If so, he is greater than Cromwell, or the First or Third Napoleon. If so, the age of miracles has returned, and ‘a greater than Elijah is here.’

“The Empire will bring us peace. Shall we refuse it because we like not the name of the giver? To-day the *Imperialist* raises the banner of the Empire against the red flag of Republican anarchy. Those who are governed by names and prejudice will cling to the Republic; those who prize law and order and government, will gladly await the Empire. The hour of its advent is not far distant. And when the hour has struck, the leader will be found ready.”

Remarkably paternal! Just such a party, under the lead

of "holy men," will find support, and will yet make our National Ship quiver from stem to stern.

To show how the common sense idea of a plain, simple government, advanced by our Revolutionary Fathers, is being gradually uprooted, and the tinsel and glare and mockery of old rotten dynasties are being forced into their place, the numerous correspondents of the *Imperialist* serve as an index. Says one correspondent :

"In our social system, every form of vice is rampant; secretly, in our home-circles, and by the domestic fire-side; publicly and openly, flaunting in the streets, and paraded in the columns of the press, in the form of prostitution; hasty marriages, followed by brutality, license, and divorce; abortion notoriously prosecuted as a profession, and advertised in the daily newspapers; robbery, murder, suicide, and every other conceivable and unmentionable form of wickedness and demoralization, to an extent never before known in the history of civilization."

And, still, it is this very civilization that ministers boast of as the fruit of their Christian preaching!

This correspondent continues :

"Bribery and corruption in high places are the only roads to success, and to him who will not stoop to these, success is impossible. By this false system of universal suffrage, we have elected to rule over us men who squander the public moneys, deprave the nation's honor, and make the name of American a hissing and a bye-word among men. Abroad we are known as a nation of boasters and robbers. At home we are daily and hourly proving that we are entitled to the appellations."

A correspondent from Moscow, Ky., says :

"The people, as a unit, will sustain you, throughout this whole section of country."

Another, from Brookline, Mass., says :

"I received your specimen copy on Monday, and am very much obliged. I shall endeavor to circulate it among my

friends. It just suits my sentiments, and those also of a large number of educated people."

A correspondent from Washington, D. C., says :

"I thank you for the copy of the *Imperialist* you sent me. It is an able paper, and is pointing with the finger of destiny the course into which this government is rapidly drifting. We shall have either

1. A monied monopoly that absorbs all industries.
2. A dishonest abandonment of all principle, and a repudiation of all honest obligations.
3. A military despotism.
4. An Imperial Government, or
5. An utter disintegration and segregation of States, which will leave the United States of America—once so great, so happy, and so free—in the same pitiable condition that Mexico presents to the world."

A writer from Boston, says ;

"I am a native of Massachusetts, and am of Puritan ancestry, but have never identified myself with any political party, from an innate conviction that Republicanism—or rather Democracy—was a mistake, and a life-long belief that a Monarchical Government is the only kind which can inspire true patriotism and sincere loyalty, and I hail the issue of the *Imperialist* as designed to disseminate these truths. I am convinced that ideas of this nature have long lain dormant in many breasts, and can be developed into a practical working power by such high-toned, logical and vigorous essays as I infer from what I have seen will characterize your paper."

The Editor of the *Imperialist* says :

"The following letter has been put into our hands with permission to publish it :

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 1st, 1869.

"DEAR TOM: The three copies of the *Imperialist* which you informed me you had mailed to me, have duly come to hand. What do I think of it? Why, I must confess to a big scare. Has the man of the 2d of December dared to put his hooked nose into our affairs, trying to do here with the pen what he attempted to do in Mexico with the sword? Oh, for St. Dunstan with his red-hot tongs to tweak the infer-

nal proboscis, and send back its sooty owner howling! Seriously, what does it mean? I have read carefully all the numbers, and this I must say: If this is the Devil's doing, he has sent on the Satanic mission the smartest imp in his dominions. The *Imperialist* is written with wonderful power; I do not know another journal in the country that is its superior, or, I may say, equal to it in talent. Send it to me regularly. I shall watch this operation with much interest.' ”

Here are a few samples of hundreds of newspaper opinions :

Says the *New York Citizen* :

“Absurdest of all things is it to say, in the face of facts, that a change in the present form, or even a sudden and violent overthrow of our present form of government, is impossible.”

Says the *LaGrange (Ga.) Reporter* :

“The popular mind of this country is in great foment, and we are, perhaps, on the verge of a great political revolution, which may end in war and bloodshed, which we pray God to avert from this country.”

The *Tarboro (N. C.) Southerner* says :

“It is a great mistake for journals professing to represent public sentiment to make light of this important movement and say ‘it is all bosh,’ for it is a stern and undeniable fact that the idea *has* taken root, and whether it is to produce fruit in this generation or not, remains yet to be seen.

“Any change from the present disorganized and oppressive form of government cannot but be hailed by the whole country as a lasting benefit.”

Says the *Grand Rapids Journal* :

“A prominent Republican, who is an officer of the United States, remarked in the presence of a gentleman of this city, only a few days since, ‘that there was no use of battling against such a movement, and that he, though an officer under the party in power, believes that in Gen. Grant we behold the last President, and perhaps the first *Emperor*, for the people.’ ”

The *World's Crisis*, a religious paper, states a fact that should place every true American on guard :

“It is very evident that the feeling in favor of changing the American Republic to an Empire is gaining ground rapidly. The spirit of revolution is active in the whole civilized world. The people are uneasy in the present condition of things. The governments of earth are like a man seeking rest on a cold, hard bed, and finding none. He keeps tossing and turning, till he can endure it no longer; then rises for a change of some kind. He is sure he can be no worse off if he is obliged to sit up the rest of the night; so the people are so tired of the political corruptions now existing, they are anxious for a change of some kind. They are unwilling to endure the present state of things much longer. The conductors of the *Imperialist* know how to present the advantages to be obtained from an Imperial government in the most plausible light. The paper is ably conducted, and is sustained by a strong arm. Its managers and contributors are in earnest, and their power is already felt throughout the nation. It would be folly to deny this fact.”—*World's Crisis*.

Since “Imperialism” has assumed the *religious* form its progress has been still more rapid. “Political Reform Leagues,” in which the religious feature is kept from the surface, “Protestant Reform Leagues,” “State Christian Reform (Religious amendment) Associations,” are numerous, and extending their operations all over the Union, especially in the Northern States. Then, there is the National Christian Association, headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa., “Evangelical Alliances,” etc., etc. There has been, heretofore, but a feeble alarm sounded, while religious bigots have been drawing the issue to a burning focus, and now a political-religious contest is close at hand. The clergy have been laboring to educate the masses to bow their necks to imperial rule by representing it as God’s rule. In Rev. Mr. Bain’s speech in reply to Dr. Junkin, New Castle, Pa., Nov. 15th, 1869, we have the following: “Dr. Junkin said he was in favor of all men, Christians, Jews and Infidels, standing on a perfect equality before the law. He was surprised that Mr. Bain should oppose this.” Mr. Bain replied, “He

would *not* place Christianity, Infidelity, etc., on an equality. He would have our political institutions and laws *Christian*, and *then* have all men stand on an equality under them." That is what the advocates of "Imperialism" desire.

In Rev. James Wallace's speech, unanimously adopted by the National Reform Association of Illinois, it is affirmed, page 10:

"No permanent reformation can be effected until the *rulers* of the nation acknowledge God and obey the only law of moral reform contained in His Word. Entire subjection to Jesus Christ as Lord of all, is the great and only principle of national reform."

The organ of the "Reform," the *Christian Statesman*, in its issue of June 15, 1871, confesses, exultingly, the growing clerical interest in their Movement:

"The New York pulpit has been discussing politics during the past year with a freedom and boldness which augurs good results in future. The 'Political Reform' movement has enlisted a great number of ministers of all denominations in earnest and courageous denunciation of existing evils, and their 'zeal has provoked many others.' Their discourses have been reported in the city papers and quoted largely throughout the country. We judge that this single result accomplished by the Political Reform League is of greater value than any which it will ever achieve at the ballot box."

What is true of New York, in this respect, is also true of many other cities.

Clerical Empire is not only possible, but exceedingly probable. The origin, extent and progress of the political-God recognition makes this apparent to even the indifferent reader.

To the Liberalists of the country I make my earnest appeal to arouse from their lethargy and look this gigantic danger full in the face; to unite their forces and destroy this monster superstition—CHRISTIANITY—not by a cry "to arms," but by Reason.

The issue must be plainly made that Christianity is antagonistic to our government. The Constitutional-God Christians already concede this fully.

We may be compelled to endure a measure of clerical rule before freedom will be valued as it ought; and before every true, American citizen will aid in maintaining our institutions entirely free from clerical interference.

Yes, let the issue be made: Either the perpetuity of the Republic, or the destruction of Christianity.

VIII.

ORIGIN, EXTENT, AND PROGRESS OF THE POLITICAL-GOD RECOGNITION.

“ Just God!—and these are they
Who minister at thine Altar, God of Right!
Men who their hands with prayer and blessing lay
On Israel's Ark of light!

“ Pilate and Herod friends
Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine!
Just God and holy! is that church, which lends
Strength to the spoiler, thine?

“ How long, O Lord! how long
Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
And in thy name, for robbery and wrong
At thy own altars pray?”

—*John G. Whittier.*

The Christian clergy have never been satisfied with our present form of government. It is too broad, too liberal, too free; as free as Infidels could make it. It is manifestly a fact that Christians had little to do with its formation. It is admitted by Christians themselves that at the time of the adoption of the National Constitution their influence was very feeble; but French Infidelity, as it is called, was the dominant element of American society. The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, and our present “godless” Constitution were the fruits of “dangerous free thinking.” Ever since the adoption of the Constitution there has been dissatisfaction with it among religionists.

Rev. D. X. Junkin, D. D., one of the leading ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and a member of the permanent committee on their Board of Education, addressed a letter

to Rev. G. D. A. Hebard, Oskaloosa, Iowa, from New Castle, Pa., Dec. 9th, 1869, as follows :

“To give you a history of this movement. There has been in our country, ever since the formation of the United States Constitution in 1789, a small handful of Scotch Presbyterians, called *Reformed Presbyterians*, or more commonly *Covenanters*, who objected to the Constitution because it did not distinctly recognize God and Christ and the Christian religion. These people never voted nor accepted office under the Constitution ; but often preached in denunciation of this omission in the Constitution. The present movement originated with these people. Observing something of a rage for amending the Constitution, they thought the present time favorable for the effort to get their favorite dogma passed. And while I am clear in believing that their amendment, if adopted, would inevitably lead to persecution and the destruction of the equality of citizens before the law, yet I always acquitted them of any intention of producing these evil results. The advocates [of this measure] are earnest men, but bigoted in the lesson of their education.”

Mr. Junkin, as well as Mr. Hebard, supposed the movement was limited. Rev. Mr. McAyeal, of Oskaloosa, Iowa, clearly shows that they are mistaken. He states that the “Reform” (?) commenced in 1863. But that was in its *latest* and present form. Says Mr. McAyeal :

“‘This movement’ originated with a Christian Convention made up of members of different denominations, which met in Xenia, Ohio, the 3d day of Feb., 1863. The first Convention in behalf of the movement met in Allegheny City, Pa., in January, 1864. Eight Christian denominations were represented in that convention. This convention appointed a committee to visit Washington City and wait on President Lincoln to present to him the nature of the movement. When the committee arrived in Washington they called on Dr. Chamong, Unitarian and Chaplain of the Senate, who went with them and introduced them to the President, who received them kindly. After the presentation was over Mr. Lincoln said to a friend, ‘These men have gained, during my first administration, one of the Reforms they have sought, the abolition of slavery. I hope they may get the other before my second expires.’”

Mr. McAyeal fails to give his authority for that little speech by Lincoln. The clergy of the North never accepted the doctrine of the abolition of slavery until they were forced to it by public sentiment. If Lincoln ever made the remark which Mr. McAyeal says he did, then it proves he was not as well posted on that subject as John G. Whittier, Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, or William Lloyd Garrison. Mr. McAyeal proceeds :

“ Dr. Bushwell, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Prof. Seelye, of Amherst, both favor it. Dr. Blanchard, of Wheaton College, is fully committed to it. As to Major General Howard, he was chosen one of the Vice Presidents of the National Association, and in reply to the Corresponding Secretary he says : ‘ Your action is perfectly agreeable to me, and I hope that the objects of the Association may meet with success.’ Dr. Finney, of Oberlin, also endorses it warmly. As to other churches the movement is widely endorsed.

“ Dr. McIlvaine, of Princeton College, is one of the foremost in the movement. Drs. Margrave, Hodge, Jacobus, Wilson, Post, Howard, Edwards, Bourberger, Bell, George Junkin, and hosts of others in the Presbyterian Church, men of the very first character, endorse it. Their General Assembly also endorsed it by resolution some three years ago at its meeting in Newark, N. J.

“ Of the M. E. Church, Bishop Scott, the oldest bishop in the Church, concurs in it most heartily. He says : ‘ God unquestionably has a controversy with the nations which must prove disastrous to them until his claims are distinctly recognized. I wish I may find it in my power to help the good cause.’

“ Bishop Simpson also favors it. Also a very great many of the ministers have taken an active part in the conventions.

“ Their General Conference that met in Philadelphia, endorsed the Reform in the Report of their Committee on the ‘ State of the Country.’ Of the Protestant Episcopal Church, their bishops and ministers generally endorse it. Among the foremost are Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntingdon, D. D., Rt. Rev. J. B. Kerfoot, D. D., Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., and others. Of the Baptist Church, their ministry may be said to be a unit in its favor.

“ I have a paper now lying before me with the names of so many Baptist ministers who favor the Reform that I can not

take time to unite them, amongst whom are the celebrated Rev. Geo. D. Boardman, D. D., and Rev. J. U. Smith, D. D.

“Of the Conservative Universalists a number favor it. Rev. Dr. Miner, of Boston, took a very active part in the Convention in Boston, some time since.

“Of others belonging to various churches, we have such men as the following: Prof. Taylor Lewis, LL. D., of Union College; J. S. Hart, LL. D., of N. J.; Prof. A. N. Stoddard, Geo. H. Stewart, Esq., Amos A. Laurence, Esq., Boston; Thos. M. Marshall, Hon. Jas. Pollock, Hon. J. W. McClurg, Gov. of Missouri, Hon. Jos. Allison, Hon. Jno. M. Kirkpatrick, Hon. T. H. Collier, Hon. Wilson McCandless and Hon. Strong, President of the National Association, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and lately nominated by President Grant for the place of Supreme Judge of the U. S. made vacant by the retirement of Judge Grier.

“I have thus given but a bird's-eye view of the extent to which this Reform has taken hold of the first minds in the Nation. Men of the greatest moral worth and mental calibre are throwing their weight in its favor. They are representative men. Men who know the contest now is between Christian civilization and Infidel licentiousness.

“R. A. McAYEAL.”

Among the officers of the National Association, whose names are officially published, are several influential citizens :

“PRESIDENT.—Hon. William Strong, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

“VICE-PRESIDENTS.—John Alexander, Esq., Hon. James Pollock, Hon. Chauncey M. Olds, Rev. J. H. McIlvaine. D. D., Rt. Rev. L. Scott, Bishop of M. E. Church, Rev. J. T. Pressy, D. D., Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D., President of Washington and Jefferson College, Gen. O. O. Howard, Rev. J. Blanchard, President of Wheaton College, Rev. J. H. A. Bomlerger, D. D.

“RECORDING SECRETARY.—Rev. W. W. Dorr.

“CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.—Rev. T. P. Stevenson, Philadelphia.

“TREASURER.—Samuel Agnew, Esq., Philadelphia.”

Among the regular contributors to the organ of the Association are the following named representative men in various denominations :

Prof. Taylor Lewis, Union College; Prof. J. H. Seelye, Amherst College; Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, College of New Jersey; President J. Edwards, D. D., Jefferson and Washington College; Rev. George Junkin, D. D., Lafayette College; Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, N. Y.; Rev. G. C. Vincent, D. D., Westminster College; Rev. J. T. Cooper, D. D., Philadelphia; Rev. S. O. Wylie, Philadelphia.

The call for the first God-in-the-Constitution State Convention of Iowa, (1869,) was signed by more than sixty ministers, composed of United Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians, Church of Christ, Evangelical Lutheran, and Lutheran; two editors; Superintendent Public Instruction; one banker; one State Treasurer; two College professors; and *one* lawyer, all of whom are men of talent, and nearly all are *talking* men, consequently exert a large influence upon the public mind.

There was a convention of the citizens of Orange county, N. Y., held in the city of Newburg, on Wednesday, December 7th, 1870, to consider the incorporation of the name of God in the National Constitution. The call was signed by thirty-five clergymen, besides doctors, lawyers, merchants and military men.

On the following day the National Association of Constitutional-God Christians held a meeting. In large letters was announced, the "President, the Hon. William Strong, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States." Among the Vice-Presidents were the names of Commissioner of Public Schools, Rhode Island; the Superintendents of the Common Schools of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire; Secretary of the Vermont Board of Education; and the New York city Superintendent of Schools.

In the call which these gentlemen signed, occurs the following paragraph, which shows that they design to force their religion into not only the common schools, but every part of the whole government:

"Events of the past year have demonstrated the importance of the efforts which are being made to secure the relig-

ious amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Assaults have been made, in many places successfully, on the Bible in the public schools. The civil safeguards of the Sabbath have been still further overturned. The evils attending the divorce laws of some of our States have been greatly increased. New revelations of the depths of political corruption in certain quarters have filled many minds with serious apprehensions. The Constitution is loudly claimed as the authoritative expression of the low, secular, or non-religious theory of civil society, to which the whole government ought to be conformed. These facts have awakened thousands of minds to the necessity of an acknowledgment of Almighty God and the Christian Religion in the fundamental law of the nation. This is now seen to be necessary that we may have an unquestionable legal basis for Christian education in our public schools, and for every other Christian element in our government."

The "Bible in School" question will be one of the great issues in the coming religious-political warfare.

Over forty years ago the people of this country were considerably agitated by an effort on the part of the clergy, and their followers, to have Sunday mails stopped. A Committee was appointed by the United States Senate, Richard M. Johnson, Chairman, which made an able report against religious interference with the affairs of the government. But the clergy have never yielded their project to make Christianity superior to the Republic. Though they are again and again defeated they renew their attacks upon this godless form of government which they hate.

At the closing session of the Presbyterian Synod in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Oct. 22, 1869, "resolutions were adopted urging Christians to use their influence to enforce a rigid observance of Sunday laws, and refuse their votes to persons who violate those laws."

Should Clerical Empire become established, as it would be by the proposed religious amendment of the Constitution, Christians *only* would fill the offices; none but "saints" be elected to Congress; the clerical gentlemen and their religion would be "congressionally sustained and supported,"

Infidels silenced, and everybody compelled to go to church and observe *the* old-fashioned puritanical Sunday.

In a Sunday School Convention in New Concord, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1870,

“The Rev. James White said people did not take high enough ground in opposing the desecration of the Lord’s Day. They generally base their efforts on the fact that Sabbath desecration annoys them in their devotions, whereas we ought to oppose it because it infringes on God’s rights and calls down his judgments on the nation. The question is closely connected with the National Reform movement, for until the government comes to know God and honor his law, we need not expect to restrain Sabbath breaking corporations. The whole influence of government to-day is rather against the scriptural observance of the Sabbath.”

“The Rev. James Murch, deplored the wide spread spirit of infidelity, under the influence of which the sacredness of the Sabbath is being lost even among those who take no part in open Sabbath desecration. The only hope was in the power of the Spirit of God who is promised to lift up a standard against the enemy coming in like a flood. It is spiritual influence and power pre-eminently which are needed in this work.”

“The Rev. D. Paul said he heartily approved of what had been said about christian consistency. We needed to look well to our own lives and not put any stock in Sabbath-breaking railroads. He said if he owned a large tract of land and rented or leased it for shops and machinery to be carried on on the Sabbath, he would be responsible, and so Government, having the right of eminent domain over all its territory, is responsible for all the Sabbath-breaking done by incorporated bodies. These are creatures of the government, and are on the lands of the government, and government is bound to prevent them from violating moral law.”

“The Rev. J. P. Lytle said the magistrates are bound to suppress Sabbath profanation, not only because its violators infringe upon the rights of christian people, but because they disobey, and dishonor God. He remarked that nearly all moral philosophers err in not regarding the rights of God as the fundamental element in morals.”

Imperialism, Clerical Empire, Despotism !

The *Christian Statesman*, Dec. 15, 1870, contains the following :

“ From the Philadelphia *Press* of Monday, December 5th, we clip the following telegram, dated Washington, December 4th. The italics are our own :

“ ‘The trains yesterday and *to-day* brought large accessions to the number of Congressmen and visitors already here, and *by to-morrow morning* it is expected that nearly every Senator and member will have arrived. There is already more than a quorum of each house, perhaps two-thirds. Speaker Blaine arrived last evening, and *Vice-President Colfax arrived this morning.*’

“ Thus the fact is heralded over the whole country that a large number of the members of the National Congress openly and wantonly indulge in common travel on the Sabbath. The demoralizing influence of this example is fearful to contemplate. And there are other reflections suggested by their conduct.

“ 1. *Not one of those men who thus violated the Sabbath is fit to hold any official position in a Christian nation.* God, the maker of all men, has expressly reserved the seventh part of man's time from common uses, as an acknowledgement of the supreme right of the Creator to dispose of the time and regulate the conduct of the creature. The right to use the Sabbath for secular purposes, no man ever had. That right no man can get. He who disregards this restriction shows that he has no regard for God, that he neither fears nor loves Him. And there can be no assurance that he who casts off the Sabbath law will respect any other restriction which God has placed on human conduct.”

That is rather severe on Brother Colfax who made that little speech to the Sunday School children at the small brown church in Winona, Minn. It is generally conceded that congressmen have no religion ; but Schuyler has. The *Statesman* continues :

“ 2. *The sin of these Congressmen is a national sin*, because the nation has not said to them in the Constitution, the supreme rule for our public servants, ‘We charge you to serve us in accordance with the higher law of God.’ These Sabbath-breaking railroads, moreover, are corporations created by the State and amenable to it. The State is responsible

to God for the conduct of these creatures which it calls into being. It is bound therefore to restrain them from this, as from other crimes, and any violation of the Sabbath, by any corporation, should work immediate forfeiture of its charter. And the Constitution of the United States, with which all State legislation is required to be in harmony, should be of such character as to prevent any State from tolerating such infraction of fundamental moral law.

"3. Give us in the National Constitution the simple acknowledgement of the law of God as the supreme law of nations, and *all the results indicated in this note will ultimately be secured.* Let no one say that the movement does not contemplate sufficiently practical ends."

There will be no doubt about the "practical ends." Would we not have a rule of rigor? History proves that when Christians bear rule the land mourns.

The Governor of Vermont was anxious to recognize God. Says the *Christian Statesman* :

"We observe with great satisfaction that the Governor of Vermont in his recent proclamation appointing the seventh day of this month as a day of public fasting, used the following language :

"Recognizing Him as the 'God of nations,' as well as of individuals, let us invoke the continued bestowal of the blessings we have hitherto enjoyed, and entreat him to avert from us the evils of war, pestilence, ignorance and every form of social vice. As children of a common Heavenly Father let us unite in humble confession of our manifold sins; in earnest prayer for Divine forgiveness, *through Christ our Savior.*"

In various ways it is insinuated that President Grant is worthy of the support of *Christians*. His treatment of the Indian and Mormon questions will be made use of to secure Christian sympathy and Christian votes. A few days ago the New York *Herald* said editorially :

"Every Christian heart in America must throb kindly toward President Grant for his humanity and good temper in dealing with the wayward children of the forest. In the Mormon question he has trampled upon an evil as gigantic

as that of slavery—upon polygamy—which, as the remaining ‘twin relic of barbarism,’ has been a scandal to our age.”

The *Christian Statesman*, in its issue of November 1st, recognizes President Grant as the tool of the religious denominations. It declares that his last Thanksgiving Proclamation, unless it is meaningless, “is a distinct recognition of the fundamental principle for which we contend against the secularists.” So it is. What a departure from Jefferson’s idea that government has nothing to do with religion! save that all should be protected in their religious convictions.

The movement is thus becoming popular among governmental officials. As it was in England, so it would be here. There, says Buckle, “illustrious nobles, some of the most powerful of the Protestant Church, abandoned their religion without compunction, sacrificing their old associations in favor of opinions professed by the State.”

The genius of this movement leads to precisely that result. Christian bodies are wheeling into line. The Re-united Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey, one of the largest and most influential Synods in the Church, at its recent session, passed the following paper:

“WHEREAS, The Scriptures plainly teach that God is the ultimate source of all authority and power in civil government, that nations as such are the subjects of His moral government, are by Him rewarded for national obedience, and punished for national sins, and are dependent upon Him for national preservation, guidance, and prosperity; and

“WHEREAS, It is the plain duty of nations, as such, to recognize and acknowledge their dependence upon and responsibility to Him, in their fundamental and organic law; and

“WHEREAS, In the Constitution of the United States, as it now stands, there is no such recognition or acknowledgment; therefore

“Resolved, That this Synod does cordially approve and recommend the efforts now making to amend the national Constitution, so that our national dependence upon God shall be appropriately expressed and acknowledged.”

Several of the ablest divines are preaching upon the subject, and soliciting donations. Says the *Christian Statesman* of December 15, 1870:

“The Rev. H. H. George, of Cincinnati, preached by invitation on Thanksgiving Day in the United Presbyterian Church of that city, on the subject of National Religion. A collection was taken up for the National Association, amounting to \$135 00.”

Hundreds of secular papers will be used by the men engaged in this subversion of Republican principles, to advocate their religious political sentiments. In one of the Christian Conventions Mr. Robert Speer said that long and able articles had appeared in the New York *Tribune* against the Sabbath, and very little had appeared on the other side. He thought those able to write, ought to stir themselves to defend the Sabbath. Mr. David Wallace urged that the Christian public ought to use the public papers more than they do as vehicles for the diffusion of sound ideas among the people.

“Sound ideas”(!) Thus secular papers will be forced to take sides in this religious-political contest.

The clergy, as a profession, are the most obtrusive, brassy class of people on earth. They force themselves upon Congress to pray—that is the *pretence*—in legislatures, in the armies, in political meetings,* in Medical Societies,† and even on the occasion of an Exhibition of a Common School. The aim is to make their influence felt in every avenue of life.

* In the report of the proceedings of the Iowa Republican State Convention, is the following:

“The Convention went smoothly along in the forenoon with their temporary organization, the main feature of which was a prayer by a Methodist minister named Wilson. He prayed for harmony in the radical ranks, that they might have at least forty thousand majority in Iowa, etc. His prayer was interrupted by applause, and at its conclusion, shouts and laughter, stamping, cries of ‘bully for you,’ etc., were heard for some time. The prayer created a sensation.”

† In the Illinois State Eclectic Medical Society, which met in the Supreme Court Room, Springfield, as soon as the meeting was called to order, “Prayer was offered by the Rev. G. H. Robertson.”

The New York *Tribune* of January 25, 1871, contained the following report on the "religious amendment of the Constitution":

"A Convention of persons who are moving for an amendment to the Constitution by which God should be recognized as the Ruler of the Universe, and Christianity as the true basis of all human government, assembled in Philadelphia on the 18th inst., 200 delegates being present. The object is to develop a public sentiment in favor of the proposed amendment; in a word to 'agitate.' Judge Strong being unavoidably detained in Washington, ex-Gov. Pollock of Pennsylvania was appointed permanent Chairman, and the Rev. J. E. Smith of Connecticut, Secretary. The Business Committee submitted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved, First:* That this Convention of those who aim to secure a religious amendment to our National Constitution, gratefully acknowledges the good providence of God in the evident progress of this cause during the past year.

"*Second:* That feeling assured that, under God, all that is wanting for its ultimate and its early triumph is to publish the facts and illustrate the principles upon which it is based, we pledge ourselves to renewed zeal in its prosecution.

"*Third:* That this Convention renewedly calls the attention of the American people to the facts.

"1. That our National Constitution is devoid of any religious or even moral sentiment.

"2. That in some of our treaties with foreign Governments which are of equal authority with the Constitution itself, we are declared to be a nation in no sense founded upon the Christian religion, and not formally unlike Mohammedans.

"*Fourth:* That the Convention reiterates, with an increased and solemn appreciation of their importance, the following principles of moral and political philosophy, which in substance have been set forth by former conventions, viz: That civil government in the earth stands for right of existence upon the same basis as the family—both being appointments of the God of nature, morality, and of redemption; and that nations, like families, are public persons with moral characteristics; with rights, duties, and responsibilities.

"*Fifth:* That the continued ignoring of God and religion exposes us to the guilt of formal national atheism.

"*Sixth:* That the nation constituted by the union of the 13 British-American colonies was a Christian nation, as is

shown by their several colonial histories and their separate State Constitutions, and, therefore, it was and is no more than simple justice to the people to reflect their sentiments in the National Constitution.

“*Seventh*: That in view of the controlling power of the Constitution in shaping State as well as national policy, it is of immediate importance to public morals and to social order to secure such an amendment as will indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place Christian laws, institutions, and usages in our Government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of our nation—specially those which secure a proper oath, and which protect society against blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, and polygamy.

“On the second day, numerous verbal amendments to the resolutions entangled the meeting for a time in confusing points of order. The exciting event was the advocacy by Prof. McIlvaine of the University of Pennsylvania, of the following amendment to the preamble of the Constitution:

“‘We, the people of the United States, acknowledging Almighty God as the ultimate source of all authority and power in civil government, and the moral laws of the Christian religion as of paramount authority, in order to secure a more perfect Union,’ etc.

“This substitute was vehemently opposed by almost all the speakers as ‘failing to recognize the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ,’ and was rejected by a vote almost unanimous. The key-note of the meeting, as thus struck by one of the speakers, was: ‘As at present, rejecting the authority of God in our Constitution, we are a nation of *Atheists*; if we adopt the resolution of Dr. McIlvaine, we become *Deists*; if we abide by the report submitted we stand before the world as a *Christian* nation.’

“The meeting adopted the above resolutions and thus maintains the platform practically ratified by the first General Convention, viz:

“We labor to secure such amendments to the Constitution of the United States as will suitably express our national recognition of Almighty God as the author of National Existence and the source of all power and authority in civil government; of Jesus Christ as the Ruler of Nations, and of the Bible as the fountain of law and the supreme rule for the conduct of nations.”

The *Tribune* also contained the following editorial:

"A RAY OF LIGHT FROM THE EAST.

"The theologians who insist that our Government rests upon an implied assumption or recognition of the Divine authority of the Christian religion, and who seek to make that recognition palpable by an amendment to the Constitution, will find a hard nut to crack in the following provision of the treaty of Tripoli, made under the administration of Washington in 1796, when the fundamental principles of the Government and the ideas and purposes of its founders were yet fresh in the minds of the people :

"*As the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion ; as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Musselmen (Musselmans) ; and as the said States never have entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mohamedan nation, it is declared by the parties that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries.*'

"To this declaration which bears the stamp of the Senate's approval, is appended the name of George Washington, who, though himself a Christian, held that his religious faith entitled him to no privileges as a citizen that were not common to all others, of whatever religious belief. The declaration, moreover, for aught that appears, received the assent of the whole American people, as embodying an essential and fundamental principle of the Government. It would seem to have been well understood at that day that, while the Government was Christian in spirit, in that it recognized and proposed to vindicate and maintain the equal rights of men as set forth in the New Testament, it was at the same time *not* Christian in any theological or dogmatical sense, nor as conferring any special rights or privileges upon Christians as such. The more the subject is agitated the clearer will this historic fact become, and the more ready will all good citizens be to acquiesce in a principle which cannot be discarded without leading us directly and inevitably back to a union of Church and State.

"The Government of the United States, while it neither makes nor exacts any religious profession, is yet Christian in spirit in proportion as it seeks to 'establish justice,' to 'promote the general welfare,' and to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity;' and it is needless that it should be Christian in any other sense. Nay, to make it Christian in a dogmatic and exclusive sense would be to open

the door to assumptions and practices incompatible with the growth of Humanity and the Equal Rights of the People, and injurious, if not fatal, to the Church itself.

“Let those who imagine that a nation can be made Christian by incorporating the letter of a Christian creed into its Constitution remember the lessons of history. The worst despotisms that have ever cursed the world were administered in the name and by the assumed authority of God. Even the Rebels of our Southern States, when they ‘seceded’ from the Union, incorporated into their new Constitution, framed for the sustenance and perpetuation of Slavery, the most solemn professions of reverence for God and allegiance to his laws. They ostentatiously challenged the attention of the world on this very ground, boasting that their Constitution was more religious than that framed by Washington and Franklin and Jefferson; but no solemnity of profession, no ardor of boasting, could avail to hide the Atheism implied in the profane and audacious attempt to keep a race forever in bondage. Let us not, in the very hour of our rejoicing over the downfall of the civil authority of the Church in the Roman States, countenance the attempt to remove the barriers erected by our fathers against a union of Church and State in this Republic.”

In order to shed light from various points upon this question of political-God recognition, I will submit a brief account of the Italian Unity meeting at the Academy of Music in New York city, reported in the *New York Tribune*, January 18, 1871:

“*Resolved*, That the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that ‘Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted to secure the rights of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,’ can admit of no exception in favor of an ecclesiastical Government wielding the civil power.

“*Resolved*, That the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness, finds in the rejection of the Papal Government by the Roman people, and their choice of the

free Constitutional Government of Italy, an illustration that should receive the warm approval and admiration of the American people.

“*Resolved*, That, inasmuch as religious liberty is absolutely essential to political liberty, and political liberty to religious liberty, and the separation of Church and State is necessary to the complete independence and the rightful and effective administration of either, we rejoice that the example of the United States, in abolishing all religious burdens and restraints, has been followed in Austria, Italy, and Ireland, and now at last in Rome; that we honor the jealous care with which the Government of Italy has guarded the personal liberties and rights of the Pope, and are assured that the substitution of freedom for force, and of popular rights for princely prerogatives, both State and Church will minister to the highest well-being of a now emancipated and united Nation.

“*Resolved*, That the principle of National Unity which the people of the United States have established at the cost of so much treasure and blood, which has been the aspiration of the mind of Italy as expressed in her literature from Dante to Alfieri and Nicolini, and in the policy of her greatest statesmen, from King Arduo to Victor Emanuel—a principle necessary to the development of the resources and culture of a nation in the higher civilization—gives to the Italian nation, of which the people of Rome are properly an integral part, the right to possess Rome as their capital, with an undivided sovereignty (a measure acquiesced in by all the Powers of Europe); and that the presence in that capital of an essentially hostile power, claiming independent sovereignty, would be incompatible with the independence of the nation, and its position among the free peoples of the world.”

The following address was then read and adopted :

“TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF ITALY.

“We, citizens of the United States, who have long stood as the vanguard of civil and religious freedom, and whose own unity has been within a few years so gloriously consummated, hail with a peculiar pleasure the advent of Italy to Freedom and Unity. Having watched with the keenest sympathy and hope the patient struggle of the Italian people for their emancipation, having shared the admiration of the civilized world, for the vigor, devotion, and spirit of self-sacrifice

by which that struggle has been animated, we now rejoice with them in the final fulfillment of their noble and patriotic desires.

“Italy is at last free! Italy is at last one! Her Nationality is declared; her Government consolidated; and her ancient Capital, so long withheld from her grasp, is once more restored to her possession. The City of Rome, so dear to the Italian heart, no longer a rival sovereignty maintained alone by foreign arms, now stands the representative of the whole Italian people, upheld and supported by the free choice of the Nation.

“In this great achievement we discern not only a solace for the sorrows of the past, and the fruition of many noble hopes, but the pledge of the grandest developments in the future. With the rights and the liberties of all men amply secured by the guarantees of a Constitutional Government; with the State forever separated from the Church, as the essential guard of all political and religious progress; with the sovereign power to control its own destinies, resting within its own borders, and among its own free and equal citizens, we are assured that the people of the Peninsula will receive a new and beneficent impulse in all the elements of national prosperity. We know from our own experience, how her national resources will be developed, how her industrial energies will be stimulated, how her system of popular education will be enlarged and perfected; how, the need of revolutionary ferments being removed, order and peace will be everywhere established; and how a fresh life of knowledge, of liberty, and of faith, infused into her members, will work out a glorious redemption.”

Italy casts off the rule of “God’s servants.” In America said servants pronounce democracy a failure.

At this meeting Parke Godwin delivered the following address:

“Within the sovereignty of Italy, within her own borders, at the very center of her dominion, was another sovereign, not only not responsible to her, but alien in its origin; not only foreign in its origin, but absolute in its pretensions; not only absolute in its pretensions as a proprietor and a ruler, but divine and inviolable in character, and asserting a superiority not over Italy only, but over the world!

“Italy as a nation has experienced the same influences precisely which the other nations of Europe experienced,

and which from age to age have lifted them out of medieval conditions into those of our modern civilization. Italy, like the other nations, has felt that warm and powerful breath of freedom which has loosened industry and trade from their icy fetters; which has secularized politics, taking them out of the domain of bigotry and persecution; which has emancipated thought and conscience; and which is leading us all on to that glorious consummation, when the equal and sacred manhood of every child of the Universal Father shall be the one pervading, inspiring, organizing truth of political and social life.

“Rome, on the other hand, from the necessities of her position as a double Government, has been hostile to all these hopes of larger liberty, to all these tendencies to more liberal forms. The political theory which, as a theocracy, she is compelled to adopt, is not the theory of *modern thought*, but is entirely inconsistent with the exercise of temporal power, according to any of the principles adopted by modern science, and recognized in the practice of all the enlightened modern nations. That theory is that God himself has commissioned two powers to govern the world—the spiritual power and the temporal power; the former exercised by the Pope and the latter by the King. But the spiritual power is the sun; while the temporal power is the earth; the one is the soul, the other the body; consequently the one is as superior to the other as the sun is to the earth, or the soul to the body; and the temporal is responsible to the spiritual, while the spiritual is responsible only to God.

“Accordingly the government of Rome, of all the Governments in the civilized world, is the most absolute and at the same time the most absurd. It is a government of priests, in which laymen have no voice and no uses. Not an iota of freedom exists there by right—only by concession. Not a solitary public press which is not controlled by its agents; not a public meeting can be held without its sanction, and not a book can be circulated, even the Bible, nor the common Father of all worshiped, but by its consent. What is worse, is that offences against this authority constitute a sacrilege; mere sins and personal vices become heinous crimes, and are more often punished than crimes; and the temerity which ventures to call in question the acts of the hierophant, who is also the judge and the executioner, is liable to the dungeon and the ax, as well as to hell-fire.

“That, however, is not all. This Roman principality is not only an anachronism, a petty local tyranny translated

out of the ninth into the nineteenth century, and as such a scourge to its immediate subjects. It is besides a theocratic monarchy, and as such an obstacle and a clog to the progressive development of the whole of Italy. Representing a vast outside constituency, it has aims, feelings, policy, and principles that are wholly foreign to Italy. All its external relations are managed with reference to its own advancement, and not in reference to the advancement of that people within whose borders it subsists. Whether coalescing or warring with the Greek Emperors; whether coalescing or warring with the Lombard kings; whether coalescing or warring with the Frank Mayors of the Palace; whether coalescing or warring with the aristocratic republics, with the German Kaisers, or the English, the French, the Spanish ministries, its conduct has invariably been determined by its own interests of religion or ambition, and not by the interests of its Italian connection. Italy has often been a pawn in its game, it has been the shuttlecock of its blows, it has been the field of its battles; but her defence, her development, her progress, her concentration and strength were never the end. On the contrary, it was always an end to defeat every movement for her consolidation and strength. Fra Paolo Sarpi, who in the first years of the seventeenth century took the part of the Venetian Republic against the Pope, returning to his cell one night was smitten down by the hand of an assassin—smitten, but not killed. Drawing the weapon from the wound, he hung it upon the wall, inscribing beneath it, 'The Dagger of Rome.' So upon every baffled and unsuccessful effort of the Italian people to accomplish their national enfranchisement, we may also inscribe 'the dagger of Rome.'"

But here in the United States the Clergy mourn the secularization of politics, and desire a theocracy. The theory of the papacy is the theory of Constitutional-God Christians—"God is the source of government," say both. Just such a "theocratic monarchy," and just such a lamentable state of religious oppression do these Constitutional-God Christians seek to impose upon Infidels, Atheists and Pagans.

Protestants denounce the Catholic priesthood as inveterate foes to civil and religious liberty. Do they mean that all priests are enemies to liberty? No. So when I say the "Clergy are a Source of Danger to the American Republic,"

I do not mean that there are no clergymen opposed to the legal establishment of God and Christianity. But such is the nature of Christianity itself, and the general character of its preachers, that logically, on Bible ground, the Jewish-Christian-God is the source of authority in civil government. So, while Protestants hail such men as Father Hyacinthe and Dr. Dollinger as in advance of their system, so I look upon such Protestant ministers as Henry Ward Beecher and Rev. Dr. Bellows in the same light. These men are in favor of liberty and opposed to ecclesiastical rule. At the Italian meeting they took an active part.

“ ADDRESS OF H. W. BEECHER.

“ It is the opinion of the American people, with a very small minority to the contrary, that the government of a community by a class in that community without the consent of the great majority of the governed, is one of the worst governments that can befall a nation.

“ It is the opinion of this American that, of all governments, there is no other so bad as the government of an ecclesiastical class. It might be presumed beforehand that the body of men carefully educated to moral ideas that they might be moral teachers, would make the best citizens not only, but the best rulers. Yet I must say experience has not borne out the theory.

“ Italy has groaned, being burdened through centuries with this government, and now, as part by part it has been rescued, we have been all glad; and now that at length the Pontifical States themselves have had an opportunity to express themselves in regard to their masters, and have blown them up, we are glad of that too, not because they are Roman Catholics, and not because they are priests, but because they are a class government, and one of the most odious of all class governments. America, then, sends back to-night to Italy sympathy, because Italy has thrown off the despotism of the priestly class government.

“ The nation, secondly, sends sympathy to Italy because she is treading in those very footsteps which have brought us hither. Though our steps were in blood, we to the horses' bridle, hers scarcely above her shoe latches, yet by the same steps she is walking to power by which we have consolidated power in this country.

“We rejoice that Italy has taken these steps, following the example of America, and taking with her our full sympathy, we send to Italy the voice of this meeting, and say we rejoice in the prosperous and successful issue of your endeavors to unite every part of the Peninsula in one solid government. We also sympathize with them on the simple ground that the Pontifical States have tired of their old ruler and want to try another. When we are tired of our magistrates we know what to do with them. We send White Thunder after them every election day. Ballots kill, or would do so outside of New York. The very expression of the will of the people ought to govern any community. They ought to have the power of determining their laws and magistrates, and when the Pontifical States are called to vote, and they have voted almost to a man that they did not want their Holy Father, it is time they should be set free.

“The voice of this meeting and of America declares that every people have a right to determine their laws and their Governor.

“I say to the Italians to-night that we are in sympathy with this movement, because the Italian Government, as now constituted, carries with it intelligence among the common people, liberty of conscience and of the press and of religion. Now I should like to see a thousand American men who say they do not believe in a free press and a free conscience and general intelligence, and progress unrestricted except by the bounds of morality. Put this question to Americans: Do you desire to see Italy as free as America in all the great elements of humanity? and there would be enough speaking to be heard even in an undertone in a thunder of acclamation that would go across the sea.”

“SPEECH OF REV. DR. BELLOWS.

“We have no right as American citizens to consider the question as Roman Catholics or as Protestants. Roman Catholicism has the same rights in America as Protestantism, as Judaism—no less and no more. The Roman Catholic Church has a right to use her utmost endeavors as an independent and voluntary organization, by the pulpit and the press, to build itself up in this country. She may claim the full protection of our laws, so far as they are extended to all other Churches. If she can persuade the people to adopt her creed and policy, she has a perfect right to do it. She has a right freely to express her opinion of Protestant-

ism and to exhibit its weakness and peril and sinfulness, to call it unchristian and immoral if she will, and to prove her words if she can. Protestantism may do the same by her, if she thinks it wise, and if her convictions incline and compel her to this course. Either may properly use whatever moral power it possesses to diminish the importance and influence of the other. But when either Protestants or Catholics attempt to enlist the Government or to subsidize National or State funds in favor of their sectarian and theological or ecclesiastical support, they are violating the spirit and the letter of our National and our State Constitutions. When a devout and excellent class of Protestant citizens lately proposed to have the dogma of Christ's Deity, so widely credited and revered by American Christians, made a part of the Constitution of the United States, it was a dangerous and anti-national attempt on the rights of conscience of the Jew and of some Protestant Christian sects, and it deserved the censure and opposition of the American people, without regard to the truth or importance of the dogma itself. When the Catholics use their political power in this State as the make-weights of parties, to secure large appropriations from the State Government, for the support of Roman Catholic schools and charities, they violate the same principle and sow the seeds of future strifes perilous to our political institutions. When Protestants insist that the Bible shall be read in the public schools, they blindly encourage the Catholics to demand a ruinous secession, supported at the public expense from our system of common schools. They force religion into our politics; they attempt a union between Church and State; they unwittingly justify Catholics in demanding their share in the public moneys devoted to education. As Protestants, as Catholics, we have no share in those public moneys. It is only as American citizens that we can claim or properly receive them.

"It is not to be assumed that American Catholics have not a right to believe in the union of Church and State—but as American citizens they have no right to demand any national or political attention to their belief. Their bishops and archbishops may teach this union, from their ecclesiastical chairs. American citizens cannot but hold the opinion as one perilous and to be met with earnest argument, even while it confines itself to sermons and services, to persuasion and logic, but when it embodies itself in political acts and legislation, it is unconstitutional and treasonable, and to be

met with forcible resistance. Acted out, it is a death-blow struck at our civil and religious liberties.

“Now, it is certainly natural for those who in a Church that ever craved and possessed in Europe union with the State, should hanker after it here. It is a merely historical fact, and affirmed without disrespect to that Church, that the Catholic Church is based upon theories identical with those which underlie monarchical political institutions. A hierarchy and a nobility correspond—a Pope and an Emperor; Cardinals are Princes; Bishops, Lords! Aristocratic institutions in State and Church both proceed on the theory—true enough in the infancy of society—that the people are incapable of governing themselves. America says to both, it may be so in Europe; it shan’t be so here. We are going to try it anyhow. What was true for thousands of years, may be true no longer! We have a new hemisphere, and we are going to have a new era! We believe enough in humanity and its present advance, to risk our lives upon the experiment of self-government. We will bravely take all the uncertainties, all the waning doubts from Old World experience, upon our own heads. It may be dangerous, it may be impossible; but we don’t believe it, and at any rate we are going to try it. And, as it is illogical and impossible to have a free State without a free Church, we propose to run all the risks for time and eternity connected with the divorce of Church and State. Each tub shall stand on its own bottom—Church and State—and both shall be free. Now, if our respected Roman Catholic citizens believe in only half our theory, we have no power and no right to enforce the other half upon them by any political means. For a free Church means a Church that shall not be forced in any way by the State. But a free State equally means a State that shall not in any way be forced by the Church. American citizens do not propose to allow their political institutions to be sacrificed to any romantic confidence in ecclesiastics of either a Protestant or Catholic school. We must be on the watch! When, therefore, bishops and archbishops attempt to govern votes and to influence legislation by ecclesiastical considerations, we ought all to take the alarm. When any foreign ruler is recognized as having a power in our politics, it is time to look sharply into the theories and practices of those who uphold his right.”

Such expression evidences the extent and progress of the movement to make the Constitution religious, and proves

that the idea has become wide-spread among the people that a religious-political conflict is inevitable. While Dr. Bellows and other Protestants may naturally enough incline to the belief that the Catholic Church is grasping for civil power, history shows that Protestantism, when it could have its own way, has been always eager, as it is in this country now, to control everything. So far as love of political power is concerned, there is really no difference between Catholicism and Protestantism—they are both Christian.

Dr. Bellows truly observes, in reference to the clerical onslaught against this godless government, that "We must be on the watch!" The events that have transpired, as related in this chapter, will lead many to exclaim, as did the reverend doctor—"We ought all to take the alarm!"

What is the cause of such expressions? The clergy! Reader, *are* they a Source of Danger to our beloved American Republic?

Since 1864 I have steadily sounded the alarm from the public rostrum and through the press. Nearly seven years have gone by, and the impending danger has not become less. It is greater. The incredulity of Liberalists, which existed almost universally when I first began to deliver my message, is rapidly giving place to a more common sense view of the situation of our nation. Americans need to be reminded of the first principles upon which the nation was built. They have, in a degree, drifted away from them. They are sometimes dazzled with the glitter of monarchical magnificence and are ashamed of Republican simplicity or democratic plainness. The clergy foster the element of human nature that delights to pay homage to "kings," bows obsequiously to "lords," and makes manhood secondary to title. They deceive the people with the old pharisaical trick that they are better than other men, and, hence, were it not for their holy presence on earth mankind would speedily drift into every conceivable crime! And the mass of the people believe this shallow pretence. The race would be far happier without the clergy. Their present attack on free

institutions will serve to open the eyes of even many Christians to the real clerical character, and the injurious effects of the trade in which the clergy are engaged—religion. A human government is better for men and women than a divine one. Liberty, not religion, is the demand of the age. Let us ring the old familiar word, LIBERTY Freedom is always safe, while religion is ever dangerous to the nations. Such was the thought of those men who would not allow a vestige of religion in the Constitution of the United States of America. Freemen and free women be on the alert! Keep it free and pure as now from the least taint of religion.

IX.

THE CLERGY AND OUR COMMON SCHOOLS.

“And shall we now submit to servile yoke?
Shall we sit still and let the galling chains
Be riveted? Never, never, never!
Against us will our children cry in scorn,
And brand us traitors to all coming time.”

—*Hudson Tuttle.*

“Learning to distinguish sound from significance, I have not found the moral tone of ministers higher than that of lawyers, their motives purer, their behavior more honest or their humanity more prompt and wide.” “The Gospel-mill of the minister is managed with as much injustice as the Law-mill of the other profession,” “Many trees of clerical planting fail.”—*Theodore Parker.*

The grandest institution of the United States of America is the Common School System. The clergy threaten to destroy it if their pet religion is not recognized in the school room. They are not content to enjoy the free exercise of their religion under the Constitution of the United States, but try to force it upon other people and other people's children. The clergy do not seem to comprehend the fact that the Common Schools are the common property of the people.

To let religion loose into the school is to endanger the school's very existence. The school room becomes an arena for angry disputations of contending religious factions, arousing the worst passions of human nature. Many collisions have already taken place, and still religionists insist that their systems must have a place there. History proves that religion was the most relentless enemy to the peace and prosperity of the American colonies. Let none mistake this disturbing element, *religion*, for the spiritual and moral

nature. It has no more to do with either spirituality or morality than has idolatry. It is no more the moral and spiritual than it is the intellectual and physical. *Religion is the perverted manifestation of the moral and spiritual*, producing idolatries, superstitions, sects, churches. These in turn cause enmity, discord, and persecution.

In nothing has the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution been more manifest than in establishing American government *without religion!* Religionists, failing to unite religion with the State, have turned their attention to uniting it with the free school. In this they have so well succeeded that the schools are on the verge of destruction.

The Bible—to be or not to be forced into our Common Schools—is already a bone of contention between Christians and Liberalists. Indeed it may be said that there are three great parties: Catholics, Protestants, and Liberalists, arranged in hostile attitude each to the others. Catholics say they cannot conscientiously permit their children's minds to become imbued with heresy. The reading of either Douay or King James' version of the Bible in the schools without note or comment is not allowable by the Catholic Church. If notes and comments are made by Protestant teachers they amount to religious instruction, but of a kind denounced by the Catholic Church. If there is no religious instruction in connection with secular, then not only the Catholics but the Protestants are aggrieved. Constitutional-God Christians concede the premises of the Catholics, namely, that Religion should dominate the State. Here is a prospect for a mighty conflict—the germ of war between Church and State. Secure the recognition of the Christian's God in the United States Constitution, and the Common School system will go to pieces. Each sect will establish its own school, the practical result of which will be that the mass of children will grow up in ignorance, while those who will receive a theological education will be sectarians—very bad material for citizens. Unless the Church is already dominant over the State the solution of the question is comparatively easy. Let this

Nation, which is charged, by Christians of nearly every ilk, with godlessness, (its chief glory,) firmly insist upon its prerogative of educating the children of all. It is vastly more important that children should become intelligent citizens than believers in Jesus, Josh, Jehovah, or the Virgin Mary. The State has a right to command the time of the child to prepare it for the duty of citizenship. "The Common School is not a theological, or ecclesiastical, or primarily a religious institution. It is a politico-educational institution, established primarily to qualify the American people to support American, Republican government. It is chiefly concerned to fit the people for American society, to become American citizens. It is certain that no people destitute of education, can obtain, or preserve Republican government. No great European nation can become a republic till its people are far more enlightened and accustomed to thought than now. Ignorance makes the people the dupes of Aristocracy. Without education the American people can neither vote right, nor preserve order, nor protect any part of their free nationality."

"Our common schools are State institutions. They are not churches, but civil institutions. The common school is a creature of the State if not a part of its government. It is a provision for the maintenance of good government. The State has no more right to teach religious doctrines in its schools than in its legislature. A Protestant conscience in favor of compulsory religious service in State schools is a conscience for 'Church and State'—a conscience in men, too, who abhor the doctrine, and everywhere else clamor against it! They have gone over to the Catholic doctrine, the right of the State to determine religion."

Christians have gained a controlling influence in the management of their secular schools. They propose to make them sectarian. A large number of Christian ministers occupy the positions of County School Superintendents, Professors of State Educational Institutions, teachers, and a few have succeeded in filling the office of State Superintend-

ent of Public Instruction. They have demonstrated their unfitness for such positions because of their unwearied efforts to pervert the Common School System, warping it to sectarian aggrandizement.

Let us view more in detail the respective positions of the three great contending parties to this question: Catholics argue that the schools managed by Protestants are essentially Protestant, sectarian schools; while those conducted in a strictly secular way are godless. Protestants claim that unless some form of religious instruction is imparted to the children, in school, their education is defective. Religious instruction in school is as strenuously insisted on by Protestants as by Catholics.* Catholics and Protestants alike demand daily religious instruction,† not only in private, at home, but in public, in the school room. Protestants as well as Catholics are opposed to the Common School System unless they can make it the vehicle for inculcating religious ideas.‡ Their motto seems to be, "No Religion, no School."

* RELIGION IN THE SCHOOL ROOM.—"The law of our State strictly prohibits from our public schools all instruction of a sectarian character, and it is not difficult for all to perceive the wisdom and necessity for this law. But so long as we have any claim to be called a Christian nation, it is proper at all times that the existence of God and his providential care of his creatures should be recognized in the school room. And hence the custom, which has been observed by many of our best teachers, of bowing the head in silence or audibly repeating the Lord's Prayer, as an opening or closing exercise of school, is not only no violation of law, but should, as I believe, receive the sanction and approval of all classes of community. It is the business of education not only to enlarge the human intellect, but it must deal largely with the affections and emotions of the young, watching with close attention the first appearance of pride, anger, deception and their kindred vices, with a view to eradicate them, and it must also seek to arouse in the soul a love of truth, of justice and every noble virtue. If this be the work of our popular system of education, there can be no right instruction, apart from moral or religious instruction, and our learning as well as our legislation should receive the sanction of religion, or our labor and money are expended in vain."—REV. D. B. LYON, *County Superintendent of Schools, Fond Du Lac, Wis.*

† "We Catholics have no disposition to intrude on the rights of others. We wish them to enjoy their rights in all respects; and we wish to enjoy ours. We want our children taught in religion from day to day."—*Priest Thomas S. Preston, New York.*

‡ "The school is far worse than worthless which, taking the child at

It is useless to disguise the fact that the clergy have placed the schools in great peril. The Cincinnati school war is but one of the many proofs of the danger amid which the schools exist. The reports of State Superintendents of Public Instruction show that the opposition by Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, to a purely secular education

its most plastic age, declines to have a part in forming its religious character."—*Gerret Smith, (Protestant.)*

"We hold education to be a function of the Church, not of the State; and in our case we do not and will not, accept the State as educator."—*Tablet, (Catholic organ,) Dec. 25, 1869.*

"Since our community is composed of Catholics and Protestants, and both have the same civil and political rights, and the Government is bound to respect and protect the conscience or full religious liberty of each, it can sustain no system of schools for both to which either the Catholics or Protestants may object. It must, then, either leave the whole question of education, as it does religion, to the voluntary principle, or it must divide the schools, as is done in most European nations, into two classes, the one for the Catholics and the other for the Protestants, with the education in each under the supervision and control of its respective religious authority. Nothing else than either the one or the other will secure to Catholics their equal rights and satisfy the Catholic conscience."—*Tablet.*

"People, everywhere in our country, should be left as free to have such a school as they wish as such a church as they wish; and the means for sustaining the one should be as purely voluntary contributions as the means for sustaining the other.

"It is said that the school will fall if the Bible is allowed to remain in it. Then let it fall. However great might be this loss, it, nevertheless, can be better afforded than can the insulting of God by singling out this book, and this only, for expulsion from the school. But must not our children be educated? Not in a school which proscribes the Bible. Civil Government should be allowed no power or part in the school in which they are educated."—*Gerret Smith.*

"In order to preserve it, (the Common School,) and remove all objections of the Romanists, we should give up the Bible, and all religious instruction, and be content to teach the children reading, writing and arithmetic, leaving religion to the family and the Sunday School.

"One cannot help being amused at the simplicity of these good friends, who have all arrived at the years of discretion, we believe.

"Our Common School system has been glorified as a wondrous American invention, the culmination of all wisdom, and a thing final and fixed. Surface writers and talkers have written and harangued in this strain till they have got to believe their own story. It has knocked their minds into hopeless confusion to find that 'our glorious Common School system' is only on its trial, that it is not a consumation or a fixture by any means, and has to stand on its defence.

"That the whole relation of the State and the Church, in reference to education, has only begun to be adjusted as an entirely new question among us, is clear to all who use their eyes."—*American Churchman, (Episcopalian,) Chicago, Dec. 16, 1869.*

is widespread. Many Superintendents favor the union of religious with secular instruction. Among those who oppose it is Hon. Mark H. Dunnel, Minnesota State Superintendent of Public Instruction, one of the most experienced educators in the country.*

* From the Report of Mr. Dunnel for 1869, I select the following extracts :

"I do not hesitate to assert that our Common Schools should have the warm sympathy and cordial support of every citizen ; that no person, institution or corporation, civil or religious, should stand in the way of their full development or withhold support ; that religious organizations have no right to attempt a change in the essentially secular character of these schools ; that religious dogmas or the propagation of faiths have no place in them ; that the elements of learning, and a practical education, with instruction in our national history and the principles of our civil government, should alone characterize our public schools, and that they should be so taught and governed that our youth therein may, through intellectual and moral training, grow up into honorable manhood and womanhood.

"I cannot sympathize with those who would make these schools a means for the propagation of a faith, or the support of a church ; nor with those who by an appeal to law and force of majorities, or any custom however hoary, would do violence to the rights of conscience. The management of our schools should be as liberal as the genius of our general government, or the provisions of our State constitution. How to secure the attendance of every person who should be in the schools, is more radically important than the question, whether the Bible be or be not used therein. The system of free education in America had its original adoption, and has had its more recent expansion, upon the conviction that general education and intelligence were essential to our political institutions."

Speaking of Common Schools, he says :

"They are established and fostered by Federal and State aid, in the interest of general intelligence. Republican institutions or governments require it. Our general and local governments admit its necessity, and make provisions for it. It would not be a difficult task to show how much these schools have done for America, how much in importance they surpass any other element of national prosperity. They are placed at every corner, that ignorance be expelled, and its attendant evils be averted.

* * * * *

"American statesmanship never achieved a sublimer triumph than when it secured the priceless boon of free education to every American youth, and thus made such ample provisions against the evils of ignorance, and opened up to all the pathway of intelligence and virtue. This public educational policy of the United States is without a parallel in the world.

"Deadly hostile to the public weal is the head, or heart, or hand that would lessen the strength of this support to our free institutions. Subtle,

There are localities where, in addition to the intellectual and moral qualifications which are essential in a teacher, the soundness or unsoundness of religious belief, according to Christian standard, is made the test whereby a candidate for the position of teacher is accepted or rejected. Teachers have been warned that unless they read the Bible daily

indeed, must be the enemy that would withdraw one single element of its majestic strength.

"Our Common Schools are not established in the interest of any religious organization, or indeed in the interest of religion. They have nothing to do with religious faiths, creeds or doctrines of any kind. They are wholly secular, and for the intellectual training of the youth of the State. This is their grand and single mission, and to it they should steadily advance. These schools cannot be used for the perpetuation of the Protestant, the Catholic, or any other church. They are not organized to aid or injure either. They have no war to wage on either, and should never inaugurate one. They may be taught, as they are, by Protestant and Catholic teachers, alike. They may, and do, have each class of officers, both district and county. There is no law to allow or forbid the reading of either version of the Holy Scriptures in them. The personal religious views of one teacher should be respected as much as those of the other. The teacher, however, reading from either version, the English or Douay, has no right to make note or comment upon it. Each teacher should have the same rights and be held to the same restrictions. Our Common Schools are too fundamentally important in our social and political organizations, to suffer defeat from their friends, or their enemies. The false positions of each should be exposed and abandoned. Patriotism calls for this.

"I have deemed school attendance paramount in importance to a reading of any version of the Bible, if that should be in the way of it. Our youth need education, and they should acquire it in the public school.

"Government has an interest in its future citizens, and has a right to make provision for their culture, and, indeed, has the right to compel its acquisition. The family, the church, and other distinguishing religious organizations and agencies, may claim a large share of the child's time in the culture of its heart, affections and religious faith; but the government has rights, for its own existence rests in the correct training of these embryo citizens. For all it may know, the cloister will sow the seeds of disloyalty and death. The unequalled liberties of our government, its constitutional guarantees that every citizen may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, its broad and generous freedom, render each and every attempt to overthrow its elementary schools an act of unspeakable ingratitude. The diversities in religious faith, the conflicting opinions of men in matters of essentials, and the many nationalities found to exist in this country, should be no barrier to the maintenance of our system of education. If each faith and nationality must have its schools, a homogeneous people can never exist. Religious faith and not mental growth is the object of solicitude, and is indeed the grand purpose of the sectarian school."

in school they would lose their situations.* In some instances corporeal punishment was threatened by Protestant teachers of Catholic children, if the children did not bring New Testaments to read. The parents told their children that if they did read *they* would punish them.† This was placing the innocents between two fires. Women have engaged in this warfare of enforcing the reading of the Bible in the State Schools.

The following article was a contribution from my pen to the *Crucible*, a liberal paper published in Baltimore, and copied into other liberal papers :

ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN OUTRAGE AGAINST A SPIRITUALIST
SCHOOL TEACHER IN ALLEGAN, MICHIGAN.

In my former articles this was alluded to—a teacher persecuted because of her Spiritual belief. The Protestants conduct themselves as if they owned the schools, and all the United States besides. Miss Emma Holton attended my

* "The question of reading the Bible in the schools, has at last been brought up in this State. According to the papers, an Examiner in one of the counties instructed his teachers to read the Bible daily in school, on pain of having their licenses revoked. The State Superintendent was appealed to, who decided that the State law makes the reading of the Scriptures optional, and while it holds that the Bible shall not be excluded, a teacher cannot be compelled to employ it. It is thought that a case may yet be made up for the courts."—*Laporte, (Ind.) Herald.*

Miss Nellie A. Gray, of Lake City, Minn., has taught school where the question of Bible-reading has been discussed as a qualification for a school teacher. She refuses to read the book, being fully persuaded in her own mind that it is improper to be read to children; moreover, as a Liberalist, she can not conscientiously observe the custom. Doubtless many excellent teachers will be thrown out of employment, although this has not been her fate thus far.

† Four miles south-east of St. Anthony, Minn., is a Catholic neighborhood. "The teacher wanted the children to bring Testaments next morning and read. They did not do so. The following morning they also came without them. The teacher told them they must bring Testaments or she would whip them. The parents said if they did read the Testament *they* would punish them. The parents appealed to the County Superintendent, Mr. Baker, who ruled the Bible out of school. He met the question firmly and saved the children punishment. Prof. Campbell said, in a discussion on this subject, that the Bible would yet be used as a textbook, as we use the grammar, arithmetic etc."—*E. W. B. Harvey, Principal of Public School, St. Anthony.*

course of lectures; that, and being a Spiritualist, was her only offence. In the eyes of orthodox Christians, it is enough to condemn her.

I suggested to Mr. Otis L. Holton, the young lady's father, to procure a copy of the petition, together with the signatures appended. The following is the *Christian* document:

"To the Directors and Board of Trustees:—

"We, the undersigned, do earnestly protest against your continuing as teacher of our children, one of avowed Infidel sentiments.

Mrs. Sailor.

Mrs. Loveless.

" Born.

" Helen Williams.

" Bond.

" H. Higinbotham.

" Jackson.

" J. M. Williams.

" Albert Cook.

" M. Cook.

" Baker.

" A. T. Howe.

" M. A. Green.

" L. E. Martin.

" S. Bullard.

" Esther Pierce."

Mrs. Sailor, whose name led all the rest, is the wife of Rev. John Sailor, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, of Allegan. She endeavored to screen her husband from any responsibility, as will be seen by the following note addressed to the Board:

"GENTLEMEN:—The mothers alone have been consulted; the gentlemen can speak for themselves. My own husband is entirely ignorant of the matter. I am alone responsible for the active part I have taken. I felt it my duty. If the Lord be God, follow Him, if Baal, serve him.

"MRS. M. B. SAILOR.

"Allegan, April 7th, 1871."

I have taken special steps to ascertain if the Rev. John Sailor is as innocent as his wife was anxious to have it appear. Mr. Holton writes me these words:

"I find that Mr. Sailor did some time previous to the protest (by the Christian mothers) speak to one of the Board something to the effect that he did not think it advisable to have Miss Holton teach any longer. When asked his reason,

he replied, 'Because she is a Spiritualist.' The next inquiry was, had that anything to do with qualifying a teacher? The subject was talked before the Board, and the charge decided not worthy of notice.

"Yours, O. L. HOLTON."

From that it appears the reverend gentleman was the prime mover of this contemptible piece of Christian persecution, and then tries to conceal himself behind a few women—an average specimen of clerical courage. "My own husband is entirely ignorant of the matter." How it must have astonished that amiable man when he first learned of the public protest of his spouse and fifteen other godly mothers in Israel.

But this is not all of the protest against one of "avowed Infidel sentiments." Rev Mrs. Sailor may have concluded that the Board might misconstrue her motives, so she makes a third and final attempt to enlighten them as follows:

"GENTLEMEN:—I wish you to fully understand my motives in bringing this before you. In talking with me of you [this part of the sentence is obscure.] I supposed there was to be a change, so sent my child with the others; but, finding no action on your part, thought I would see if I stood alone in this matter; but I find nearly all surprised that Miss Holton should have been placed in so responsible a position, next to parents' is the teacher's influence. She has already been quoted to a mother (when her son asked permission to attend the lecture,) 'My teacher goes.' All we ask is, give us a teacher who believes in the *Bible*, the *Savior* and *God*. This is what is required in taking the oaths of State, and should we depart from our sacred rights and go back to infidelity? This is the first case I have known in any of our Union schools, and let it be the last. Only three that I called on refused their names, and two of them sympathized with us. Some think in addition to the above, she is too young for the situation. We all regard her as a young lady of good character and many amiable qualities, our only regret is that her life should be thus blighted; as mothers we love her, but we love our children's souls more and must be true to our belief."

This is the whole of the precious Christian document. Its author stated the true objection in the first paragraph. Miss Holton differs from these Christians in her religious opinions; she is not a Christian. That is enough in the estimation of those sixteen pious ladies to blight her life, so far as they have power to do it. In the explanations contained in the second and third paragraphs it is rendered still more clear that Miss Holton is guilty of nothing that even orthodox heresy-hunters could bring against her, except her religious convictions. Not a word against her as a teacher. She ranks as one of the best and most successful teachers in the State. Her scholars highly esteem her. By nature and culture she is admirably fitted to be a teacher of youth; but she does not believe in the Bible, the Savior and God—according to evangelical Christianity; consequently the “followers of Jesus” punish her to the extent of their power—which must be acknowledged is great in the common schools of this country. Take away her means of support, *starve* her! O! ye Christians, call her *infidel* in the presence of your children; embitter their young minds against her, though naturally they love their pleasant, lady-like instructress; instill into their minds one of the cardinal elements of the Christian religion—hatred against fellow beings for “Christ’s sake.”

Miss Holton’s sixteen pious judges acknowledged that they *all* regarded her to be a young lady of good character and *many* amiable qualities. But all these excellent qualities go for nothing, inasmuch as she does not believe in their peculiar religious notions.

The charge that Miss Holton is too young is without foundation. She was eighteen years old last September. Eighteen years of age for a school teacher, is the legal age in Michigan.

Mrs. Sailor shows her ignorance of law when she says that belief in the Bible, the Savior and God is required in taking the oaths of State, though it must be confessed that political affairs are rapidly assuming that religious phase. Let the

Christian's God be recognized in the Constitution, and, then, high carnival for Christian bigotry.

Already has the conflict assumed a political complexion. Documents are circulated among ministers for the purpose of inducing them to use their influence over their congregations in favor of Bible-reading in school.* They are appealed to, not as citizens but as "ministers of the gospel."

The clergy have virtual possession of the common school system. This fact will be more clearly perceived as the conflict between the Secularists and the "Friends of the Bible" increases in fierceness. Protestants like Jesuits, feel great solicitude about the religious education of children. Let the State insist upon its prerogative of compulsory secular education, as it no doubt will, then we shall witness the pious wrath of Catholics and Protestants, deprived of the surest method of securing converts—the early religious instruction of children.† Teach the child to reverence the Bible as the

* Were it necessary I could produce voluminous documentary evidences of the truth of this statement. One document is sufficient, a copy of a circular letter addressed to clergymen :

SPECIMEN CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT.

CINCINNATI, March 16, 1870.

REV.———

Dear Sir:—The friends of the Bible in our Public Schools are now earnestly and systematically working to secure the *nomination* and election (at the ensuing election, to be held April 4th) of such men as will, without doubt, sustain our Public School System and thus defeat the plans of the enemies of the Bible, and those who are seeking to overthrow our educational system, morality, and good government. To this end we appeal to you as a *Minister of the Gospel*, and earnestly and respectfully solicit your prompt and hearty co-operation in this effort, and through you the co-operation of the members of your congregation. We desire you, at the earliest possible time, to lay this subject fully before your congregation, and to urge upon them their *duty*, and the necessity of *each one and all*—the friends of the Bible and Common Schools—laboring earnestly and making every effort to secure the nomination and election of the right men to represent them in the Board of Education.

Wm. Clendenin,
Secretary.

HUGH MCBIRNEY
Chairman of Committee.

† "The great practical question before us is, how to convert children in early life, and how to do it on such a scale that a majority of the people, if not all, shall be truly regenerated, and so we become a Christian Nation"

"The whole subject of theology ought to be restudied with reference to

best book, the fountain of law, and it will be a comparatively easy task for Constitutional-God Christians to accomplish, within a generation, the recognition of its supposed author, God, in the fundamental law of the land. The surest stroke of policy by which to make this a Christian nation is to imbue the minds of children with the notions of the priesthood. Look where we will, and Christians are discovered forcing their religious dogmas, by all the power they have, into educational institutions. There are but few select schools that could exist without pandering to this fanatical zeal for religious instruction.* Even State institutions are perverted to some form of Christian instruction.† In teachers' associations the Bible-in-school question is often very warmly discussed.‡ And many clergymen have not hesitated

preaching to children and their early conversion. It is a profound study, especially as it touches the question of native depravity, what it is, and what conviction of sin a child needs, and how to produce it."—*Edward Beecher, D. D., N. Y. Independent, June 22, 1871.*

* A case in point: A select school was opened in Mankato, Minn., on the 20th of September, 1870, designed to be developed into a college. The managers in their circular say their "object and desire is to benefit the rising generation by bringing to them the facilities for a thorough education, not only in the Arts, Sciences, and Languages, but also in the Book of Books—the Bible—believing that in the development of the moral nature of man is found his highest happiness, his best qualification for a citizen, his most reliable security in his liberties, and his surest preparation in the world to come." The Bible is mentioned as the sixth in course of study, for the six terms enumerated—Bible, Bible, Bible, Bible, Bible, Bible. One would almost imagine it a first-class burlesque on this folly of Bible-reading in the schools, if not assured of the author's sincerity.

† The First State Normal School, Winona, Minn., has every appearance of being a theological school. Bible-reading and Prayer constitute a large share of the exercises. William F. Phelps, its gentlemanly Principal, is a skillful instructor. Doubtless he believes a Christian education is the basis of sound principles, and conscientiously carries his convictions into practical operation.

‡ On Thursday, August 31st, 1871, at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Minnesota State Teachers' Association, held in Winona, one subject

to avow their confidence in musketry to keep the Bible in school, in spite of those who believe in divorcing common school education from religious instruction.*

Protestants, generally, have failed to perceive the injustice of their demand, that their religious text book should be read to the exclusion of all other religious text books. If the Bible of one body of religionists must be read in school, the Bibles of other religionists should also be read. To this arrangement Protestants would object as emphatically as the Catholics now oppose the reading to Catholic children of King James' version. Both of these Christian bodies have failed to apprehend the direct object of public schools, established by the State. What is it? *Secular education!* So far as the common school is concerned it has nothing whatever to do with any other world than this.

discussed was, "The place and measure of Religious Instruction in a system of Public Schools." Its agitation produced considerable excitement.

* Rev. A. D. Mayo, of Ohio, in a public speech, in Cincinnati, said, "If these men cannot take warning, and will not understand the deliberate judgment of the American people, they must go on and learn the lesson in the way themselves may choose. They may put out the Bible to-day from the schools of this or that community, but it will come back with thirty millions of people as its body-guard. They may silence the children's hymn of praise to God to-day, but the hymn will be taken up by the voice of 'a multitude that no man can number,' and the people will sing Old Hundred over their political graves."—*Rev. Dr. Mayo.*

By the phrase "American people," he really meant Protestant Christians. He reckons upon a heavy majority, "thirty millions." The Rev. Dr. continues:

"The vast majority of the people who best understand and are the reliable support of American institutions are determined that the *Bible shall not be expelled from the public school.*"

"This Republic is not an atheistic or socialistic Utopia, but is a practical government, made by practical men, who believe in Almighty God, who have the wisdom to maintain, and if need be, the strong arms to defend it. We sent 500,000 soldiers to heaven, and sunk uncounted millions of dollars in the sea to defend American civilization from an aristocracy proclaiming the divine right of human slavery. And, if need be, we have a million more young men and the rest of our property to protect our civilization against that anarchy which begins with rebellion against Almighty God."—*Rev. Dr. Mayo.*

Shall the State be hindered by religious factions in the enforcement of a purely secular education? *Intelligence* is the corner stone of democratic government. The State demands intelligence as a guarantee of its own existence. The free, common schools are its chosen instrumentalities by which to secure it. They are for the benefit of all in the same way that our government is for the greatest good to the greatest number. The State has no business to show partiality to any religion. It is not a religious institution, and cannot provide for any form of religious instruction. Secular education is a political necessity. If the State has not the right to establish free schools, then it has no right to secure such intelligence as shall enable its citizens to manage their own government. Republican governments must have an intelligent common people. If there be any form of religion that cannot exist within a government which allows perfect religious freedom to all, that religion is doomed to die. It is fully time that the portion of the American people who are not blinded by religious prejudice should arise in their majesty and declare that the common school *shall* be maintained free and independent of *all religions*, as our government has been for nearly a hundred years. The enemy of secular education is a foe to a purely secular government.

The Catholic countries of Europe show the mischievous effects of combining secular and religious instruction. The Protestants of this country are ready to fall into the same error. They insist upon making the common school tributary to their churches. When Protestants urge the reading of their version of the Bible in school; or the reciting of a Protestant catechism; or the singing of a Protestant hymn; or the repeating of a Protestant prayer, they furnish Catholics sufficient reason for opposition. The course pursued by Protestants in this matter is inconsistent with liberty of conscience. They would be quick enough to see the injustice if the majority should, by and by, put the school under Roman Catholic control, and insist upon Protestant children attending mass, reading the Douay version of the Bible,

reciting the Catholic catechism, addressing prayers to the Virgin Mary, counting beads and crossing themselves.

If Protestants force their Bible upon the children, the time may come when the Catholics will return the compliment with compound interest. The only safety for the common school, let me repeat, is to wholly divorce it from all connection with religious teachings or worship. This, I know is blasphemy, orthodoxically considered. People need less religion and more *every-day* good sense.

The foregoing portion of this chapter was, in the main, written the latter part of 1869. In January, 1872, I published it almost entire in the *Present Age*, Chicago. Liberalists in the meantime manifest a growing dissatisfaction at the insolent encroachments of religionists upon our secular institutions. The "friends of the Bible," as they style themselves, declare they will not submit to insult by having "God's word" excluded from the common schools. Many of them say, "Better destroy the schools than make them godless by shutting out the Bible."

January 31 and February 1, the Eighth General Convention to secure the Religious Amendment, assembled in Cincinnati. The General Secretary of the National Association, Rev. D. McAllister, in the opening address, "The Aims and Methods of the Movement," said:

"This very city where we are met was the scene, not very long ago, of the most determined efforts to expel the Bible from our common schools."

"Avowed atheists and infidels, communists and papists, uniting like Herod and Pilate, have been plotting and working for years to expel religion from our schools."

"These attacks, begun long ago, have been assuming a more bitter and formidable character within the last few years."

Judge Hagan, the President of the Convention, advocated Bible-reading in the common-schools, at the "common expense." John Alexander wrote to the Secretary of the Convention that,

“We are now entering upon a period in the question when infidel and atheistical assaults are, and will be made, and must be met. We trust the coming conflict will arouse from apathy the Christianity and patriotism of the land, and bring to our aid that increased co-operation and activity which we so much need, and which our antecedents as a Christian nation warrant us to expect.”

In another portion of his letter he said, “I have enlisted *for the war.*”

The Rev. Dr. Mayo made a wild, fanciful speech to the effect that if there is to be no religious education there could be no education at all. He was so anxious to include everything valuable under the term ‘religion,’ in order to secure an acceptance for Bible, Church and dogma, that he embraced every “axiom of pure mathematics,” “every law of scientific investigation,” “literature,” “mental and moral philosophy,” “political economy,” “industrial science, and the fine arts,” “object lessons,” all in the name of religion! and argued that the “Secularists” aimed to banish these from the school, because they object to religious teaching! It is the Bible, and the religion of the Protestant, Catholic, Pagan, to the exclusion of other religions, that the Secularists object to. If it is proper to teach one phase of religion it is equally so to teach all kinds. But it is impracticable to teach all. If they could be taught it would be unjust to tax the anti-religionist to support them, as it would be to compel one religionist to pay for the propagation of a form that he disbelieves.

The bigotry of this Unitarian minister crops out in the following sentence :

“Give us a body of trained, reasonable, religious men and women in the school-houses, and there is no danger that the opportunities of moral and religious instruction will be abused; and any other kind of teacher is a public nuisance that should be abated without benefit of clergy.”

That means if a teacher is an Infidel, a Free Religionist,

or a Spiritualist, he or she should be "abated" as a "public nuisance." That is the freedom the clergy propose to allow those who will not worship their God!

It is the Bible that this reverend gentleman wishes to have kept in the school-room, instead of simple morality. He says:

"To teach morals in America without *reference to the Bible*, is like teaching the English language without the dictionary."

And again:

"The Bible should be placed in every public school-room as the text-book of American morality."

Specimens of Bible morality will be given in a subsequent chapter. Says Dr. Mayo:

"There are three classes of people that want to put the Bible out of the school. First, that class of the Christian priesthood and their followers which desire to teach sectarian religion to youth at public expense."

When the Catholic offers to put Protestant logic into practical operation by teaching religion in school, Protestants spurn the religion. So it is a *particular kind* of religion which they demand shall be taught. If they can object to the Catholic religion on the ground of sectarianism, the Atheist can object to the Protestant religion because it is sectarian. Protestants are handling two-edged tools.

The ideas of the Liberalist class and the Catholic class, says Mr. Mayo, "we are not bound to respect"! That is plainly discernible.

The argument which will admit the Christian Scriptures and religion into our common schools, will also admit the Scriptures and religion of the Hindoos; or the Bible and religion of any sect.

"A German Secularist lands on our shores. After a proper time he seeks to be invested with the rights of citizenship. The American Constitution is held out to him as the funda-

mental bond of our political union. He finds in it no recognition of a God in whom he does not believe, or of a law whose authority he denies. He assents to it and becomes a citizen. A school tax is levied on his property. He pays it, and then demands that the reading of the Bible cease in the schools. 'It was,' he says, 'no part of the compact by which I became a citizen that I should be taxed to maintain public instruction in the Christian Scriptures.'"

At the time of the Cincinnati "Bible-in-School" war, the New York *Independent* said :

"The American people who have no theology in their governments, State or National, who have consented to live together as citizens under a common civil polity, without any reference to their sectarian differences, and, indeed, *without any reference to religion at all*, are simply true to the essential principles of their political covenants and life in dispensing with religion in their State schools whether in the form of teaching or of worship. Fact it is that neither Christianity nor any other religion is part of the law in this land, and this fact constitutes an unanswerable argument why the State cannot perform the functions of a religious teacher. The truth is, it has no religion to teach."

Rev. T. P. Stevenson, Secretary of the National Christian Association prays that the question may not be solved with "tears and blood."

For several years, by voice and pen, I have warned the people to avoid a bloody issue in this country. If the measures of the "Friends of the Bible," Bible-God and Bible-religion are forced upon the non-religious portion of American citizens a religious war is inevitable.

The *Irish World* of May 4th, 1872, contains this paragraph :

"**GODLESS SCHOOLS.**—The editor of this paper has been directly solicited by venerable bishops and zealous priests to open on the school question. But long before either bishop or priest broached the subject to us, our own conscience appealed to us to assert the right, as well as the *duty* of Catholics to establish schools all over the land, where GOD shall be recognized, and to make war—openly and above

board—against the godless schools, where GOD is unknown, and his Church is studiously ignored.

“Now what we are trying to get at is this: That there can be no sound system of education which does not accept the truths of the Catholic faith as a foundation, and Catholic morals as the guide of life. All history testifies to this fact. All history declares that the denial of the Catholic principle in education, throws the world back into heathenism.”

Hon. Warren Chase of St. Louis, one of the editors of the *Banner of Light*, Boston, concerning this says:

“THE WAR ON THE SCHOOLS PROCLAIMED.

“The *Irish World* of May 4th comes out boldly with its declaration, which amounts to ‘war to the knife, and knife to the hilt,’ as we have long anticipated on this all-important subject. It is evident, and long has been to us, that there must be a final conflict between Catholicism and intelligence as derived from our public schools and the academies and colleges growing out of them, and that one or the other must give up and perish.”

“The war will be a bitter one. One school-house and three private houses of its friends have already been recently burned, in a strong Catholic neighborhood of our city of St. Louis, and near a Jesuit school, as is supposed by many of the citizens, by the incendiary torch, lighted by those who had been pressed to acts of violence by the prayers and preaching of the Jesuit priests and teachers. We are sorry to see the feeling that is aroused by these events, for whether they are guilty or not, it will sooner or later lead to revenge, which may be even more deplorable than the casualty that caused it, as the innocent are almost certain to be the principal sufferers.”

And, as if the Protestants are bent, in their religious fury, to rush the schools to ruin, rather than yield any of the power they have gained, they are determined the Bible shall remain as a bone of contention.

At the New York M. E. General Conference, May 21, 1872, the telegraph reports that,

“The Committee on Education presented a report which, after referring to the assault of the Romanists on common

schools, concludes with resolutions to oppose to the utmost the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools. After some discussion the report was referred."

That is the spirit, "oppose to the utmost;" the same spirit that led on Christian against Christian in religious bloody wars. And some apathetic Liberalists say, while these clouds of a religious war are gathering thicker and faster, "There is no danger."

X.

THE BIBLE, OR THE "GODLESS" CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES?

"From portions of this 'infallible revelation,' the Roman Church logically derives its despotic and hideous claim to bind and loose on earth, to honor dead men with sainthood, or to rack and burn with all the engines mechanic fancy can invent, or priestly cruelty apply; and hereafter to bless eternally, or else forever damn."—*Theodore Parker*.

"Every sentence of the Bible is from God."—*Bishop Horsley*.

"It is enough for us to know that every writer of the Old Testament was inspired, and that the whole history it contains, without any exception or reservation, is true."—*Horne's Introduction to the Bible*.

"The Bible is the summit of human literature. It contains the noblest philosophy ever yet proclaimed to man. It inculcates the loftiest piety and the most rational and practical morality of all religious books. It exhibits the most exalted types of character that have appeared in earthly affairs. It gives the best account yet given of the highest relations and duties of man in time and eternity."—*Rev. A. D. Mayo*.

"The Constitution of the United States is most thoroughly heathenish and infidel."—*Church Union, May 2, 1869*.

"The Bible is our only guide, source of knowledge and standard of authority in matters of religion. Whatever is taught in the Scriptures is to be believed; whatever is there enjoined is to be obeyed. And what is there neither enjoined

nor taught is not to be imposed on the faith or conscience of any man as of religious obligation.”—*Watchman & Reflector*.

“We have a National Constitution which knows no God, and disavows all connection with religion.”—*Christian Statesman*, December 1, 1870.

“The object of Government is merely to secure *life*, liberty and *property*. If it steps beyond this sphere it becomes the greatest curse upon mankind.”—*Noah Green*, a Jew.

“The proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights.”—*Report of the U. S. Senate Committee*, Jan. 29, 1829, on the subject of *prohibiting the conveyance of the mails on Sunday*.

“We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.”—*Preamble*.

“A godless Constitution.”—*Church Union*.

“God is not once named in our National Constitution.”—*Constitutional-God Christians' Memorial to Congress*.

“The revealed will of God is of supreme authority.”—*Ibid*.

“We, the people of the United States” recognize *ourselves* as of supreme authority.—[See *Declaration of Independence*, *Preamble to the Constitution*, and *the Constitution itself*.]

Now, American reader, Which? Our Constitution is undeniably as godless as a document can possibly be. The proposed religious amendment will make the Bible *the* Constitution, if votes enough can be secured; a Jewish Divinity the source of all authority and power in our government, a divinity so *dumb* that his servants, the Christian priests, and their followers, will talk for him; while Jesus Christ, as Ruler, will empower them to rule in his stead, in the same manner

that his father kindly delegates them to explain what he means.

If the Bible is to take the place of our grand Magna Charta, it will be well to compare the two documents—the Bible and the Constitution—so that when the test comes we can know which to choose.

Our “heathenish” Constitution was ordained and established by the people of the United States in order to form a “more perfect union” than the old confederacy. What sort of union did the Bible ever give any people? War in Germany, persecution in England, dissension in Holland, discord in the American colonies, and strife in the common schools of this Infidel Republic!

Our “National Constitution which knows no God, and disavows all connection with religion,” guarantees,

2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUSTICE.

The “people” of all races, independent of Bibles and religions, have established justice more evenly than any clerical, divine, Church-and-State government ever did. American, English, German, Irish—in fact, the people of every nation enjoy on these shores equal rights. Can the Bible do more than establish justice? Did it ever do as much? Let us see:

The Bible requires that if an ox, noted for viciousness, kills a man or woman, and its owner has not kept it in, that owner shall die.* This was one of the Hebrew laws. Is it just? If it ever was it is now, and if the Bible is to become the supreme law of the land, that law should be enforced. A man may have a vicious ox that may kill some one; but how killing the owner can balance the scales of justice is not clear.

The Bible teaches that if a thief is too poor to make restitution he shall be *sold* for his theft.† Is that Justice?

The Bible teaches, “He that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.”‡

* Exodus xxi: 28, 29. † Exodus xxii: 3. ‡ Lev. xxiv: 21.

That barbarous law continues to be executed despite some of the milder teachings of the Pagans and Jesus Christ. It has asserted its power in this enlightened age, as have many other Bible laws, and which require centuries for the people to fully outgrow. As Free Inquiry has advanced a more humanitarian and reasonable view has been gradually superseding the old, unjust and cruel law of killing a man because he killed one, as though two wrongs could make one right. The conviction that capital punishment was just came from the Mosaic law, and some of the older laws of barbarous nations. Reason and experience are teaching men contrary to, and better than, the Bible; and so capital punishment, as a remedy for crime, is going out of favor with the people. But let the Bible take the place of the Constitution and the old barbarous code would be restored, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," "life for life," a code which, if carried to its logical sequence would sweep the earth of every human being, except one; and he would be left for God to kill, who would violate his own law if he did kill him, and would disobey it if he did not.

"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,"* would be enforced against Spiritualist women mediums; and wizards would suffer the same fate.†

Blasphemy. A "crime" of which all Atheists, and Free Thinkers generally, are guilty. If the Bible becomes the "Supreme Law of the land" such an offence would be punishable with death.‡ This Bible-law is a grand one for the extirpation of heresy! Whenever Christians feared the inroads of infidelity, and had the power to execute the law, they never hesitated to sever heads from bodies to still blasphemous tongues.

Sabbath-Breaking. "Death," according to the Bible, is the penalty.§ Oh, how the possession of this power would rejoice the Christian heart! To compel every Infidel to bend the knee, and observe their divine institution of Sunday,

* Ex. xxii: 18. † Lev. xx: 27. ‡ Lev. xxiv: 16. § Numb. xv: 35, 36.

misnamed Sabbath. How bitter is the lament of the clergy now that the Sabbath is so generally desecrated. Says Geo. E. Stewart, in the *Christian Statesman* :

“When we remember the terrible desecration of God’s day that is tolerated in all our cities, and even in many of the small towns of this fair land, we feel that it is the imperative duty of every Sabbath-loving man, to lift up his voice against this great sin, and do all in his power to resist that alarming tendency.

“The *Statesman* cannot denounce too frequently, or too severely, those who countenance or encourage this violation of God’s law. And, if the pulpit throughout the land would more frequently and earnestly declare God’s will upon this subject, a very noticeable change could be effected. But I regret to know that in very many of our churches, it is a subject the preacher very rarely presents to his audience, or presents in the most conciliatory manner, having apparently forgotten his high trust. The whole American pulpit must be aroused to make a united and earnest effort in this direction, or before we are aware, the sacred privileges the Christian people of this country now enjoy, will be snatched forever from us.”

The *Statesman* of Dec. 15, 1871, says :

“How long will it be before the Christian masses of this country can be roused to enact a law *compelling* their public servants to respect the Sabbath.”

The same organ says it is in favor of “such declarations in our fundamental instruments of law as shall show that this is a Christian nation, and that *Christian morality is to be ENFORCED over all the inhabitants of its soil!*”*

The *Golden Age* thinks it is better “that a hundred Sabbaths should be broken, than that liberty should suffer for a moment.” But the Constitutional-God Christians would rather crush liberty a hundred times than permit a moment’s violation of their Sunday.

It is the Sunday War renewed, as it has been every few

* *Christian Statesman*, Dec. 15, 1871.

years in the history of our country. In 1829 the subject was before Congress, and the Senate Committee, Richard M. Johnson, Chairman, threw a "wet blanket" over the Clergy's effort to stop the mails on Sunday. I submit the following paragraphs of that able document :

"It is the opinion of the Committee, that the subject should be regarded simply as a question of expediency, irrespective of its religious bearing. In this light, it has hitherto been considered. Congress have never legislated upon the subject. It rests as it ever has done, in the legal discretion of the Postmaster General, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. His knowledge and judgment in all the concerns of that department, will not be questioned. His intense labors and assiduity have resulted in the highest improvement. It is practiced only on the great leading mail routes ; and such others as are necessary to maintain their connections. To prevent this, would, in the opinion of the Committee, be productive of immense injury, both in its commercial, political, and in its moral bearings.

"The various departments of government require, frequently in peace, always in war, the speediest intercourse with the remotest parts of the country ; and one important object of the mail establishment is, to furnish the greatest and most economical facilities for such intercourse. The delay of the mails one whole day in seven, would require the employment of special expresses, at great expense, and sometimes with great uncertainty.

"The commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of our country are so intimately connected, as to require a constant and the most expeditious correspondence betwixt all our sea-ports, and betwixt them and the most interior settlements. The delay of the mails during the Sunday, would give occasion to the employment of private expresses, to such an amount, that probably ten riders would be employed where one mail stage is now running on that day ; thus diverting the revenue of that department into another channel, and sinking the establishment into a state of pusillanimity incompatible with the dignity of the Government of which it is a department."

It is not strange that the clergy feel so sensitive about the Sabbath question. Its observance by the mass of people is

less and less strict. By and by, if something is not done to stop the growing tendency to secularize the "holy day" it will fall into disuse entirely, then how will the preachers get their living? No Sabbath, no preaching! Forty thousand holy men would be compelled to seek some other trade for a livelihood. Get the Jewish God recognized, and the Bible adopted as *the* Constitution, and this fearful calamity(!) would be avoided.

Obedience of Children. A stubborn, rebellious, disobedient, gluttonous, drunken son would be laid "hold on" by the father and mother and brought to the elders of his city, and *all* the men of that city would be obliged to stone him to death*—an interesting spectacle surely. If that was a divine plan to put evil away in that age, would it not be charming now?

The Bible Degrades Woman. Nature teaches that man and woman are designed to be companions, equals in the journey of life. Love exalts its object, does not degrade it. But the Bible sinks woman to a state of submission.

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the savior of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands *in every thing.*"†

Christians believe that the subjection of the church to Christ is *complete*; and, as the wives are commanded to be equally subject, it follows that the will of the husband is supreme over the wife. "But," says the Christian, "Christ's rule over the church is a rule of *love*. It is a pleasure for the church to be subject to Christ, to obey Him in everything. Husbands are commanded in the next verse to '*love your wives*, even as Christ also loved the Church.' How great was His love for the church? 'He gave himself for it.'‡ Now if a husband loves his wife so entirely that

* Deut. xxi: 18-22. † Eph. v: 22-24. ‡ Eph. v: 25.

he would sacrifice his life for her, it is not difficult to conceive how willingly that wife would obey him. She would study his slightest wish, and would delight in living for him more than for self. A husband who would love his wife, in obedience to the Bible command, as absorbingly as Christ loved the church would be a very mild sort of a tyrant! A woman would delight to honor, serve and obey, *in everything*, such a husband. To her it would not be an irksome duty to bow herself in the sweet submission of wife-hood, and own her husband her head, as Christ is the Church's head. Call that bondage, if you will, but it is the slavery of love, upon whose altar her soul must offer sacrifice."

There, I have put into the Christian's mouth as strong an argument as I ever heard any Christian make. Now, I will point out its weakness. If the command had made obedience contingent upon love the case would have been somewhat different. As it is, the wife has no guarantee that her husband will love her, and yet *he is given the entire mastery over her*. It is true the Bible says, "Husbands, love your wives," but if they do not, are the wives exempted from obeying them? No. The man may ill-treat the woman, but she must obey him, be subject to him in everything, reasonable and unreasonable. This Bible says to the woman, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and *he shall rule over thee*."* Whether the man is drunk or sober, kind or cruel, it is all the same, "he shall rule over thee." Such a doctrine is abominable.

"Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection,"† is another command in this book which is proposed as the "supreme law of the land." Paul is supposed to be the author of this injunction. On one occasion he undertakes to sustain an argument by saying that "*nature itself*" would teach its correctness. If he had studied nature a little more closely—especially the nature of women—he never would have perpetrated the blunder of saying "Let the women learn in *silence!*" If anything is against nature this is.

* Gen. iii: 16. † I Tim. ii: 11.

He was opposed to women teaching: "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, *but to be in silence.*"*

More silence! The reason he gives why a woman should not teach and should be silent is because "Adam was first formed, then Eve."† What a reason! As good a one could have been given for recognizing brutes as superior to men "*for they were first formed, then men!*"

The author of Corinthians has something more about women keeping silent. "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."‡

He never imagined that a woman could know more than her husband!

Lucy Stone Blackwell, and some other biblical commentators, in their efforts to show that the Bible is not against woman, said the Greek makes the matter plain. The word 'speak' should be rendered 'chatter'—it is not permitted unto them to *chatter!* Mrs. Blackwell did not perceive what a poor compliment either she or Paul paid to her sex. There is no command that men should not *chatter*. Is it only women who are guilty of such a misdemeanor?

Paul is said to have recorded his thoughts upon marriage. His deliberate opinion was, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman." What an idea! that the sexes, fitted by nature to enjoy each others' society, should not touch each other! But Paul says, "It is better to marry than to burn." What a selfish view of marriage! To suppose that sensual gratification is a sufficient reason for marrying. He condescends to inform us, "If thou marry thou hast not sinned"! There, now, we may breathe more freely. "If a virgin marry, she hath not sinned." Remember this, girls, if you *do marry* you are not little sinners! "Nevertheless such shall

* 1 Tim. ii: 12. † 1 Tim. ii: 13. ‡ 1 Cor. xiv: 34, 35.

have trouble in the flesh, but I spare you." O! dear, suppose he had said anything worse! He does go so far as to say, "He that giveth her in marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage *doeth better.*"

Look at this bit of immorality: "If any man think he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, *and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not*: let them marry."*

This book, containing such a code of laws, it is proposed shall supersede the Constitution!

The Bible authorizes Polygamy. Brigham Young who is, at the present writing, under five thousand dollars bonds, for having more than one wife, practices Bible teaching. Christians who admit that the Bible does teach polygamy, claim that Jesus Christ blotted it out. But they fail to adduce the proof that he did. The clergy as a profession assume that he taught monogamy and discountenanced polygamy, and cite the following passages to sustain their view:

"And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife. And they twain shall be one flesh: so then they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. And in the house his disciples asked him again of the same matter. And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery."†

From these statements they argue, First, that God made them male and female. This is not against polygamy.

* 1 Cor. viii. † Mark x: 2-12.

Unless there had been men and women neither polygamy nor monogamy could have existed. Second, they affirm that Jesus was opposed to polygamy and favorable to monogamy because he said a man shall "cleave to his wife," while if he had believed in polygamy he would have advised a man to cleave to his *wives*, not wife, one. Third, "And they *twain* shall be *one* flesh." Fourth, "Whosoever shall put away his wife," not *wives*. Fifth, "And marry another," not *others*.

These statements, they hold, clearly show that Jesus was in favor of monogamic marriage. If they do prove this, then it can be shown by the same process of reasoning that his followers were to "observe and do" whatever Scribes and Pharisees enjoined upon them.* This shows that Jesus was a Jew and not a Christian in any sense in which modern Christians employ the term. If a man observes and does whatever a Christian bids him observe and do, that man is a Christian. Jesus acknowledged that the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat. I admit the Christians sit in Jesus' seat, and they "say, and do not" as effectually as did Scribes and Pharisees.

Polygamy is plainly taught in the Bible. This I repeat, in the face of the prevalent notion among Christians that the old Jewish laws were abrogated by Jesus Christ. He claimed, according to his biographers, that he would fulfil the law, not destroy it. Christians have blindly asserted that he fulfilled the law, and by fulfilling destroyed it—just contrary to what he affirmed. "Think not," said he, "that I am come to destroy the law * * * I am *not* come to destroy, but to fulfil."† Fulfilling is not abrogating. Till heaven and earth pass, not the least portion passes from the law.‡ He expressly enjoins upon his followers the importance of not breaking the least commandment.§ "Love is the fulfilling of the law," it is said. Does love abolish the law when it fulfils it?

I do not deny that the New Testament contains so-called new laws or commandments; nor that some of them are just as trivial as those in the Old. Nor is it my place to strive

* Matt. xxiii: 2, 3. † Matt. v: 17. ‡ Matt. v: 18. § Matt. v: 19.

and reconcile irreconcilable contradictions. That is a clerical privilege with which I have no inclination to meddle. If the clergy wish to make Jesus Christ deny his own words, when he said he came not to destroy the law and then did destroy it, I have no objection. I submit that such a book, susceptible of so many different interpretations would make a bad constitution.

There is one important item which the clergy overlook when they affirm that Jesus condemned Polygamy, namely, The Pharisees did not inquire about Polygamy, but the monogamic relation of marriage. Hence, the stress laid upon the word "wife" has no force. I do not say he believed in Polygamy. Neither did he believe in monogamy. He was opposed to marriage in every form. When he announces his own view on the subject he says, "The children of *this world* marry, and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain *that world*, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage."*

So he in fact opposed old institutions while professing to endorse them. He endorsed the observances and commandments binding upon the Jews, but announced a different code for those who are worthy to obtain that world. The Jews believed in both monogamy and polygamy. Jesus told his disciples to do what they commanded. If they commanded to marry one wife or a dozen wives they, therefore, must obey. But *his* doctrine was that those worthy of the next life should not marry, consequently every married Christian will fail to obtain that world!

Having disposed of Jesus in this connection I will proceed to investigate whether the Bible teaches Polygamy—an institution at war with the general welfare of the race:

"David dwelt with Achish at Gath," "even David with his *two wives* Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the Carmelitess, Nabal's wife."† "And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem."‡

There are persons who say that because David had several

* Luke.xx: 34, 35. † I Samuel xxvii: 3. ‡ II Samuel v: 13.

wives it does not prove that the Bible authorizes polygamy. But the fact that he had several, and the additional fact that God is represented as saying, "David, who kept my commandments, and who followed me with all his heart, to do that *only* which was right in mine eyes,"* does prove that the Bible authorizes polygamy. The author of Kings in the succeeding chapter † makes one exception to David's invariable integrity—his adultery with Uriah's wife. His crime was in taking another *living man's* wife. The prophet Nathan reprimanded him for it; but after the death of Uriah he took the same woman, though he already had other wives. It is nowhere in the book called a sin.

The "wisest" man that ever lived was the son of David and Bathsheba, (Uriah's wife), and was acknowledged by the God of the Bible as David's lawful issue, ‡ and as such sat upon David's throne, proving Polygamy lawful by the Bible standard. The Bible-God says through his prophet, Nathan, "*I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom.*"§ He evidently thought that ought to have been sufficient to prevent him stealing a living man's wife.

The law on the subject of polygamy as set forth in the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy is expressly to the point, "If a man have *two wives*," one beloved, the other hated, he is commanded not to discriminate against the children of the hated. If the hated wife has the first son the double portion shall be his. The man is prohibited from calling the son of the beloved, "first born" when it really is not. || This amounts to a demonstration of the Bible-God's authorization of plurality of wives. To plead that God only "regulated" it would be as consistent, if it was considered a sin, as to say he regulated *theft, adultery and murder*. These were *prohibited*. If polygamy was regulated then it is an admission that it was "adjusted by rule," "put in good order."

Much more proof can be adduced from the book; but it

* 1 Kings xiv : 8. † 1 Kings xv : 5. ‡ 1 Kings v : 5.

§ 11 Sam. xii : 8. || Deut. xxi : 15-17.

is clear from the evidences already given that polygamy is a Bible doctrine.

Says Rev. David O. Allen, D. D., in a work published on "India, Ancient and Modern":

"If polygamy was unlawful, then Leah was the only wife of Jacob, and none but her children were legitimate. Rachel as well as Bilhah and Zilpah were merely mistresses and their children, six in number, were bastards, the offspring of adulterous connection. And yet there is no intimation of any such views and feelings in Laban's family, or in Jacob's family, or in Jewish history. Bilhah and Zilpah are called Jacob's wives.* God honored the sons of Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpah equally with the sons of Leah, made them the patriarchs of seven of the tribes of the nation, and gave them equal inheritance in Canaan."

Rev. Mr. Allen was Missionary of the American Board for twenty-five years in India, etc. In his work he devotes an appendix to the subject of Polygamy. It was to the interest of the Christian Church to get converts; but this was difficult unless they could retain their plurality of wives. It is easy for Christians to interpret "God's Word" for the benefit of the church!

The Bible allows indulgence in Wine and Strong Drink. Wine, generally a poisonous compound of alcohol and drugs, has been imbibed by Christians in every age since the origin of the Christian church, as a religious ceremony based upon the Bible. It will probably never be known to what extent this practice has kept alive, or fostered, the taste for strong drink.

David said God "causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth; and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart."†

A shining face, and a glad, strong heart! Who would not be happy? No wonder Paul advised Timothy to use a little

* Gen. xxxvii : 2. † Ps. civ : 14, 15.

wine for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities!* "Give *strong drink* unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts. Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."†

At Joseph's feast, prepared for his brethren, it is said they drank, (wine probably), and were merry.‡ "How great is his goodness, [God's] and how great is his beauty! Corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the maids."§

We will not multiply texts to show that the Bible is not a Temperance book. I am familiar with the claims of Christians in this theoretically Total-abstinence age. They say the Bible is opposed to the use of ardent spirits. Were it true, then it is both for and against the practice. A queer constitution it would be; as unreliable as the Delphian Oracles; contradictory! just what we might expect of a book written by different men in different ages. But let us examine the texts usually adduced to prove that the Bible is against the use of intoxicating drink.

"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright."||

Does that mean that wine shall not be drank at all? Paul did not so understand it. Nor did the writer of the same book in a subsequent chapter, already quoted. Yet this is uniformly repeated, by Bible advocates of Temperance, to convey the impression that the Bible favors total prohibition. It was no doubt, a peculiar kind of wine, if the context (about which the clergy profess to be so particular) is taken into account; but in this instance they neglected the context:

"Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes?"¶

* 1 Tim. v: 23. † Prov. xxxi: 6, 7. ‡ Gen. xliii: 34.

§ Zech. ix: 17. || Prov. xxiii: 31. ¶ Prov. xxiii: 29.

Now mark the answer in the next verse ?

“ They that tarry *long* at the wine ; they that go to seek *mixed* wine.”

The kind described in this chapter as biting like a serpent and stinging like an adder, could not have been the same that “ maketh glad the heart of man,”* and which the Bible represents God intended for man’s use to go hand in hand with the “ staff of life.”

The texts usually quoted to prove the Bible a Temperance book, relate to the excessive use of drink ; its abuse, as it is termed by some ; and also to particular classes living at the time the texts were penned. For instance, the Nazarite vow required that the Israelite who took it should “ separate himself from wine and strong drink ” : further, he was enjoined to not drink *vinegar* of either wine or strong liquor ; nor to eat grapes or raisins.† “ Drink not wine nor strong drink,” which I have heard quoted to prove the Bible a total-abstinence book, had no reference to the Israelites as a people, nor to people in general, but to the mother of Samson, because the child was to be a “ Nazarite unto God ” from birth.‡ The Rechabites drank no wine.§ If wine-drinking is discountenanced by the Bible because the Nazarites and Rechabites were prohibited from its use, then eating grapes and raisins is disapproved and building houses not to be tolerated.¶ The law prohibiting the priesthood from drinking wine and strong drink when on duty ¶ allows them, by implication, to drink wine and strong drink when they come out of the “ tabernacle ” or out of the “ inner court.”

It was against the *excessive* use of wine, and other intoxicating drinks, at which were aimed the laws, supposed by many to be prohibitory of their use by people in general. The aged holy women were to be “ not given to *much* wine.”** The old women were expected to keep the

* Ps. civ : 15. † Num. vi : 3. ‡ Jud. xiii : 4, 5. § Jer. xxxv : 6.

¶ Jer. xxxv : 7. ¶ Ezek xliv : 21. ** Titus ii : 3.

young women sober. The holy aged women are thus left to enjoy their sips.

“Be not *drunk* with wine, wherein is excess,”* was addressed to the Ephesians.

“Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging,”† is no prohibition of the “aged women” alluded to tasting some wine; and Timothy indulging a “little;” while the man “ready to perish” for want of a drop, would receive his allowance. A *little* wine, then, could not be a mocker for Timothy; nor could strong drink be *raging* unless taken in a “raging” quantity, in which case it is apparent that “whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.”‡ It is the abuse, then, and not the use, of wine and strong drink, that is condemned.§

Clearly, the Bible is not a temperance book according to the modern idea of temperance, namely, total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks, in health and in sickness. Surely, such a book is not conducive to the “general welfare.” When our legislation is made to harmonize with the preamble in respect to the general welfare, all traffic in intoxicating liquors will be declared injurious to the race, and will be forever abolished by the will of the people.

There are many Bible commandments which must be passed by. Those I cite show how utterly destructive to the fundamental principles of our nation would be the domination of Bible precepts. A government managed upon the Bible model would be “confusion worse confounded.”

PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE.

This clause of our Constitution may be sneered at as a “glittering generality;” but practically it has built a giant nation in less than a century. It has lifted this “godless” nation to a front rank among earthly Powers. It has made millions of hearts bound with joy. It has inspired the

* Eph. v: 18. † Prov. xx: 1. ‡ Prov. xx 1.

§ Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in his *New and Complete Analysis of the Bible*, takes this same position.

oppressed of kingly governments with courage to brave every danger in order to reach our shores. It has given them self-reliance, energy to level forests, dig canals, build railroads, erect telegraphs in a new world, instead of the old one where manhood is reckoned at a lower rate than pedigree. "The general welfare"—not the welfare specially of a titled nobility, or of a privileged class, but the greatest good to the greatest number, in opposition to the greatest good to a pampered few.

Is Bible law calculated to promote the general welfare?

Nothing in the Bible to secure union. See the hundreds of quarreling sects! If *union* could exist among them it would be the union of despotism, the despotism of Christianity. Bible Christians would not, as the people seek to do, "establish justice."

INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY.

It is not a Bible precept. This is a principle contained in the preamble. Could the Bible improve it? Could tranquillity be secured with forty thousand priests meddling with the affairs of State? The history of every "divine" government shows that it could not. Our government seeks to cultivate friendly relations with all nations; but the priesthood would engage in forced missionary labor among the "heathen," and secure the salvation of their souls by judicious investment in Bibles and Sharp's rifles.* Christianity, like Mohammedanism, has forced its way mainly by the sword. This is not a matter of astonishment. Christians have a God of war for an example. He was

* A. Maclaine, D.D., says that in the thirteenth century "the Knights of the Teutonic order *conquered and converted to Christianity* the Prussians."

This order was established in the Holy Land about 1191.

On their return to Germany, they were invited to *subdue and Christianize* the country now called Prussia, and its neighborhood, which they gradually accomplished. The order was dissolved by Napoleon I, in 1809.

Protestantism is not averse to the use of force. The late horrid butch-

extremely fond of war, though not always successful. Recognize him as the source of authority and power in civil government, and there would be an end to domestic tranquillity in the States.

The Constitution of the United States of America was ordained and established to "INSURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY."

No pen can do that clause justice. It embodies a principle for which our forefathers periled all; a principle which Christians are endeavoring to overturn; a principle so grand, yet so plain that a young child can comprehend it.

The Constitution is opposed to religious tests. Is the Bible? The Constitution inhibits Congress from making any law respecting an establishment of religion. This is why Christians want the Bible to take its place.

The Bible Sanctions Slavery. A "divine institution," which was abolished in spite of the Bible, and in obedience to the demand of progressive civilization for a practical illustration of a fundamental principle of our government—

eries of Jews in Roumania has provoked the indignation of several governments, our own among the number.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, May 23, 1872, gives the Turks more credit than Christians for humanity. It says the Turks "have no desire to see their Jewish subjects, who are thrifty, law-abiding citizens, murdered in cold blood by their wretched fellow-subjects who style themselves Christians. It is this thrift and prosperity which shock their orthodox neighbors, who find their religious zeal wonderfully quickened by the prospect of plundering a pawnbroker's shop and seizing and destroying the mortgages which are evidence of indebtedness to the obnoxious Jew. The Roumanian authorities are justly held responsible for the outrages and massacres committed on unoffending people. It is a fact of perhaps some political significance that similar atrocities were perpetrated about the same time in Ismalia and other towns in the Bessarabian district ceded to Turkey by Russia at the close of the Crimean war."

"The Jews are very numerous in the great centers of trade in Roumania, Poland, and Southern Russia. In Turkey they have received better treatment than in most Christian countries, and have not unfrequently found there an asylum from the persecutions of their orthodox Christian neighbors."

the general welfare. The ministers now cannot see that the Bible teaches slavery. At one time their eye-sight was better. It began to fail, among the Northern clergy, in proportion to the increased popularity of abolitionism. To the best of their recollection, up to the present writing, *Christianity* abolished American Slavery.

Make the Bible the Supreme Law, and the crack of the Slave-driver's whip, and, "Servants, obey in all things your masters,"* will again be heard in this land. Religion and cupidity would combine to effect a restoration of slavery. The "Law-Book" would be appealed to: "Of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever."† No plea that all slaves were set free every jubilee year among the Jews will avail. They had their possession of slaves from generation to generation. Moreover, Jehovah himself said he would sell human beings, first into the hands of the Jews, and they would sell them to a distant people.‡ Notwithstanding jubilees, slavery existed in the time of Jesus Christ and the apostles, and not a single word of rebuke against slavery from any of them—not one word against the detestable institution. It was upheld by New Testament writers. Slaves were commanded by them to labor for their masters as if they were working for God,§ "doing service" for them with "fear and trembling."|| How abject such a condition! Could anything be more calculated to crush the nobility of manhood, and smother the last spark of manly liberty?

"Oh, but the Bible is such a complete book," we are told, "that it also enjoins a duty upon the masters, 'ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: know-

* Col. iii: 22. † Lev. xxv: 45, 46. ‡ Joel iii: 8.

§ Col. iii: 22, 23. || Ephesians vi: 5, 7.

ing that your Master also is in heaven ; neither is there respect of persons with him.' ”

Suppose the masters did not do this, was there any help for the slaves? None whatever. They must obey just the same, according to the book. Not only that, but the Bible commands that however cruel the masters, they are to be obeyed. “Servants, be subject to your masters *with all fear* ; not only to the *good and gentle*, but *also* to the *froward*.”* Thus the Bible fastens the last rivet in the slave’s chain. It tells him to endure all this grief and suffering “wrongfully; ” † that it is “thankworthy ” to do it. It tells the poor, trembling creature that when he is chastised for faults, and is patient, there is no particular merit in his patience; but when he *does well*, then suffers for it, and takes it patiently, “this is acceptable with God.” ‡

Say the ministers, “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female : for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” §

As the old slave-driver’s whip descended into the quivering flesh of the slave he could have kept time with the strokes, “neither bond nor free,” “all one in Christ Jesus.”

Ah ! but did not Jesus utter a protest against slavery when he said, “Neither be ye called masters?” I answer, No. He was speaking of ecclesiastical rule, not domestic slavery. || Many years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, Peter, and other apostles, writing under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (?) endorsed the “peculiar institution.” Peter expressly declared that a servant suffering unjustly and meekly at the hands of a cruel master was pleasing to God. Such is Bible law. What a *superior* state of society would exist under such a godly constitution instead of the one framed under the presidency of Washington !

The Bible is a book of Kingcraft. This is unmistakable. “Honor the king” ¶ is one of its leading features. Submit

* 1 Peter ii: 18. † 1 Peter ii: 19. ‡ 1 Peter ii: 20.

§ Gal. iii: 28. || Mat. xxiii: 1-13. ¶ 1 Peter ii: 17.

yourselves to the king.* Be submissive.† Resist not tyrants. Endure wrong, every kind of injustice, the most hateful oppression. Such is the teaching of the Bible. Every ruler, every tyrant was, and is, by the authority of the Bible, the minister of God, to resist whom is to deserve damnation.‡ Our Infidel government was originated in opposition to kings and Bibles, and unless the American people are recreant to their trust it will remain steadfast in spite of them.

The issue is the Bible or the United States Constitution. The Constitution guarantees to every State in this Union a Republican form of government. With such a Constitution as the Bible this would be impossible. Every Christian who repeats the "Lord's Prayer" is guilty of uttering treasonable sentiments against the United States! "Thy kingdom come." What American wants a *kingdom*? We demand a Republican form of government.

We may be told that it is a *heavenly* kingdom that is desired. I answer, We want *no* kind of kingdom; not even a heavenly one will suit free America—a Republic, or nothing! I am sorry to say there are some Liberalists who think a kingdom is not an abominable institution, because we belong to the "animal kingdom." Yes, but when we wish to distinguish man from beast we dignify man by designating him a member of the *human race*! Others, who long since abandoned the word "kingdom" politically, and now consider it a bad term for a government on earth, imagine there is something lovely in it when applied to a Spiritual state. They draw an ideal picture of loving angels, inexpressible purity and unspeakable happiness, which they denominate a "kingdom" of God, or Heaven, and then inquire why we should object to such a kingdom! They proceed to enlighten our darkened understandings with the novel information that a "heavenly kingdom" is a place, or condition, where everybody will be supremely happy; where love, peace and harmony will reign triumphant; where joy will be unalloyed; where meals are square; beds clean and

* I Peter ii: 13. † I Peter ii: 20. ‡ Rom. xiii: 1-6.

bugless; linen eternally and immaculately white; slumbers undisturbed; singing popular; concerts free; and plenty of "nothing to do." Who would not have a kingdom! a heavenly kingdom, where the "poor in spirit" are "blessed"; where the mourning shall be comforted; where the hungry and thirsty after righteousness shall be filled; where the "pure in heart" "shall see God"; where people will "rejoice and be exceeding glad."

If there is such a state of things in the future world I cannot see the propriety of calling it a "kingdom." Kingdoms on earth are passing away. It would be more fitting to term it a Republic, a cozy, free Republic. Experience has taught mankind that Self-rule is better than kingly government, earthly or heavenly. The will of the people is the source of power, is supreme. Our government is independent of every kingdom, earthly or heavenly. When Christians pray, "Thy kingdom come," they refer to a particular government under God's rule. They say "Our Father which art in Heaven." Jesus Christ endorsed the Jewish God, and Christians believe it was he whom Jesus addressed. In order to know what kingdom is specifically desired to come on earth, we must examine the so-called record of the heavenly king's earthly reign. Then we will be intelligently prepared to decide whether we wish its restoration. If Jehovah is to be recognized as the "Source of all authority and power in civil government" we ought to become familiar with his character.

XI.

GOD'S CHARACTER.

"The Bible teaches us of God and his character."—*Rev. Mr. Amöler in Salem (Ohio) Bible Convention.*

"That the character of God, as made known to us in his Word and works, is the only infallible moral standard, and that neither States nor individuals can have a moral character except by assenting and conforming to the Divine Standard."

—*Prof. O. N. Stouüard.*

While we have the liberty, which this Infidel government guarantees, it will be advisable to examine the character of Jehovah, proposed as a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people. Christians without exception endorse the statement of Rev. Ambler, that "the Bible teaches us of God and his character." I will proceed at once to examine his record.

1. *God is represented as being jealous of other Gods.** Jealousy is not a beautiful trait in the character of even an imperfect human being. If it is "godlike" to be jealous it is a quality worthy of imitation and commendation.

2. *The Bible God delights to behold Bloodshed.* On a certain occasion he commanded Moses to "take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord against the sun, that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel"† He reveled in the sight of gory heads and lifeless bodies.

On another occasion there were seven persons hanged "in the hill before the Lord," ‡ and when their bones, and those of Saul and Jonathan, had been gathered, and all the king's

* Ex. xx : 5. † Num. xxv : 4. ‡ II Sam. xxi : 9 ; II Sam. xxi : 14.

commands had been performed, "after that God was entreated for the land." The riot commenced because Saul slew the Gibeonites. On account of Saul's bloody house there was a famine for three years. At the end of that time David bethought himself to ask Jehovah "what can the matter be?" The killing of the two sons of Rispah and the five sons of Michal restored this Bible God to a serene state of mind. A three year's divine "huff" eclipses the generality of those domestic infelicities which sometimes characterize the "ominous silence" between a husband and a wife.

A Midianitish woman was brought by an Israelite into the sight of Moses and all the congregation of Israelites. "Phineas, the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron" took a javelin in his hand and killed them both. The Lord was delighted, and declared that his wrath was turned away on account of this "zeal" in killing, manifested by Phineas for his "sake." Phineas and his seed were honored by God with the promise of an everlasting priesthood.*

3. *The Bible God is partial.*† Of the Israelites he is represented as saying, "Thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth."

4. *The Bible God is cruel.* He caused defenceless women and dear babies to be murdered.‡ He slaughtered a great many persons because they merely peeped into his traveling box.§ His anger was so great against his chosen people that he moved David to number them, and then killed seventy thousand innocent people because David did just what God compelled him to do, || although in this instance it is not certain that the Devil did not do it.¶ Indeed, judging by the bad character which the Bible gives the

* Num. xxv.

† Ex. xix : 6 ; Ps. xxxiii : 12 ; Deut. xiv : 21 ; Deut. vii : 6 ; Ex. vi : 7.

‡ Num. xxxi : 17. § I Sam. vi : 19.

|| II Sam. xxiv : 1. ¶ I Chron. xxi : 1.

Jewish Jehovah, he, (as an Emerald Islander would say,) is the *other one* all the time! The ministers will not thank me for making this discovery!

His soul was grieved on account of the misery of Israel; but it was the misery he himself inflicted.*

He proposed at one time to visit terrible punishment upon his chosen people but Moses plead like a lawyer, and the Lord, in consequence, was changed from his unchangeable purpose.† Moses' appeal to his organ of approbateness was a masterly stroke.‡

God killed a man by the name of Uzzah who put forth his hand to take hold of the ark because the oxen shook it, a poor reward for the man's kind services to keep the thing from tumbling over.§

5. *The Bible God is unjust.* He hardened Pharaoh's heart and afflicted the poor man because his heart was hardened!

He advised his chosen children to give bad meat to strangers, or to sell it to aliens,|| a crime to which there is attached a heavy penalty in this human government.

6. *The Bible God approved of murder.* Proofs already given.

7. *He sanctioned Polygamy.* Proofs furnished.

8. *He endorsed Slavery.* Proved.

9. *He authorized lying.*¶

10. *He deceives.***

11. *He sends delusion.*††

12. *He accepted Human sacrifice.*‡‡

13. *He applauded the disposition to offer to himself a human being as a burnt offering.*§§

14. *He accepted a maiden as a burnt offering.*|||

* Jud. x: 16. † Mal. iii: 6; Jam. i: 17. ‡ Num. xiv: 11-20.

§ 11 Sam. vi: 6. || Deut. xiv: 21. ¶ Ezek. xiv: 9.

** Jer. xx: 7. †† 1 Kings xxii: 22; 11 Thes. ii: 11, 12.

‡‡ 11 Sam. xxi: 8, 9, 14; 1 Cor. v: 7.

§§ Gen. xxii: 2, 16, 17, 18. ||| Judges xi: 30-40.

15. *He instituted the indecent law of circumcision.**
 16. *He is a ferocious divinity.†*
 17. *He gets mad and swears.‡*
 18. *He is a furious God.§*

No one with the Bible in hand can successfully deny a single one of these statements. Here we have presented as a candidate for the suffrages of the American people a person who is jealous, bloodthirsty, partial, cruel, unjust, murderous, indecent, lying, ill-tempered, fretful, unreliable.

How can it be possible that human beings entertain such unworthy conceptions of any divinity? Strange as it may seem I have met clergymen in the debating arena who have stolidly asserted that they believe all this of their God because the Bible teaches it, and they would argue that a Divine Being, the Creator, has a *right* to do with his own as he pleases! that the author of all law is not himself amenable to any law! that when he caused smiling infants to be "dashed to pieces" || it was perfectly right.

I confess the indictment against King George III by the Colonists was not as severe as this against the Jewish Christian God. But, then, King George was not so bad a character as Jehovah. Probably tories were no more shocked on reading the charges against their "beloved king" than some of my Christian readers will be when reading my indictment against their heavenly king, whom they are anxious should be recognized by American democrats and republicans. Still, I have spared their feelings by giving but a few samples of the barbarous acts of God's government upon earth. I could increase the number of counts in the bill many fold were it necessary. The Christian Devil has a better character than the Christian God. It is an unfortunate ecclesiastical-political stroke against their scheme that

* Gen. xvii: 9-14.

† Jer. xiii: 14; Deut. vii: 16; 1 Sam. xv: 2, 3; Num. xxxii: 11.

‡ Deut. i: 34. § Nahum i: 2; Ezek. xx: 21.

|| Isaiah xiii: 16-18.

they did not propose the "fourth person in the trinity" for recognition in our Constitution. In view of the character of God which the Bible gives we can see why the Jewish people became tired of his rule, and demanded a human king. Jehovah was displeased at this lack of appreciation, although he made no attempt to deny that his governmental officials were exceedingly corrupt,* "turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment." They were as corrupt as the *Christian* officials of New York city. Jehovah seemed to prefer that the iniquity should continue, rather than that the old "ring" should be broken up. But the people were clamorous for a change. They had had enough of theocracy. Then Jehovah complained, "They have rejected me, that I should not reign over them." He finally consented that they should have an earthly king, but entered a solemn protest, and gave them warning how a king would act.

"And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you. He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day."

Kings are costly. But the people were determined not to

* 1 Sam. viii: 1-7.

be frightened at the cost. A heavenly king is more expensive than a multitude of earthly kings. They shouted back, "We will have a king over us." They were determined to be in the fashion, and have a king "like all the nations" to judge them, and fight their battles. Jehovah supposed he could intimidate them by representing that in getting rid of one tyrant they would be compelled to have as expensive a one in his place. Neither God, Samuel, nor the people suggested a *Republic*, whose chief officer would receive his limited wages like other servants of the people. Ignorant of the simpler, better way, the people supposed they must jump from the fire of theocratic rule into the frying-pan of a divinely-anointed kingship. They ought to have known that if they allowed their deposed heavenly king to have a "finger in the pie" that he would make it hot for them. A pity they could not have had a Thomas Paine to have suggested a little "wretched French Infidelity" which, though it failed in France where the combined strength of priest-craft and king-craft proved too great for it, has succeeded so admirably on American soil.

Jehovah's description of the manner of a king was strictly after the "divine" pattern. Kings are "kith and kin." Let us pray: "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Judged by the earthly reign I vote, *No!* How is it in heaven? There is no marrying there, according to the Bible, "Neither marry, nor are given in marriage"* Luke reports that those who marry on earth are unworthy to obtain the world to come? † A heaven of old maids and bachelors! dismal! worse than a Mohammedan heaven. A Christian heaven must be an extensive Shaker Community. Paul, too, was unfavorable to marriage. He considered that those who did not marry did better than those who do. ‡ If it be "God's will" that Shakerism exist in heaven, then whenever Christians pray that his will be done, "as in heaven, so in

* Mark xii: 25. † Luke xx: 34, 35.

‡ I Cor. vii: 8, 9, 28, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40.

earth" they mean that all men should become eunuchs for "heaven's sake."* The "Lord's Prayer" is genuine Shakerism.

If God rules in Heaven as he is said to have ruled on earth in former years we are certain we do not want his kingdom to come, nor his will to be done in our nation. So far as the United States are concerned it cannot be. They guarantee to protect each State from invasion or domestic violence, and woe betide the foreign potentate, earthly or heavenly that makes the attempt to invade or disturb our domestic peace. Who wants to have a kingdom?

* Mat. xix: 12.

XII.

SHALL WE ELECT JESUS?

“Lord ! what a wretched land is **this!**”

—*Rev. Isaac Watts, D. D.*

The Constitutional-God Christians nominate Jesus Christ as the “Ruler among the Nations.” They believe their candidate is worthy of the votes of all the people. They sing with Watts,

“Go, worship at Immanuel’s feet,
See in his face what wonders meet !
Earth is too narrow to express
His worth, his glory, or his grace.”

“Join all the names of love and power,
That ever men or angels bore ;
All are too mean to speak his worth.
Or set Immanuel’s glory forth.”

“Jesus, in thee our eyes behold
A thousand glories more
Than the rich gems and polished gold
The sons of Aaron wore.”

Assuredly there is no nominee of whom more could be said.

In the two preceding chapters the laws of the Bible as a whole, and the character of Jehovah are duly considered. But as there is a partiality among Christians for the New Testament laws I will examine them incidentally while analyzing the character of Jehovah’s son. As he is esteemed a pattern of moral and religious truth, it behooves us to

investigate his sayings, teachings, commands and acts. Christians claim that the religious and moral teachings of their Founder are unequaled. Many Liberalists have admitted them to be full of charity and wisdom; beautiful, chaste and, therefore, elevating; and that on the whole his system of religion has never been surpassed. From the claim of the Christian, on the one hand, and this admission of many Liberalists on the other, I radically differ. The precepts of Jesus Christ, his commandments as a whole, (and that is the way he declared they must be received,) if set side by side with our Infidel Constitution, and the people were asked to choose which should be their Fundamental Law, every true American, every one who loves his country more than superstition, would take the present Great Charter and leave the precepts! I will endeavor to make plain my reasons for this view. Were we at liberty to select from his system of religion and morals whatever Reason accepts, and to repudiate what it rejects the case would be far different. But, now, those who would be his followers must keep *all* of his commandments, not some of them. This makes his system a religion of authority, and not of Reason. The mass of his teachings are vague, impracticable, and, as a whole, absurd. They contain a great deal of bad morality.

Christians generally obtain their ideas of Jesus and his doctrines not so much from the New Testament as from the panegyrics by the clergy, and highly-wrought tropes and figures by Christian poets, whose imaginations are all ablaze in the furnace of religious frenzy. To such the Judean mendicant becomes an oracle, a divine law-giver, eclipsing Moses in majesty; a king, surpassing the magnificence of Solomon; a God, rivaling the Jehovah of the Jews. A bare intimation that he was a *man*, not unlike other men, is by the Christian hero-worshiper condemned in unmeasured terms as a "blasphemy wild."

Jesus was the author of a few reformatory ideas, but to those very reforms the churches called Christian are as much opposed as was the Jewish church. He did not believe in

the taking of oaths.* Christians do. He did not believe in public formal prayer.† The prayer which he taught them was to be offered in secret.‡ He did not believe in long prayers such as the heathen, he said, practiced.§ Many Christians ostentatiously engage in long, "vain repetitions." He advised his disciples not to be "like unto them." But those of the present day who profess to be his disciples are "like unto them." His advice to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick,|| was excellent, but hundreds of years prior to his time Pagans gave the same advice. Though he was not in favor of easy divorce he was friendly to easy adultery.¶ It is true he counseled the woman to go and sin no more, but if she had sinned four hundred-and-ninety times she would have been excusable according to his ethics.** If she had been condemned by him, an executioner could not have been found because no one could have possessed the qualification of being sinless.†† According to that principle all crime would go unpunished.

New Testament law of divorce. According to the teachings of Jesus if a divorced woman marries she is guilty of adultery,‡‡ be she ever so pure. A husband who puts away his wife and marries another is guilty of adultery.§§ Even the man who marries the divorced woman commits adultery.¶¶ No allowance is made if he should be ignorant of the fact that she had been divorced.

In the time of Moses "God's" law was in favor of "easy divorce," more easy than divorce in the State of Indiana or the city of Chicago. All a man had to do was to write his wife a bill of divorcement, give it in her hand and send her out of his house, if she found no favor in his eyes, *i. e.*, if he had found some uncleanness in her.* * But notwithstanding her uncleanness the law declares "she may go and be another

* Mat. v: 33-37. † Mat. vi. 5-8. ‡ Mat. vi: 6.

§ Mat. vi: 7. || Mat. xxv: 35-40. ¶ John viii: 3-11.

** Mat. xviii: 15-23. †† John viii: 7. ‡‡ Mark x: 12.

§§ Mark x: 11. || Luke xvi: 18. * * * Deut. xxiv: 1.

man's wife."* If the latter husband hate her he is allowed to serve her as her former husband did—send her tramping! The former husband, however, is forbidden to take her again, even if the latter one dies. The plan evidently was to pass her around, on condition that she must have a new "affinity" at each change. If the woman under the old code had had an equal chance to rid herself of a husband, in whom she had found "some uncleanness," (a drunken sot, for instance,) on which account it could scarcely be expected that he would find "favor" in the eyes of a refined, pure-hearted woman, the law would have been just to all parties. As it is, it proves to be one-sided.

Jesus Christ disavowed any intention of destroying the Mosaic law; yet he proposed one which he manifestly intended for soft-hearted people;† either this, else it does supersede the law of Moses. If the latter, then a man or woman who makes a mistake in matrimony is doomed to abide by it so long as they both shall live. This law of Jesus Christ—which the ministers profess to be so anxious to have carried out to the very letter—would compel a woman to suffer any amount of brutal treatment from a husband. He may make a slave of her, physically and mentally, and there is no redress, according to the stringent and unjust law of divorce as laid down in the New Testament. No release for her; no hope, save when her body is wrapped in the quiet grave, and her spirit is freed from her merciless tormentor. Some men are legally bound to termagants—terrible fate—language fails! The New Testament law compels them to live together and hate on to the bitter end. A better divorce law exists in many states of this Union, and the clergy are moaning because it does exist. Thus I prove that if even the New Testament were to be made the fountain of law for this nation, injustice in social life would everywhere in the States prevail. Nearly a score of causes for divorce are now allowed in the United States, any one of which is sufficient for the procurement of a bill.

* Deut. xxiv: 2. † Mark x: 5.

This is just as it should be. Matthew is the only one who reports that there should be any cause for a divorce—and that is the fornication of a wife,* not a word about the fornication of a husband. Matthew declares that whoever marries the divorced woman commits adultery. There is but one implication which favors even the husband who is divorced from a fornicator, as contained in these words: “Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.”†

That language implies that if a wife commits the crime, the husband of that wife is at liberty to re-marry. But both Mark and Luke are against Matthew’s implication. Says Mark, “Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.”‡ This is without any qualification. Luke is equally emphatic: “Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.”§ Matthew, Mark and Luke are united in reporting that Jesus Christ taught that whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery. No matter what the crime of the husband, a wife is not allowed to put him away and marry another. If he is a fornicator, and his wife is divorced from him, and re-marries, she commits adultery. The divorce law of Moses was better than that of Jesus, but both the law of Moses and the law of Jesus were unjust to the woman. And these men, Moses and Jesus, Christians wish to have recognized as the law-givers of our nation!

Jesus Christ commanded his followers to “resist not evil.”|| American Slavery was an evil. Abolitionists opposed it to such an extent that the “war was carried into Africa.”

Jesus Christ commanded that “Whosoever shall smite” a person on the cheek, the smitten one must turn the other to

* Mat. v: 32. † Mat. xix: 9. ‡ Mark x: 11, 12.

§ Luke xvi: 18. || Mat. v: 39.

be slapped, and not return the salute. The Southern Rebellion would have triumphed under such a "let alone" policy.

"Give to him that asketh thee."* Highway robbers would prosper by that command; for it is not predicated on the supposition that there would be none to ask. A community formed upon such a plan would be a society of "dead beats."† There could be no common defence. Unresisting millions would become the easy prey of human vultures. Society could have no protection. In the nature of things the aggressors would increase until anarchy would reign. Forcible resistance to tyranny, or any other "evil," is better.

It is a favorite expression with Christians, that "Infidels only read the Bible to find fault with it, to pick flaws. Why do they not speak of the good and beautiful things in the Bible, and in the teachings of our Lord and Savior? Why not say something about the beatitudes as contained in Matthew?"

So far as I am aware Liberalists read the Bible as they would any other book, to get at the truth in it. The most effective way to secure this result is to pick flaws. If a shrewd business man is about to purchase a fine estate he is very careful to examine the title deed. Sometimes a single flaw is enough to condemn the whole. Christians profess to believe that the Bible is the title deed of an Eternal Inheritance; that it is perfect, faultless, absolutely without a flaw! Why should they be so timid about having people seek for flaws in a document which they say has none? As the inheritance, of which it is claimed the Bible is a title deed, is of so much greater value than an earthly estate, we ought to scrutinize it more closely than any deed of merely earthly value. I will now proceed to the "Beatitudes," which have been so inordinately praised in all ages of the Christian

* Mat. v : 42.

† See Robert Laird Collier's Reply to Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton. He is my authority for the use of this classical phrase. The language of the clergy is a model of elegance!

church. Of what practical value is this "Sermon on the Mount?" Does it make human duty plain? Does it leave, as Christians claim, nothing in doubt?

"And he opened his mouth, and taught them." What did he teach? But before we proceed with the instruction I will inquire if he could have orally addressed the multitude unless "he opened his mouth?" Are not those words, then, unnecessary? Attention:

"Blessed are the poor in spirit; for their's is the kingdom of heaven."

Is that so plain that "wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein?"* There is disagreement about the true reading of the passage, which indeed may be said of nearly every passage in the book. "Blessed are the *poor*" is the way it should read, say some. The words "in spirit" they think is an interpolation. These words are omitted in Luke vi: 20. How is the rendering to be decided? If it should be settled that the proper version is "Blessed are the poor *in spirit*," does it mean poor-spirited people are blessed? and the *rich in spirit* are not blessed? If it is voted that Luke is right and that it means "Blessed are the poor," are people who are without home and friends; out in the desolate world, without anything to eat, and no money to buy, and nothing to do, are they blessed? Or, if the teaching is to be taken not literally but spiritually, who are the poor? Is it meek, spiritless people who are meant? Were the Puritans meek? Were they inoffensive? Was Peter meek? Was he blessed? Was Judas poor in spirit when he returned the thirty pieces of silver? Was he poor when he hanged himself? Was he "blessed" when he hanged himself?

"Blessed are they that mourn."

We are told this means those are blessed who mourn on account of their sins. Judas mourned on account of his

* Isaiah 35: 8.

sins. Was he blessed? Jesus Christ says, "It had been good for that man if he had not been born." But the passage teaches that mourners are blessed. It makes no distinctions nor exceptions.

"Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

All but that. Eighteen hundred years have rolled around since the utterance, and the *meek* are in the background yet. A father would give his son bad advice who should instruct him to be "meek," "passive," instead of manly and independent and courteous.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled."

After they are "filled" will they be hungry and thirsty? If not will they be blessed? Or will misery then begin? The Bible does not explain.

"Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy."

No exception is made. Do the merciful always obtain mercy? If they sometimes obtain it, do not the unmerciful secure it likewise?

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

Do very young children see God? If people are about half-and-half will they have the same privilege which Moses had when he saw God's "back parts."* Rev. Robert Collyer will "rise to explain."†

"Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God."

* Ex. xxxiii: 23.

† Mr. Collyer is a distinguished Unitarian clergyman in Chicago. He is well known as the "poet preacher," and is too sensible and too patriotic to favor union of Church and State. He is one of the most humorous divines of the age. While on a visit to England he addressed a concourse of people, taking for his text this to which I refer.

Were "Copperheads" * blessed? Were they called the children of God?

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake."

When church-members persecute each other vigorously is this why they "rejoice" and are "exceeding glad?" † Were Quakers blessed when Puritans bored their tongues through with red-hot irons? Was it a blessing to the Huguenots when they were driven from their homes? Is this why the recognition of God in the United States Constitution is demanded, so that Christians can make each other mutually happy and send Infidels to glory?

According to Luke, Jesus taught, "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you." What is the meaning of it? It contradicts "God's Word," "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold." ‡ "A good name is better than precious ointment." § Can the Bible-believer tell whether it is desirable to have mankind speak well of one? There are opposing declarations. Who can answer?

Jesus taught this meaningless doctrine: "That which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God." || Such a sentiment is either meaningless or pernicious. A man highly esteems his wife, we will suppose, or a wife her husband; therefore, the highly esteemed wife or husband is an abomination in the sight of God!

Here is another principle which we can readily believe many politicians have committed to memory: "I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unright-

* A term of reproach applied to Northern sympathizers with the Southern rebellion against the American Union, and who clamored for "peace on any terms."

† Mat. v.

‡ Prov. xxii: 1.

§ Ec. vii: 1.

|| Luke xvi: 15.

eousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."* Jesuits have been repeatedly charged with carrying that maxim into practice.

Worse than all he taught hatred to kindred: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."† Ministers interpret the word "hate" to mean a "less degree of love." They thus admit that as it reads it is a doctrine repugnant to the noblest instincts of human nature. But they give no proof that it means love in any degree. There is proof to the contrary: "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother in law against her daughter in law, and the daughter in law against her mother in law."‡ It would not be easy to give a more accurate picture of a domestic pandemonium.

In another part of the record he is represented as saying that he came to set relatives at variance, one against the other, and that "a man's foes shall be they of his own household."§ Such teaching carried into the family, and into government would be destructive of both.

But the ministers say the word "hate" does not mean hate. They give no proof that it does not. There is proof to the contrary. "Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall *kill* you: and ye shall be *hated* of all nations for my name's sake."|| "If the world *hate* you ye know that it *hated* me before it *hated* you." How would it sound with a minister's interpretation, "a less degree of love."

"If the world *loved you less*, ye know that it *loved me less* before it *loved you less*!"

* Luke xvi: 9. † Luke xiv: 26. ‡ Luke xii: 51, 52, 53.

§ Mat. x: 35, 36. || Mat. xxiv: 9.

The principles taught by Jesus Christ are not sufficiently practical for this world, neither are they good enough as a whole. His election would be a sham. Thousands are sincere in sustaining the sham. This is not questioned. Elect Jesus, and Christians, lusting for political power, would rule in his name

XIII.

THE RICH CHRISTIAN.

Rich men suppose their wealth will be no barrier to an entrance into heaven. But the New Testament teaches that the rich man is doomed to experience the tortures of hell. Christians read and interpret the book in such a way that wealth makes no difference in heavenly eligibility. Duty is not made plain by the Bible? It is rendered uncertain? Common sense and daily experience are against the Bible. It makes plain scarcely anything relating to daily life. It mystifies the mind, and stultifies reason. Suppose a soul is seeking for light in regard to the daily practical duties of life. It is directed to the Bible as the highest standard on earth. First, it desires to know what is right about acquiring wealth. The Old Testament, as a whole, favors the accumulation of riches; teaches that riches are a blessing. But Jesus Christ taught an opposite doctrine. He taught that *poverty* on earth is essential to secure happiness in the future world. "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also"*

It may be objected that this does not imply that the follower of Jesus should not engage in trade and lay by the accumulations of honest toil.

"Indeed," says the Christian, "I have always understood Christ's sayings on the subject of riches to mean that we should not become inordinately wealthy, not to put our trust in riches instead of in God, the Giver of all our blessings. Christ said, 'your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have

* Mat. vi: 21.

'need of all these things. But seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'

This is the usual style of Christian argument upon this subject, which amounts to a confession on their part that poverty is undesirable. They have put a meaning *into* the New Testament which harmonizes with the plain dictates of common sense. But they can get no such meaning in reference to riches *out* of it. What is it to seek first the "kingdom of God?" Some say one thing, some another. Some suppose that it is to "get religion" very young; others that it means to join a popular Orthodox church just before going into business, and the church-members will patronize them; others that it means to help build churches and support ministers even without becoming a member of any church. The Bible itself does not explain it. We get no instruction from the words.

"But," we are told with renewed emphasis, "it must mean building up the church of God on earth." If it does mean that, Where is the "church of God?"

If it means *any* Christian church then the seeker after the kingdom joins the Catholic —

"Oh, no," breaks in the Protestant, "not the Catholic church; that is a false church."

Very well. He joins the Universalist church.

"That will not do!" exclaim the Evangelicals.

Oh, then, you really mean "our church." The kingdom of God is found! "Our church!" It is sought and found. Then what? The promise is that things to eat, drink and to wear, will be added. How? Here is the interesting point in the search! How, Christians? They answer, "Why, by industry, economy, business sagacity." After thirty years close attention to business the Christian retires therefrom with a fortune. I say to him,

"My friend, you have here a beautiful estate, an imposing residence, comforts in almost every form surround you."

"Oh, yes, I am content with my treasure."

“But how can you reconcile this with the teachings of Jesus Christ, ‘Where your treasure is there will your heart be also?’”

“Easily enough. I *first* sought the ‘kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things’ have been added unto me.”

“Ah! I presume it has been by an active life of severe toil that you have prospered. But judging from your serene disposition you probably encountered but few obstacles to success, and overcame them all without anxiety as to your final triumph.”

‘Beg your pardon, sir, in that estimate you are quite mistaken. But few men have encountered more serious obstacles to success than myself. By devotion to business, working early and late, I achieved success where thousands fail. But then, I give God the glory, praise his name!’”

“Trusting so implicitly in ‘Providence’ you felt assured of victory, so have had but little anxiety.”

“Ah, my dear sir, no man can succeed in life without forethought, care, and often much anxiety of mind as to results of business ventures.”

“Jesus Christ taught that where your treasure is there will be your heart. *Your heart* is delighted with these treasures by which you are surrounded.”

“These are as dross compared with the treasure stored in heaven for all who love the Lord.”

“This world may be denominated full of vanity, and this magnificent estate of yours may be called ‘dross,’ but now, candidly, do you not love these possessions?”

“Certainly, certainly, but I love the Lord more than these. Jesus by the sea-side said to Peter, as related so exquisitely by the beloved John, ‘Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me *more* than these?’ There is nothing sinful in a proper use of wealth. It is the *love* of money—the *undue* love of money—that ‘is the root of all evil.’”*

“The passage reads the ‘love of money is the root of all

* 1 Tim. vi: 10.

evil.' Says nothing about 'undue' love. Now, my good friend, do you not *love* money? I do not say it is wrong that we should value earthly possessions. I believe we should place a just estimate upon them. But your New Testament prohibits it, and the so-called founder of your Christian religion held these blessings in utter contempt."

"I am astonished at your language. Jesus represents that his heavenly Father would add all these things unto the believer. Does that look as if he held earthly possessions in 'utter contempt?'"

"Jesus taught that his heavenly Father would do this. He advised his disciples to take no thought for the morrow."

"He *meant* no *anxious* thought, that is clearly the meaning of the text."

"If that is the meaning, why does the text not say what is meant? How can we judge of an author's meaning except by his *words*? Jesus says, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' I will apply his own rule to his own words."

"Still, we need to exercise reason, and from the general tenor or context, decide as to what an author does mean."

"That is judging his ideas by his words. We have no right to put words into an author's mouth that he did not utter."

"But it is unreasonable to suppose a man can live in this world without thought for the morrow. We could devise no plans and make no arrangements beyond the present day. No man could succeed in business upon any such theory."

"I agree with you in this, perfectly. The book, however, represents that Jesus taught just this doctrine which you say is 'unreasonable.'"

"It is not consistent to suppose that our Lord and Savior ever meant any such thing as that we should absolutely take *no* thought for the morrow."

"Oh, if you wish to put your own reason in place of Jesus Christ's words I have no objection. I think, sir, it would be an improvement upon much that he said. I beg to remind

you that we are discussing what he *said*, not what you hold to be reasonable, and what you think he *ought* to have said. But we will suppose for your accommodation that he said 'Take no' *anxious* 'thought for the morrow.' You have admitted to me that you have taken much anxious thought. You have consequently broken the commandment even with your amendment."

"I must say, sir, that I had not viewed it in this light heretofore. But I think the Bible should be taken in all its connections. We should compare Bible with Bible. Then there will be no inconsistency, but a beautiful harmony. Paul advised that we should not be 'slothful in business.'"

"I believe, too, that we should quote an author's words as not to do him injustice. You have several writers of the Bible whose utterances you assume come from *one mind alone* incapable of error. We compare the Bible with Bible, and we are straightway charged with picking out here and there passages that suit our views. If we quote passages from a single author and make him responsible for his own sayings we are then censured for not taking texts 'here and there.' The question now is what did Jesus teach, not what Paul taught, in regard to the practical affairs of this life?"

"If he taught that we should make no provision for the future, how can you explain this, 'For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.' Do you mean to say that Jesus had not common sense?"

"Very true, Jesus claimed that his father knew that people need clothes, and edibles. In fact, you remember the account where the 'Lord God' is said to have made suits for Adam and Eve.* Probably Jesus had this circumstance in his mind's eye when he said, 'Why take ye thought for raiment?' Such a conundrum can be readily answered. Nakedness would ensue if they did not. Faith is at a heavy discount in the provision and clothing business!"

"Faith in God does not imply that we should do nothing for ourselves. We are to perform our work, all that lies

* Gen. iii: 21.

within our power, then after we have done our best, leave the consequences to Him. We need have no fear but He will do His part. God 'is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us.' " *

"The 'faith' which Jesus taught did imply that his followers should take no thought for the morrow, no thought for raiment. After asking his disciples why they took thought for raiment he says, Shall he [God] not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? † Would it not be a good plan to try a spell of faith just for one suit of linsey woolsey? "

"My friend, I do not think you ought to make light of sacred matters. God employs human instrumentalities to carry out his will."

"Did he when Adam and Eve were furnished suits from the heavenly tailor shop? Never mind my little dashes at jokes. They are like some Christians' prayers. I mean nothing by them. It is a poor religion that cannot stand a little humor.

"If our Savior meant that we should have no earthly possessions why did he say, first seek the kingdom of heaven, and then they would be added? Why did he say that those who would forsake all for him would receive a hundredfold? "

"You do not believe that they are to receive a hundredfold in this life? "

"So reads God's word."

"Is not that incredible? "

"It is God's promise."

"Do you believe any such thing? "

"I believe what the Bible tells me."

"Look at it. It declares that every one that followed him and had forsaken houses, lands and friends would receive a hundredfold. It could not mean in this world, because Jesus Christ is represented by Matthew as saying 'ye which have followed me, *in the regeneration when* the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon

* Eph. iii: 20. † Mat. vi: 30.

twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' * They were to *forsake all on earth* in order to obtain heavenly treasure."

"I do not understand that the followers of Christ were to abandon all earthly comforts. The Scriptures do not so teach. David said 'Those that wait upon the LORD, they shall inherit the earth.' Our Savior said, 'There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, but he shall receive a hundredfold, *now in this time*, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; *and in the world to come* eternal life.' † Remember God's servant, Job. 'The LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before,' ‡ and he 'blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning.'"

"I expected you to quote Mark's account of Jesus' teaching on the property question. I can now easily show the inconsistency of the teaching. It states that a man who has left a house shall receive a hundred houses"—

"It does not say so. He shall receive a hundredfold in being blessed, not that he shall have a *hundred* houses. That would be preposterous!

"But the text you have quoted says 'houses.' It says brethren—a hundredfold—a hundred brethren"—

"Ah! 'brethren,' not after the flesh, but brethren in the Lord."

"It does not say so. It says, also, whoever forsakes mother for 'Christ's sake' shall receive a hundredfold of mothers. Are they mothers 'in the Lord'? It says whoever leaves a wife for 'Christ's sake' shall receive a hundredfold—a *hundred wives*—polygamy! Mormonism! taught by Jesus Christ! It'—

"Hold! my friend, can you be sane to imagine that the Lord Jesus ever taught any such doctrine? He does not mention the word 'wife' in his enumeration of the hundredfold. The word wife is *omitted!*"

* Mat. xix: 28.

† Mark x: 29, 30.

‡ Job xlii: 10.

“There is nothing to show that the author intended to repeat every detail. He not only omits the word ‘wife’ but the word ‘*father*.’ Would it not be as practicable to have a hundred fathers ‘in the Lord’ as a hundred mothers? Matthew omits to enumerate any of those words.”

“It appears to me that no reasonable man could think that Our Lord taught that if we left all for his sake that we would have a hundred times as much in kind.”

“I quoted Matthew to show that the hundredfold treasure was to be in the next world, but as you had in mind that earthly wealth should be possessed by Christians as well as by others you opposed that view. You quoted David to prove that those who are the Lord’s will inherit the earth. If every person could have the assurance that by first seeking the kingdom of God, and forsaking a farm or a house, that a hundred houses or farms would be added, there would be a general investment in heavenly estate! Christians are no more prosperous than Infidels, than Mohammedans, than Japanese in worldly possessions.”

“Many of the teachings of the Lord were applicable to his immediate disciples only. They could have no reference to our time. His parting injunction to his disciples was to go and ‘teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ * Why not read the Bible with as much allowance as you would any other book? It is not consistent to believe we are bound by all that he taught his disciples. He commanded *them* to go and preach. Must we all turn preachers, therefore? Must we go to all nations? Must we all baptize each other?”

“Yes! if your record is to be the criterion. You forgot to quote the next clause of the injunction, ‘Teaching *them* to observe *all things whatsoever* I have commanded *you*.’ His object apparently was to convert the whole world in a short time to his religion. By making all, who could be converted, preachers, the whole race would have been baptized and claimed as his disciples long before this, especially if the

* Mat. xxviii. 19

'signs' following the preaching had continued. Jesus Christ has no followers on earth! He has millions of *professed* believers, but not one true follower."

"Our Lord could not have expected us to keep *all* his sayings. Peter did not keep them, nor did the other disciples; yet Jesus said to them, 'Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' No one has been able to keep the Golden Rule. Jesus died for us, and when we have done our best, and have repented of our sins, he graciously forgives us the balance. We are not to be saved by works, but by faith."

"This is your Christian system as propounded by some of the apostles and their disciples. Jesus Christ taught that 'whosoever shall break *one* of these *least* commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall *do* and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.'* If those who commit a crime can be forgiven, and gain heaven as easily as if it had not been committed, provided they repent, are sorry then Judas who betrayed and repented is sitting on one of those 'twelve thrones.' He was one among those who were promised a judgeship in heaven."

"I have faith in Jesus to wash my sins away. I will love and trust him to the end."

"Your Jesus says, 'He that hath my commandments, and *keepeth* them, he it is that loveth me.' † Do you keep them?"

"No human being is able to keep them all. He would be perfect if he lived out all the rules he taught."

"He would be very imperfect. But as you confess that you do not and cannot keep his commandments you are not a follower of his. He said, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments.' ‡ 'He that *loveth me not* keepeth not my sayings.' § John bears testimony to this view of the case. He says, 'Hereby we do know that we know him, *if we keep*

* Mat. v: 19.

† John xiv: 21.

‡ John xiv: 15.

§ John xiv: 24.

*his commandments.** James says, 'Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in *one point*, he is guilty of all.' † 'To place the matter beyond all dispute, that it is not sufficient to say a person *believes* in Jesus in order to be a follower of his, John says, 'He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.' ‡

"But if a man lived out the sayings of Our Lord, would he not be perfect? You admit that they are so immeasurably beyond our reach that no man could keep them all! That is a singular objection against his teachings, that they are so good no man is able to reduce them to practical life! I did not suppose it was anything against the Golden Rule because no one has *actualized* it"

"I did not even seem to admit his teachings are so *good* that it is impossible to keep them, but because they are impracticable, and would be detrimental to any person who obeyed them all"

"Really that is remarkable! His teachings *so bad* that no one can successfully reduce them to practice. I was not aware that the practice of vice was so difficult an art!"

"This is another mistake which you Christians make. You always bedeck the 'Road to Ruin' with flowers, represent the practice of Virtue as a thorny path, and obedience to natural law an impossibility."

"Proceed with your discourse. I am interested."

"I will do so with pleasure. My theme is 'The teachings of Jesus Christ on Poverty and Riches.'

"A rich Christian cannot enter the kingdom of Heaven. You need not smile. It is the teaching of your Bible. I think you will not take it as an affront if I make *you* a living illustration of my subject on the side of a well-earned fortune."

"You highly honor me."

"Jesus taught that 'no man can serve two masters,' 'can not serve God and mammon.' § As there are but few

* 1 John ii: 3.

† James ii: 10.

‡ 1 John ii: 4.

§ Mat. vi: 24.

drunkards who will confess that their appetite for strong drink is their master, so there are but few, if any, rich Christians who will admit that wealth, or mammon, is theirs. They may each own a million dollars. It is all the same. They construe, 'Where your treasure is there will your heart be also,' into 'get as rich as you can'—but call it 'dross' and you are safe. They read the words of their 'Lord and Master,' 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.'*

"The inference was that if there were no earthly treasures, if everybody was poor, thieves would have poor picking.

"'But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves doth not break through nor steal.'"

"O! this means that we are not to become inordinately wealthy, so as to lead our minds away from God."

"Why does it not say so, then? The teachings contained in other portions of the Testament prove that it means *no treasures* should be possessed upon earth. Christians, as a rule, practically do not believe in the injunction to remain poor. If the teaching was that fifty per cent. of treasure could be laid up in heaven and the balance on earth, the rich Christian would be free from an uncomfortable dilemma. The teaching is plain enough that the treasure must be *either* in heaven or on the earth, not divided and deposited in *both* places. When that very rich ruler came to him, and claimed to have kept every commandment which he enumerated, he then said to him; 'Sell *all* thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.' † The young gentleman seemed to prefer present wealth to prospective bliss! Did what nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand Christians of the present day would do under similar circumstances. Every follower of Jesus is bound by this command to sell all his, or her, earthly possessions and distribute to the poor. Who are the

* Mat. vi : 19.

† Luke xviii : 22.

followers of Jesus? 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that *doeth* the will of my Father which is in heaven.*' 'Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and *doeth* them,' † was compared to a wise man. One saying was to sell and give away earthly possessions in order to secure heavenly treasure. Such a precept, I readily grant, is opposed to the plain dictates of common sense. It would reduce society to a state of universal mendicancy.

"To make this still more clearly seen, look at these commandments and maxims: 'Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on.' 'Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?' ‡

"What a lazy, rollicking world this would be if such elements of shiftlessness were reduced to practice. The North American Indians, and savages in other parts of the world, come very near practicing such preaching—and this is one of the principal reasons why they are savages. Those of them who become susceptible to the influences of civilization do take 'thought for the morrow,' while in their barbarous state they let 'the morrow' 'take thought for the things of itself.'

"The logical inference of these teachings of the founder of Christianity is, that as God feeds fowls, which neither sow, nor reap, nor gather into barns, so if men, who are 'much better than they,' would not sow, nor reap, God would feed them!

"It is not good reasoning to say, Inasmuch as we cannot add a cubit to our stature by forethought, therefore we cannot benefit ourselves by making provision for the future! Because lilies 'toil not, neither do they spin,' is no reason why men and women should not work.

"Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat?

* Mat. vii: 21.

† Mat. vii: 24.

‡ Mat. vi: 25, 26.

or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:)'—

“Which shows their good sense, and accounts for their energy, prosperity, civilization, all of which, without the least proof, Christians claim as the result of their master’s teachings. The Gentiles have adhered faithfully to their old habit of caring more for the things of this world than for an investment in heavenly stock. Result: Thrift, Energy, Progress, Art, Science, Invention; prosperous towns, villages, cities, railroads, telegraphs, etc., etc., etc., not one of which *could* have existed if the maxims of Jesus Christ had been obeyed. Good for the Gentiles! The followers of Jesus — if he has any — have wheeled into line, and are helping the Gentiles to answer the questions, ‘What shall we eat? Wherewithal shall we be clothed?’ Very important problems in this life, the practical solution of which determines a large share of the happiness or misery of mankind. The maxims of Jesus Christ would reduce us to *poverty*. He gave the poor the kingdom of God, merely because they were poor; and pronounced woe upon the rich simply because they were rich. ‘Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.’* ‘But woe unto you that are rich! for you have received your consolation.’† Even in his parables he expressed the same thought: assigned Lazarus a snug place in Abraham’s bosom, and gave the rich man hell, where the climate seemed to be very warm and dry. He was reminded that in his lifetime he received his good things, and Lazarus evil things, ‘but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.’ From this teaching we are to understand that people who are rich on earth will go to hell. It is not said the rich man went to hell because he was wicked, but because he received ‘good things.’ No other reason given why Lazarus should receive comfort than that he had been poor, a beggar, received ‘evil things.’ Such a doctrine has a tendency to paralyze the best energies of

* Luke vi: 20.

† Luke vi: 24.

the human soul; and saps industry, without which there could be no civilization.

“Jesus Christ despised wealth, which proves him to have been no philosopher. It is not questioned that wealth, like any other blessing may be perverted to evil purposes; but poverty, the system which he recommended, is an unmitigated curse to the race. The teaching of Dr. Samuel Johnson on this subject is much better. ‘Resolve not to be poor. Whatever you have, spend less. Poverty is an enemy to human happiness. It often destroys liberty, makes some virtues difficult, and some impracticable.’

“Robert Bonner and Henry Ward Beecher profess Jesus and practice Johnson. That camel of which Bonner gave an illustration in his *Ledger*, on its knees, getting through the ‘Needle’s eye,’ after it had been divested of its load of wealth, would have been a source of greater comfort to rich Christians if the text had said ‘*loaded* camel.’

“*No admittance for rich men!* Such was the teaching of the Christian founder with reference to heaven; while, on the other hand, he taught what would justify this inscription over the heavenly gate: *Beggars’ Safe Retreat!*

“‘It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.’* It is not strange that the disciples were ‘exceedingly amazed,’ and at once inquired, ‘Who then can be saved?’ † Why this amazement if Jesus Christ meant by the ‘eye of a needle’ the gateway of a city wall? He meant no such thing, else why should he say, ‘With men this is impossible.’ ‡ The subsequent phrase, ‘with God all things are possible’ is no solution of the matter, unless it is made to mean a contradiction of all he had previously uttered upon the subject. But is it possible for a personal God to annihilate himself, or destroy a single particle of matter? Is it possible for God to lie? § I am thus minute because the clergy interpret these passages on riches as to allow rich men an entrance

* Mat. xix: 24.

† Mat. xix: 25.

‡ Mat. xix: 26.

§ Heb. vi: 18.

into heaven—and into their churches—in direct opposition to the emphatic declarations of their master to the contrary, that heaven was not to be their future abode.

“To show that when he advised selling *all* earthly possessions and distributing to the poor, in order to have treasure in heaven, he was understood to mean just what he said, I will refer to the early believers who ‘had all things common : and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.’* ”

“After the declaration that it was as impossible for a rich man to enter into heaven as for a camel to go through a needle’s eye, Peter said, ‘Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?’ They had forsaken houses, lands, kindred, even wives and children. This their master commended. † In as forcible terms as language would allow, he indicated who could not be his disciples; ‘whosoever he be of you that *forsaketh not all that he hath*, he cannot be my disciple.’” ‡

“Such commandments are not binding upon us.”

“What commands are binding, and how do you determine what are and are not in force?”

“I think such discussion is unprofitable. It tends to weaken one’s faith in God’s Word.”

“Discussion is *unprofitable*—to error, never to truth.”

“I shall trust in God.”

“And let the poor starve.”

“If we divided with them the majority would be beggars in less than a week. In the divine economy ‘the poor,’ as our Savior said, ‘always ye have with you.’”

“That doctrine has helped to make the rich deaf to the cries of the poor, and kept the laboring man in the treadmill of poorly paid toil.”

“This subject has become painful to me. You will oblige me by discontinuing your remarks.”

“Nay, I would not wound you, but if you devote your surplus to the ignorant and degraded instead of supporting pampered ministers, and building gorgeous temples for God, your wealth would prove a blessing, not only to yourself, but thousands who are now paupers would be made self-helpful.”

* Acts ii: 44, 45. † Mat. xix: 29. ‡ Luke xiv: 33.

XIV.

THE "SANCTIFIED."

"O, ye wha are sae guid yoursel
Sae pious and sae holy."
—*Selected.*

"Who shall the Lord's elect condemn?
'Tis God that justifies *their* souls;
And mercy like a mighty stream,
O'er *all* their sins divinely rolls."
—*Watts.*

The Clergy say they want none but holy men to rule this land. They inform us this is God's wish. They know what his wishes are. To be informed of God's plans is a clerical prerogative. Says Rev. T. P. Stevenson, "God holds the nation responsible for the acts of its government." It is a peculiarity which these gentlemen have of reporting their familiar interviews with God.

Says the *Church Union*, May 2; 1869, "We want to enlist in the interest of the State the *sanctified intellect and conscience* of our country, now so thoroughly alienated. If we are Christians, let us make no hypocritical pretension of founding our government on Christian principles." It said further, "*Let no one hold an office of trust or profit whose life has not been conformable thereto.*"

Mr. Iredell in the South Carolina Legislature said, "It is never to be supposed that the people of America will trust their dearest interests with persons of no religion or of a religion materially different from their own." *

* *Christian Statesman*, March 1, 1872.

Theophilus Parsons, afterward Chief Justice, declared in the Massachusetts Convention, "No man can wish more ardently than I do that all our public offices may be filled by men who fear God and hate wickedness." *

In the same Convention Rev. Mr. Shute, a Congregational clergyman said, "The presumption is that the eyes of the people will be upon the faithful in the land, [Christians, of course] and from a regard to their own safety they will choose for their rulers [Christians] men of known abilities, of known probity and of good moral character." *

"Government in the hands of men who fear not God is like a ship in the hands of blind men, who can see neither compass or beacon, sun or stars." †

He clinches his argument in favor of none but "Godly men" for office, by Bible texts: "Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, *such as fear God.*" "He that ruleth over men must be just, *ruling in the fear of God.*" The Christian's duty is plain in this case, he should never vote for an Infidel, however moral!

Says the *Christian Statesman*, "Civil office should be restricted by Constitutional enactment to men in sympathy with the great ends of government."

Says Rev. J. S. T. Milligan, "Senators*** and representatives. * * * * members of the State legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be just men, fearers of God and haters of covetousness."

Such are the claims. When the new Christian party is fairly before the country as a religious-political organization, the anti-Christian papers will remember the *saintliness* of the Clergy. The number of cases which I have gathered of the "godly" acts of the "holy servants" of the Most High are voluminous enough to fill two such volumes as this. Indeed

* *Christian Statesman*, March 1, 1872.

† *Rev. T. P. Stevenson in Cincinnati Convention, held January 31 and February 1, 1872.*

it would require but a brief search to make a "Clerical Scandal Index" of five hundred pages! I take no pleasure in parading before the world the defects of human nature. But when the Clergy are constantly setting themselves up as better than other men, thanking God that they are "not as other men are," mourning over the wickedness of this sinful world, to which the court records, police gazettes, daily press and general observation show they contribute more than their share of crime, it is proper that some attention should be paid to them. It may not be flattering to their vanity to receive such attention, but truth requires it. Who are the "holy men?" The daily press conveys this information

Rev. Wesley of Geneseo, Ill., ran away with another man's wife.

Rev. Packard (Presbyterian,) shut his wife in an Insane Asylum for years because she did not believe that the majority, or any portion of the race would be *eternally damned!* Mrs. E. P. W. Packard is a lady whose character is above suspicion. The history of her incarceration was published in the daily papers at the time of her trial on the question of her sanity.

The Peoria (Ill.), *Transcript*, January 20, 1868, contains an account of Rev. Craig of El Paso, Ill., guilty of *crim. con.* with a lady of that place.

The Detroit *Free Press* notices a clerical rascal who eloped with Mrs. Morehouse. She was said to have been a "highly respected lady." The Reverend gentleman left a note for his clerical successor, stating that he had deserted his wife and family for "reasons best known to himself, and that cherishing the wife he had now selected, he should resume preaching" in the far West; that he would be an "exemplary Christian" and hoped "to meet all his *former friends in heaven!*" Bless Jesus!

" 'Twas he that cleansed our foulest sins
And washed us in his richest blood."

—Watts.

The Jackson *Sentinel*, (Maquoketa, Iowa,) several years ago stated that there were grossly exaggerated reports about Rev. H. D. Fields, pastor of the Baptist Church of Maquoketa trying to commit suicide. "*Out of deference to the wishes of the Reverend gentleman's congregation*" the matter was passed in silence by the local press. There are many transactions in the church which are carefully concealed.

For instance, this item was published in many papers. "A Preacher Off the Track. Cincinnati, Jan. 11.—The village of Milford, 14 miles east of this city, was thrown into a fever of excitement on Friday evening last by the discovery of a criminal intimacy between Rev. S. J. Bartlett, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the wife of one of our citizens, *whose name the knowing ones will not divulge*. The naughty parson is handsome and irresistible—the erring lady attractive and childless."

Ottumwa, Iowa, had a Reverend sensation, elopement of Dr. J. H. Flint and Mrs. E. Plank. Dr. Flint was a "popular and highly successful physician, a revered minister of the Gospel." Both parties "highly respectable"—*as usual*. All church members are highly respectable.

During the trial of Rev. Linn, of Pittsburg, Pa., the Rev. Dr. McKinney, an aged Presbyterian, one of Rev. Linn's prosecutors is reported to have uttered the following in his argument: "He knew from pleasant experience, forty years ago that young ladies would struggle, even when they did not object to being kissed. They struggled that there might be more hugging done."

"The Lord, however, is glorifying himself by these things!" *

When this new Christian party is fully equipped thousands of amusing incidents and practical jokes at the expense of the clergy will have a wide publication, the least harmful will be such as this, for which the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* is responsible:

* *North-Western Christian Advocate*.

“At a ministers’ meeting not long ago, not many miles from this city, a discussion arose about some passage in the New Testament, but none of the clergymen present happened to have a Bible about him. At dinner another discussion over a bottle occurred, where a corkscrew was needed, and every man in the company had one in his pocket.”

The Baltimore *Crucible*, of Oct. 14, 1871, has the following:

“SAINTLY SEDUCTION.

“Still they come. Another case of clerical free-loveism has been unearthed in Decatur, Georgia. The Rev. Miriam D. Wood seduced Miss Emma J. Chivers, a young lady of high position and fine talents. The result is a ‘bouncing boy’ that has no legal right to be here. The young gent is here illegally, and like ‘Banquo’s Ghost’ won’t ‘down.’ The parents feel worse than the child does over the matter. The minister and girl have both learned that ‘tis human to err.’ They now busy themselves trying to persuade the people that ‘tis divine to forgive.’ Some of the people seem willing that it should be so, for they being human, will not forgive.

“The Reverend Seducer is now under arrest, and it is feared the ‘handsome minister with raven locks’ will have to serve the State in some other capacity than as a minister

‘We should say before closing this, that this case of seduction had long been a matter of prayer, and came in answer to prayer. Why not? If God seduced a virgin, why not send his ministers to lead others astray?’—*Moses Hull*.

ROBED RASCALITY.

Another Dr. Huston in a Savannah Episcopal Pulpit.

“About three years since Rev. Dr. J. M. Mitchell, of Maine, received a call to the rectorship of Christ church in this city. Dr. Mitchell entered upon the duties of his position with great zeal, and soon endeared himself to his flock. He was regarded as a pure, holy man, sincerely devoted to his good work, and as time rolled on increased in popularity.”—*Savannah News*, May 20, 1872.

“He endeared himself to his flock!” Most of them do.

These saintly shepherds dearly love the "little lambs." Here is what came of Dr. Mitchell's fondness for the pets:

"Serious offences of the most cogent character as to startle every one. They were so clearly established as to completely destroy all claim to innocence."—*Savannah News*.

And then this "servant of the Lord" lied about it. The same paper states:

"On Thursday evening he sent for Bishop Beckwith, and, in the face of his repeated denials, acknowledged his guilt, and offered in palliation of his grave crimes the excuse that he had been tempted and fallen."

The *News* gives us the result:

"Yesterday morning during the service at Christ Church, Bishop Beckwith announced that it was his painful and sad duty to inform the congregation of the removal of Rev. Dr. J. M. Mitchell for gross immoral conduct, which he had confessed; that the unfortunate man had also renounced his profession as priest, and had delivered up his authority to preach."

There are white shepherds over every flock!—but they are scarce. "Sanctified intellect!"

The following telegram, concerning the New York M. E. General Conference, published in the daily papers May 20, 1872, affords a fair indication of the "honest" government we would have when all the offices would be filled by Christians:

"In the Methodist General Conference to-day Dr. Curry presented a memorial of J. S. Goodenough, former superintendent of the printing department of the Book Concern, in which he replies to certain assertions concerning him in Dr. Lanahan's report. Mr. Goodenough contends that the concern met with no loss during his superintendency, and alleges that Dr. Lanahan's motive in bringing charges against him was to get his own son into the paper business. Dr. Lanahan said Goodenough might as well accuse him of wanting to make his son an Atheist as to put him into the

paper business. Dr. Lanahan then charged that the whole concern, editors, secretaries, and agents, were concerned in the oil speculations to the detriment of the Church, and that J. F. Porter, who purchased paper for the concern, was a prison convict. [Loud cries of 'Order,' 'Hear him out!' etc.]

A majority of a Christian committee report, "perfect innocence" of the accused. The New York *Sun* strongly intimates that these Christian gentlemen aimed to quiet the fears of the great body of Methodists, and to screen their offending brethren even at the *expense of the truth*. Pious lying among Christians is not a "lost art." There was a minority report of the committee which charges corruption, wholesale stealing by the Christian agents.

The New York *Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1871, said :

"The only result of the inquiry has been to sow dissension in the Church, to arouse uncharitable feelings in the ministry, and to fill the outside public with suspicion not only of the commercial prosperity of the great Methodist publishing house, but of the disposition, or at least the ability, of the Committee to investigate thoroughly its condition or correct any abuses which may have crept into it. This bitter fruit of the long controversy may have sprung in part from professional ignorance of the ordinary forms of dispensing justice, because ministers are not often familiar with the processes of courts; but surely common sense might have saved the Committee from the egregious blunders which have marked their whole course in this important matter. It is about fifteen months since Dr. Lanahan published his charges against the management of the Book Concern, alleging that there had been heavy losses through fraud or gross misconduct in the administration. The Book Committee met to investigate these charges, and found that they were in the main true; but meanwhile a violent hostility had been excited against Dr. Lanahan, and in January, 1870, the Committee was called together again to revise its former decision. The result of these supplementary proceedings was a majority report whitewashing the Book Concern and declaring that there had been no losses at all, and a minority report reiterating the previous judgment."

Dr. Lanahan said,

“I have asserted that frauds and corruptions exist in the management of the Book Concern, and I stand by my words.”

“Think of it! frauds and corruptions by “Sanctified intellects!”

I presume no minister will admit that their Master hated Pharisees as *men* when he said, “Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widow’s houses, and for a pretence make long prayer.” “Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves.” “Woe unto you, ye blind guides.” “Ye fools and blind.” “Like unto whited sepulchres,” “appear beautiful outward,” “within full of dead men’s bones,” “uncleanness,” “so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within you are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.”

I bear the Clergy no ill-will, ’tis their calling that is a curse to themselves and the world. It is because they array their Asiatic religion as the antagonist of our splendid Republic that I despise that religion.

It will not be inadvisable to give a few specimen cases of clerical holiness in detail:

An ordained servant of the Lord, a meek and gentle follower of the lowly Jesus, Rev. Joel Lindsley, a Presbyterian clergyman, residing near Medina, in the State of New York, whipped to death his child, only three years of age, because the little fellow would not say his prayers! This was in June, 1866. Says the Rochester, (N. Y.,) *Union*:

“We learn from railroad men who came from Medina this morning that there was a great excitement in that village arising from a report that a Presbyterian clergyman, named Lindsley, residing a mile south of the village, yesterday whipped his son, three years old, so severely that he died two hours afterward, because he would not say his prayers. Report adds, that the child’s fingers were broken by the blows administered. The report seemed so monstrous and unnatural, that we telegraphed to Medina to learn if it was true, and received an answer that it was.

“The telegraph states that the minister was two hours whipping the child with a heavy rod, and it died within the time stated above. Lindsley had not been arrested at the time the dispatch was sent, but we learn that an officer from Albion has gone to Medina to take him into custody. For the sake of common humanity, we hope the story is exaggerated, and it may be possible that it is.

“Since writing the above, we have received by special telegraph the statement of Mr. Lindsley, the father of the child, made to a jury summoned by Coroner Chamberlain: ‘On the 18th of June, the child disobeyed his step-mother, and I commenced correcting him, using a shingle for the purpose, and continued to chastise him for more than two hours, when the child began to show signs of debility; and I ceased to punish him, and laid him on a couch and called my wife. When she saw the child, she said he was dying, and before twelve o’clock he was dead.’ The coroner’s jury returned a verdict yesterday, ‘that death resulted from chastisement by the father.’”

“Lindsley’s (that’s the monster’s name) statement before the coroner’s jury was corroborated by other witnesses before the jury. The body of the child told more plainly and pathetically than words could of the terrible punishment it had undergone. Several of its fingers were broken, and the blood had oozed from every pore. To conceal the crime, the father had tied the little one’s hands behind its back and placed it in its coffin. While physicians were making a post-mortem examination of the body, he sat by, coolly looking at the proceedings. After a while he spoke, and asked them if they had not carried ‘this thing about far enough?’ The physicians discovered no disease about the child; it died solely from excessive and cruel punishment. The little one would have been three years old next August—whipped to death because it would not say its prayers.

“We are told that Lindsley justified his horrid work! He thinks it was his duty to punish the child until his will was broken and he obeyed. Lindsley was arrested and committed to jail in Albion. It was with the utmost difficulty that the officers who had him in charge could keep the citizens of Medina and neighborhood from lynching the murderer on the spot. Lindsley is a man about five feet eight inches in height, well proportioned, has black whiskers, and dark complexion. He has the appearance of a man of violent temper.”

In reference to this affair, the Orleans, (N. Y.,) *Republican* philosophises :

“ THE LINDSLEY WHIPPING CASE.

“ This is a case of great peculiarity. No one, taking a *natural* view of the matter, can for a moment suppose that this father *intended* to kill his own child. If premeditation is an ingredient of murder, Lindsley is not a murderer.

“ Heretofore, we are informed, this clergyman has sustained a spotless reputation, and was considered an inoffensive man ; therefore, we cannot class him with those depraved wretches whose evil deeds are a terror to the community in which they live. Nor can we suppose he was so inflamed by anger toward a little child, three years of age, that he deliberately pounded it to death.

“ Mr. Lindsley has probably been a man of austere piety, a piety that is intolerant to the opinions of others and uncompromising in its dealings with the world. There are thousands of such persons in the country ; they are men of impracticable minds, who claim that they should ‘ do right though the heavens fall,’ and they are unwilling that any thing should be considered ‘ right ’ unless they indorse it.* This was a peculiarity of the early settlers of New-England, who pierced holes through people’s tongues, and hanged them on the gallows, and banished them from the country, all in the name of their austere orthodoxy.

“ These peculiarities of religion are mostly the fault of education. Men are so impressed with the ‘ duty ’ they owe to God, that they commit the greatest outrages against humanity in the name of their Creator. Such religion is worse than no religion at all.

“ But thus has it been from the foundation of the world, not only with the Christian religion, but in all forms of idolatry. How many victims have suffered because of their intolerant spirit !

“ This man who has killed his child is to be pitied as well as condemned. He is to be pitied because he is so narrow-minded and full of bigotry as not to be able to understand the divine truths of the Master whom he professes to serve.

“ He is condemned, before trial, by all classes of the community—even by those who, some of them, are as bigoted

* Characteristic of Christians. It is this class of people who would apply the full rigor of law to Free Thinkers.

as he is, and by disciples of Jesus, who profess charity for all men. While we all must cry out against this frightful cruelty, let us speak a word against those false systems of religion that permit the beating of the life out of a tender child."

Clerical crime is so common that it is frequently commented on by the daily and weekly press. The cause of so much sin among the reverend gentlemen is an enigma to nearly all the members of the editorial fraternity. Many of them say that the Clergy's "sacred calling" ought to save them from the commission of crime. It is the sacred calling that, in the majority of cases, proves their ruin.

The *National Police Gazette* is probably as reliable as the daily press, and the conductors of that paper profess to exercise even greater care in the selection of news. It says:

"We receive, daily, communications from all parts of the United States, embracing narratives of crime and rascality which, if published (supposing them to be true,) would act as agents in deterring many people from violating the right, and rendering themselves infamous. But we find it impossible to use the majority of these communications because they are not satisfactorily authenticated. The *National Police Gazette* is not a channel for libel. It shall not be employed to gratify any individual's spleen, or minister to anybody's malice. In order, therefore, to guard against being made the instruments of personal vengeance, we have made it a rule to reject all correspondence which does not bear unmistakable marks of authentication. A mere name signed at the bottom will not do, unless we are acquainted with the signer, or the signature is accompanied by sufficient proof that it is genuine, and belongs to an individual who is telling the truth and 'nothing but the truth.'"

The *Gazette* contains the following brief notice of a godly man whose alleged misdeeds have been widely published:

"THE REVEREND WOLF OF BALTIMORE.—A TERRIBLE TALE FORTHCOMING.

"The committee having in charge the investigation into the conduct of Rev. Dr. Huston has so far completed its

labors as to be nearly ready to frame a regular church indictment against him, upon which he will be called to answer. The committee having but two days in the week to work, the investigation is naturally slow, as there are a great many charges being brought against him from different parts of the country where he has ministered, and almost every day the committee are in receipt of communications concerning his past career, which, if true, show a life of licentious crime never before heard of in this country. The mother of the young school girl whom he is alleged to have ruined in this city has given her testimony to the committee, but the terrible tale of the girl herself will not be heard until he makes answer to the indictment."

The Rev. Dr. Huston is called by the press of the country the "Clerical villain of Baltimore."

Dr. Huston has been acquitted by a "godly" tribunal; so has Rev. Dr. Berkley. The unholy press, however, condemn such ecclesiastical trials and farces. The *Cleveland Leader* has the following:

"ANOTHER TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE.

"After what purported to be a full and impartial investigation of the charges against the Rev. Dr. Huston of Baltimore, that very reverend culprit has been acquitted, the court standing two for conviction to three for acquittal. This, so far as the church is concerned, doubtless ends the case until some other young lady or servant girl comes to the front with a story of seduction and illicit relations against this hypocritical shepherd. There is a single word, however, with which we wish to take final leave of the case. The acquittal of Dr. Huston stands side by side with the extraordinary censure heaped upon Dr. Lanahan by the Methodist Book Concern Committee, as examples of the incapacity of church organizations to dispense justice. Dr. Lanahan came into the Book Concern in 1868, and before he had been there six months discovered grave errors and neglects. True to his duty, he collared the culprits, dragged them before the conference, showed the books, pointed out and proved the peculations and irregularities and was rewarded—how? By being called a brawler and a mischief maker, who was trying to stir up sedition in the church. These are notorious facts, and the public, which has read the reports and the figures,

knows them to be so. Just so the case of Dr. Huston. Two or three young girls, members of Dr. Huston's congregation, and a servant employed in his family for years, all bring against him the charge of seduction, each victim telling her sad story so minutely, so simply and with that mortified reserve and shame which could not be successfully counterfeited, and after it all three out of five clergymen appointed to try the culprit conclude that he has been punished enough, and that to save the credit of the church from this scandal, Dr. Huston had better be acquitted. The difficulty in both cases is the same. Neither the Book Concern Committee nor the Ecclesiastical Court at Baltimore have the courage to do justice where it would compromise the credit of their church. They prefer that their pulpits should set an example for the rakes and defaulters of the land rather than the enemies of religion should point to the convicted reverend and say 'he was a Methodist.' It is this indifference to law, this *esprit de corps* in congregations, rising above the sense of morality and justice, that renders the conviction of criminals so difficult and uncertain. Want of respect for the supremacy of the law, and reverence for justice for its own sake, these are conditions in the public mind which make crimes like those of Tweed and Fisk possible. It is useless to publish the decree that Dr. Huston is innocent, as it was for the Methodist committee to proclaim Dr. Lanahan a mischief maker and seditious because he insisted that a deficiency of \$30,000 in a single year and transfers, erasures, and other irregularities without number, proved that there was knavery somewhere. It is surely a sorry thing for a leading religious sect to have one of its leading ministers turn out a libertine and a liar, but it will not help the case for that church to attempt by whitewashing the transgressor to keep him in its fold. Now that the church has done with Dr. Huston, it is to be hoped that the friends of his alleged victims will bring him before a court of law, where justice to the weak rather than the credit of a sect or congregation will be the principle upon which the verdict is determined."—Cleveland Weekly Leader, June 15, 1872.

The Cleveland Daily Leader of June 19, says:

"DR. HUSTON BEFORE ANOTHER COURT.

"The case of Dr. Huston is not to be permanently disposed of by his acquittal at the hands of the five ministers of his

own sect. On Saturday last the grand jury of the criminal court of Baltimore found a true bill against Mr. Huston for adultery with Mary Driscoll, known in the recent proceedings as the 'Sunday school girl,' and the reverend wolf will now have a chance to try whether he can establish his innocence as easily before a court of law, as he has done before a board of his pulpit associates. The indictment contains three counts, all of the same character, but having reference to different offences, the latest being of the date of January 24, 1872. It is fortunate that this second trial is to come so closely in the wake of the first. Outside of a very small circle of Dr. Huston's friends, the whole country regards his late trial as a very transparent farce. If he is innocent it will require much more than the verdict of the Baltimore ecclesiastical court to make that innocence believed. If he is guilty it is the right of every parent in the land to know it. He is still a minister and he will have a full opportunity before the legal tribunal to make the strongest possible defense. Either he is guilty or he is the victim of one of the basest conspiracies ever organized against an innocent man. There is a deep crime somewhere. If he is the sinner it is due his church and society at large that it be known. If Mary Driscoll and her mother have conspired with Virginia Hopkins and the two or three other accusers of Dr. Huston, to rob him of his character, the law should find them and punish them according to their grave offense. Black-mailing a clergyman is next in the list of crimes to seduction itself, and the public will wait with interest to know which of these crimes is involved in the Huston case."

The Church is a gigantic institution for the concealment of crime. It is a notorious fact that church members esteem it their solemn duty to hide the corruption which transpires in their midst from the rude gaze of worldly sinners. In a large number of cases of immorality among clergymen which become public, there is evidence of attempts to "hush" for the good of the church! Who can estimate the number of cases of immoral conduct which are kept secret in the bosom of the church?

And now the daily papers contain columns of information about a reverend doctor of St. Louis with a "spotless reputation." This Rev. Dr. E. F. Berkley has been charged with

taking undue liberties with the gentle young lambs of his flock—several young girls alleged to be his victims, among the number a Miss Ella Perry, thirteen years of age. If it is not a shepherd's place to handle his lambs, as this reverend is charged with doing, whose place is it? This whole doctrine of "sheep and shepherds" has begotten a great deal of "holy petting." The Reverend doctor confesses on trial that he is extremely fond of petting. When girls and women will persist in almost smothering their parsons with kisses they ought to reflect, in the language of the *Chicago Pulpit*, that "unthinkingly women may seem to be only tempting the office, when they are unwittingly laying snares for its *occupant*." Dr. Berkley testified under oath that Ella Perry put her arms around him and kissed him. It would appear from the report of the trial that such acts were not uncommon. Taking a common sense view of the matter they are not sinful, but unless clergymen, (who are so generally petted and caressed by attractive women and pretty girls,) are sustained by principle as firm as the "rock of ages"; unless their passions are held in subjection and guided by intellect, they would be more than flesh and blood if they did not fall.

"ELOPEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

"*A Brooklyn Matrimonial Mystery. A Sunday School Superintendent Falls Terribly from Grace. He runs to Canada with another man's Wife. The Docks and Ferries Sounded for his Recovery. He is supposed to have been Murdered. His Sudden Return and Open Confession before His Church. The Lady Retreats to her Newark House. Apparent Reconciliations in the Smitten Families. Astounding Developments in Unsuspected Characters.*

"An extraordinary illustration of lawless family romance has just disclosed itself in our neighboring city of Brooklyn. That Metropolitan suburb is distinguished as the City of Churches, and is quite rampant with the latest editions of the reformatory spirit. But its reformatory tendency is not confined to any one speciality, but pushes out boldly, as will be seen, in diverse directions.

“ Among the citizens of Brooklyn, there is one gentleman who has been heretofore distinguished as a member of the Methodist persuasion. He is a member of a church in Brooklyn, known as the Johnson street Methodist Church, and he has figured until quite recently as Superintendent of its Sabbath school. He is a married man, and has hitherto lived with the wife of his choice in undisturbed peace. This couple was indeed remarkable for the apparent domestic serenity of their lives, and for the marked partiality they uniformly manifested for each other. They appeared indeed more like a newly married couple, roseate with the first flush of a recent bridal, than like a ripe husband and wife, approaching the term of meridian experience—such seemed their full, mutual satisfaction with each other’s society, and such their apparent happiness in promoting each other’s happiness. The gentleman here referred to is now forty-five years of age, lives at No. 100 Hampden street, Brooklyn, and as we have thus far defined him, we may further state that he is known as Stephen Owen. This gentleman, in his domestic relations, has heretofore been distinguished as particularly domestic in his habits. His pecuniary condition is at least thrifty with every needed personal comfort. He dresses with neatness and modesty, always makes a presentable appearance and is a man of decided intelligence, in the larger sense of that word—in the sense that implies various and accurate reading, with sufficient thought and capacity for mental digestion to avail himself of his reading, and employ it to advantage. His personal society was, in fact, considered a desirable acquisition, and in the large and influential community in which he moved, he was held as a man of mark. Up to the occurrence we are about to narrate, he had sustained a character entirely above suspicion. Not a breath is known ever to have been whispered against him, and he walked among his friends with a reputation wholly cloudless. He was a Mason in unspotted standing with that time-honored order in Brooklyn—an order distinguished for its severe moral standard, and its profound veneration for the Deity and the great Book of Books that Deity has authorized; and he had passed through a series of its honored trusts. His occupation was that of bookkeeper in a large establishment in this city, whose unbroken confidence he had enjoyed for many years. But one distinguishing circumstance remains to be noted, as marking his household relations. He had no children. No one but Mr. Owen and his confiding wife made up the family. But now we have the counter side

to disclose. In an inauspicious and luckless hour Mr. Owen formed the acquaintance of a lady, who was casually visiting Brooklyn, at the residence of the lady's mother. This acquaintance began not more than five or six weeks before the melancholy denouement, in which, however, the sad truth may be temporarily covered. It seems inevitable that the future peace of two families must be hopelessly shattered. The lady here involved is a resident of Newark, N. J., is a married woman, and has two infant responsibilities. She is a woman of singular vivacity of temperament, and is personally attractive in society. Her eye lights with a rare sparkle in conversation, and it wears an especial radiance of appreciation and recognition, when the lady is engaged as a listener.

"This lady, in her former maiden days, had been a resident of Brooklyn, and was only taken out of it by her subsequent nuptials with a resident of the good old State of New Jersey.

"During the lady's temporary visit at the residence of her Brooklyn mother, no suspicion was entertained that any impropriety was in progress. Not a breath was entertained of such impropriety. The whole programme of wild and bewildering license the sequel will disclose, was matured, and carried into triumphant execution, without a thought occurring to any one, of anything wrong in the actors of one of the saddest domestic dramas that has lately disfigured Christian society. The preliminaries of this drama were all arranged right under the eyes of relatives, acquaintances and friends. It ripened to its withering climacteric, in the stealthiest secrecy. It swept off to final execution under a cloud of profound concealment, and no one ever dreamed of such an actuality as chain lightning behind that cloud.

"On Saturday evening, March 23, Mr. Owen started ostensibly, as was his custom, from his place of business in this city, to his home at No. 100 Hampden street, Brooklyn; but he did not reach his home. Of course the agony and suspense were intense at such an unusual absence. Sunday morning came, and he did not make his appearance; Monday morning came, and the same mysterious silence continued, covering the same unaccountable absence. Foul play, in some of the various forms in which our citizens have recently been murderously assailed, was suspected, as affording the only rational clue to the absence of a man, so uniformly regular in his habits. Detectives were at once engaged to ferret out the painful mystery. These police pointers 'soun-

ded all the depths and shoals,' where 'murder most foul' could possibly be supposed to have been perpetrated upon unwary innocence. They visited the various ferries that lead to and from this metropolis. They scented the ragged sections of our city docks, and dropped their professional plummets around every outlaw's den in this city. They traveled up and down the North and East rivers, and plied every known key to unlock the sudden departure mystery. But all continued silent as the grave, and no voice came up from the 'vasty deep' of Mr. Owen's absence.

"In this way a week of distressing suspense and fruitless search passed away. At length, at the expiration of that period, a strange, unlooked for and isolated clue seemed to peep out through the confused and confusing shadows, that surrounded the agonizing disappearance. It was suddenly discovered that a lady was also absent, whom Mr. Owen had recently seen with some degree of apparent interest, and this was the Newark lady, who had been on a late visit to her Brooklyn mother. This discovery soon blew up into suspicious whispers. The whispers quickly blazed into general accusations and inculpations, and the outcry soon became general, that Mr. Owen, the Sabbath School Superintendent, and admitted pillar of the Johnson street church, had literally and in dead earnest, eloped with the Newark heroine; and the conclusion was as abruptly reached, judging from the essential character of the act, that the pair, matrimonially speaking, had probably 'passed that bourne whence no traveler returns.'

"Thus a brief period whiled away, when the missing lady suddenly appeared among her former acquaintances, apparently 'as good as new.' Hearing at once, as she could not avoid doing, the stories afloat concerning her, she promptly denied any complicity in the charges muttered against her. But the circumstances already known were too many and too pointed, to allow her denial to shake the general judgment, in the lady's personal relation to the unhappy mystery. Mr. Owen was not immediately forthcoming. At length, however, on Thursday, April 11, after an absence of nearly three weeks, Mr. Owen dropped down among his friends, apparently from the clouds, and made his appearance at the home of his deserted wife, with about as surprising abruptness as he had left her. We have no disposition to obtrude upon the agony of that meeting. Silence was at first allowed to cover it by the community at large, as well as by the more immediate friends of the torn couple. Nothing was said

about the supposed domestic convulsion, and even the whisperers of malignant gossips, for a wonder, were temporarily hushed before the unexpected return of Mr. Owen to his family. In this way time was permitted to wear quietly on, and nothing more was even heard of Mr. Owen till Sunday evening, the 21st of April last, when a scene occurred of which Mr. Owen was the hero, in the Johnson street Methodist Church, that will long be remembered by the congregation there assembled. Mr. Owen, it seems, had resolved to make a clean breast of the dark involutions that surrounded his recent disappearance. His cultivated conscience, made sensitive by his religious education, and ready to break with remorse from the retrospect of his recent action, could endure the silence of his own thoughts on the subject no longer. He was bound to find relief in a public acknowledgment. He was haunted by the spectre of a shattered reputation, and of broken vows, and he was determined to make an atonement for the wrong and the ruin, as far as earnest contrition and an open confession could make such an expiation. He had, therefore, prepared a written statement of the mystical disappearance, and handed it to the Rev. F. W. Ware, pastor of the church of which he was a member; with a request that he should read it to the assembled congregation.

“The silence was profound, as the clergyman made the preliminary statement of what he was about to do. The shadows of an April Sabbath evening intensified the all-absorbing interest of the scene. Expectation was painfully strained at the approaching exposition, and hushed into painful stillness, as the agitated pastor advanced to his disagreeable work. In such a presence, and with such truly dramatic surroundings, the Rev. Mr. Ware began to read a communication addressed by Mr. Owen through the clergyman, to the church of which the latter was minister. The communication reads as follows:

“*To the Members of the Johnson Street M. E. Church:*

“I deem it my duty to make a full statement. It is a duty I owe to you and my own soul. At the time I so mysteriously disappeared from my home and your midst, a few weeks ago, I had fallen into a great sin. It is due you to know that I had eloped with another man's wife. I have committed a terrible sin, and God made me a great sufferer. For about six or seven weeks before I left I was walking before God, but I indulged in thoughts and then fell.

What induced those thoughts I cannot tell. I put in no plea of insanity. I fell before the temptations of Satan, and sinned against God, my friends, and the members of this church, and brought a dark reproach against the church, and put a stumbling stone before unbelievers. I have no words to express the agony that I have felt, and I ask you to forgive me. At the time that I left I stood a member of the Johnson street Church, and I now say that I am perfectly willing that you should pursue that course with me that will be for the good of the Church. I know of nothing that I can do more.

STEPHEN OWEN.'

"The effect of this communication, and really wailing confession, was electrical upon the assembled congregation. Nobody felt like saying anything, or exchanging a word with a friend or a neighbor. All was still, and the stillness was subdued by an all-pervading sadness, that so strange a mixture of sin and sorrow inevitably awakened. No one wanted to talk.

"We need hardly say that the Rev. Mr. Ware was deeply affected during the reading of this remarkable letter. He was profoundly affected, and it was hard to tell by whom the audience was most deeply moved—the visible agitation of the pastor, or the prostrate contrition of the penitent brother. The whole together, combined to make up a scenic exhibition, that might well awaken the earnest stimulus of the painter's pencil or the poet's pen.

"At the close of the reading, the clergyman remarked, that at the time Mr. Owen so mysteriously left home, he made his way quite direct to Toronto, Canada, and we will add, that thither he went with the Newark lady in his society. But on reaching that more northern clime, Mr. Owen, with strange suddenness, was visited with the pangs of contrition. He became fearfully disturbed, and so much was he disturbed, that in a little over a week from the time of his departure here, he sent the lady home. This accounts for the appearance of the lady among her friends here before the return of Mr. Owen.

"It was the first intention of Mr. O., after he was smitten with the agony of remorse, not to return here, but to go where he was not known. Then he meant to send word to his wife, making a full confession to her. If she came to him, he designed to go far away, and bury himself in the shadows of strange lands and stranger faces. But here again his penitence smote him. He remembered the Church he

had left behind him in Brooklyn, and he could not forget the wrong he had inflicted upon it. He determined to repair that wrong to the full extent of his power, and thereupon came back, to do what he could, to remove the stain he had cast upon it.

“Before dismissing the congregation, the clergyman remarked, that he rejoiced in the perfectly frank way in which Mr. Owen had finally acted, in full view of this distressing matter and further said, that it was the only way in which the unhappy man could expect to get Divine favor. The congregation then silently withdrew

“As to the identity of the involved lady though there is scarce a possibility of doubt in regard to it, yet we have deemed it proper, for very obvious reasons, to withhold her name. Every attending circumstance points very straight to that identity, and the moral evidence in regard to it is conclusive. But the technically *legal evidence* may not be so easily attainable. That literal secret is still confined to the breast of Mr. Owen and the lady herself, and in the event of being summoned to render a legal account, the strict legal evidence might not be forthcoming. We therefore venture on no rash assertions on this subject. And besides, in giving names on subjects of extreme delicacy like this, we take no chances that by any possibility might wrong an innocent person. The names we do give, in this as in all other cases, may be relied upon as genuine, that can be supported at any time by the most abundant testimony.”

It is seldom that a woman is thus shielded. The Church is a great “city of refuge,” as is shown in the following narrative, published in the St. Paul (Minn.) *Press* :

“MISERABLE SINNERS.

“*Curious Social Phenomena—How a Smart Woman Rebuked Her Seducer and Partner in Crime.*

“The *Times*, of Marshalltown, Iowa, publishes certain letters that have passed between a man and woman of former irreproachability [Oh, yes,] but who are now enduring the different penalties awarded by society respectively to him and to her whose errors have become public. The man’s career of folly is finished. He has made peace with his church, apologized to forgiving friends, persuaded his wife and family to overlook his temporary weakness, and

resumed his standing and practice as a Christian lawyer. He is penitent in his final addresses to the woman and, while assuring her of his continued brotherly affection, tells her that they must meet no more in this world, and implores her to become a Christian, and thus make sure of meeting him in heaven. She, however, is not in a way to display such edifying composure of spirit, and says, in her last letter to him: 'I am glad you can find comfort and consolation in the church, and you implore me to 'try and be a Christian.' Believe me, my experience with Christians is not such as to make me desire a closer relation. God may be good, but I have never received any pity that makes me yearn for more, and the quicker I change the places and friends of this world for those of the next, the better satisfied I shall be—that is, if anything in heaven or elsewhere can make any difference in my misery. But I beg you not to grieve over the misery you have brought upon me, and, as you stay at home, try and not think of the wanderer without a friend on God's green earth to care for her, without a home or friends, or money, or credit, or name. I start out upon the broad highway to fight my way through with nothing but darkness to cheer me on. My heart is capable of love no longer.

“‘You speak in your letter of your duty to your wife and family. Do you suppose that I believe that you love your family any more than you did one month ago? Did your duty to your wife keep you from telling me a thousand times that you loved me better than all the world; that if all the wealth and all the honors this world could bestow were placed on one side without me, and on the other was poverty, with barely the comforts of life, you would unhesitatingly give up the first to share the latter with me? Yet at the first stroke you say you are determined to bow your head like the willow to the blast, and let a heartless world berate your idolized darling for misguiding you. Let me tell you that the willow is a weak protection. No bird, not even the most diminutive, builds its nest in the willow while the mighty eagle takes its perch upon the oak. I have proven how the willow will bend, and finally strip down the side, taking the heart out as it goes. Tell me, if you can, what right you have to stay in your home, while I was driven from mine. My home was as dear to me, and as good as yours. Was it any harder for you to forsake yours, than for me to give up mine? You are a man. Tell me, if you dare, to make a profession of religion, after all that has passed between us, and after going to your wife and telling her that

you always loved her; that your heart has never wandered from her, even for a moment, that you were led astray, but you did not wrong her in your heart. Say now, tell me, are you a Christian, or can you ever be one? * Don't tell me you did not tell her so. I know you did, and her poor deluded soul thinks she possesses your whole heart. Now, if you did not tell her so, what will you do with your professions to me? You are living a lie with her, and you know it. If you did not tell her so, are you living with a woman you do not love with your whole soul, while you allow the one you say you do love to drift away into a friendless world, without lifting a finger to keep her by your side?'

"There is the old, old difference! The man can profess penitence and return to his place, and be trusted and honored again but for the women, they are left only outer darkness, homelessness, and all the unrelieved horrors of the darkest way down to death.

"Surely there must be indulgence in divine pity for the blasphemy she utters in the first great wrench of her agony, or an attribution of its sin rather to him who prates to her of religion, than to her whose rebellion against Heaven is against such a perverter of its righteous justice as he."

THE PIOUS DOCTOR.

From a close observation of facts I am led to believe that more young women are wrecked under the influence of religion than in any other way. Here are some extracts read from love-letters written by a "rising physician." They are *pious*, very. At a trial in Lebanon, Ohio, they were read in open court. The writer is John Armstrong Bradshaw, M. D. The lady is Miss Mary Furgeson, of Springboro. Dr. Bradshaw said to Mary in his tender lines:

"I believe I advised you that I was about to commence the practice of medicine in this village, if the approaching epidemic should appear in the summer months, and I feel almost convinced should I be actively employed and the disease violent, that I will not survive that period. However, I shall faithfully perform, to the best of my abilities, my duties as a true physician to those persons, without distinc-

* This woman was not versed in theology, or she would not have asked such a question.

tion of class, who may trust their lives to my care, meeting the decrees of fate as a CHRISTIAN gentleman, and die content.

“ I take much pleasure in your noting that you attend the regular *Sunday church services*. I have always thought that a young woman who neglected *religious duties*, or showed an irreligious turn of mind, was a fit person for the utmost contempt that man can ever feel for woman. I should like to know if there is a branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church, that I told you I was brought up to believe in as the true one, in Germantown, and that you had attended divine service on Sunday morning; also add what your opinion is of that method of *addressing prayer and supplication to Almighty God*.

“ Dear Mary, when you write again, advise me of the day I may expect you home, the time now * * * ” [Balance of this letter lost.]

“ Dearest Mary you must have misunderstood my injunction. My language was to this effect, that you would not give your affections to another or allow any man the privilege of embracing you or kissing your lovely lips, no matter whom the person might be, while I had a prior claim and so long as I appeared to your mind worthy of your confidence and love, but it never entered into my mind or thoughts to attempt to entirely exclude you from all respectable companions or in any way check the free exercise of your judgment and discretion in all that concerns your happiness and your affections.”

I have italicized portions of the first letter in order to exhibit its beauties!

On the trial at which these letters were read,

“ Mr. William Carpenter testified to facts which he had observed, going to confirm her story. He further testified to a conversation he had heard between the parties. He slept in a room next to the parlor where the lovers sat. One night, when in bed, he heard a conversation which aroused his suspicions. He rose and partly opened the door leading into the parlor, and peered in and saw the light was partly turned down; he felt the delicacy of his position, but, being as he was there, thought he might see and hear more (for Mary was to him as his own daughter), he listened and heard Dr. Bradshaw say, ‘ Mary, you don’t love me as you should, or you would yield.’ And Mary was heard to say,

'I like you well enough, doctor, but I value my virtue more than my life.'

"'But the time is so short before we are to be married, it will make no difference.'

"'Not if it was only two hours before.'

"The witness then went back to bed and said to his wife, 'he guessed Mary could take care of herself.'"

His "dearest Mary" had to sue him for three different times breaking his promise to marry her, claiming damages to the amount of \$10,000 for each promise. The proceedings were published in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and other daily papers.

I have given these few cases among the laity to show that many of the "sheep" follow their "shepherds."

I have many instances on record of immoralities among Adventist clergymen, but as the sect of Adventists is small and insignificant in its influence, I will allow them to remain unnoticed. Obscurity is sometimes a shield. I turn again to the fruitful field of Methodism

Washington W. Welch afforded the people in the vicinity of Holly, Mich., material for conversation. Crime: rape upon a brother Methodist Minister's wife, Louisa Green.

Rev. George Washburn, of the Methodist Episcopal church, performed the duties of preacher on the Limestone and Bradford circuit for two years past, and lately has been assigned to Port Alleghany and Eldred circuit. His acquirements were rather limited and his ability was not great, but his apparent devotion and desire to improve had led to his ordination and continuance as a preacher of the gospel. For about two years he has been paying attention to a worthy young lady of Alleghany, who, not aware of his false-heartedness, had reposed such confidence in his assurances as to assent to marriage with him, and, after various postponements the ceremony was to have been consummated on the evening named. But on his arrival in town that afternoon, scarcely had he time to give directions for taking care of his horse at Ward's hotel, before he was taken in charge by Officer

Smith, of Olean, (N. Y.) and taken on the train to Limestone, to answer a complaint made before Justices Vibbard and Fullar, relating to an unexpected responsibility and other promises supposed to have been made to another lady, to whom, it is alleged, he has been paying particular attention. No wedding.

“Dr. Griswold was not only married, but three times married in his brief life. He became the husband of his first wife when quite a young man. She lived with him some five or six years, and died after bearing him two children. Subsequently he went to South Carolina, where he got acquainted with a rich young Jewess, who became his second wife. He lived very unhappily with her; and when their troubles had reached a climax, he consulted his friends about the propriety of a separation, telling them at the same time that though the legal ceremony of marriage had been performed, yet the marital act had never been consummated. There was a great deal of talk and scandal about the case, and people took sides with one party or the other in a very lively way. Two well known literary women of that day, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens and Mrs. Elliott, espoused the cause of the Jewess; but Griswold was upheld by most of his friends, who declared that these literary ladies assailed him because he had persistently refused to ‘puff’ their writings; and this will not appear unlikely when it is considered that his praise of a new book, or his depreciation of it was then a matter of the greatest consequence to a writer. In course of time Griswold determined to separate from the Jewess, and went to Pennsylvania for the purpose of procuring a divorce. While there, on this business, he got acquainted with a lady from Maine, handsome and wealthy, to whom, after paying due attention, he offered himself in marriage, giving her to understand, at the same time, that he had procured, or would procure, a divorce from his second wife. After a time he married this lady at her home in Maine, and they soon afterward came to live in New York, her brother having given them a very handsome residence in Twenty-third street. But before a great while his wife learned that he had never completed his divorce in Pennsylvania, and trouble ensued. She lived with him some two years, bearing him a child. But as the divorce business, which had never been settled, could not be settled, and as she was in a quandary about not being his legal wife, she left him and went back to her home in

Maine, taking her child with her. Soon after this he was taken down with consumption, in which he lingered for nearly a year, when death relieved him.

"Griswold, though nominally or by profession a Baptist clergyman, was noted for his gayety and gallantry among women. If any gossipier desires to tell stories about his love affairs, it would be easy to find a great many of them. He belonged to a style of clergymen which were more frequently met with in former times than they are at the present day.*

"More than once he has spent his Saturday night with a party of riotous companions, and gone from their company to church to preach an eloquent sermon. He was a man of innumerable good qualities, with some faults over which he himself often mourned."—*New York Correspondence Cincinnati Commercial*.

The following appeared in the *Saint Paul Pioneer*, Sept. 16, 1870:

"CLERICAL LOTHARIO.

"Career of a Reputed Minister at the village of Annetia—Threatened Lynching—Elopement with a Married Woman:

"The beautiful village of Annetia, in central New York, has been thrown into uncontrollable excitement by the developments which have been made within the past few days.

"About two years ago there appeared among them, at that place, a man named Thurlow Tresselman. He said that he came there on a mission. His exclusive hobby was religion, and he expressed his desire to do what was possible toward the establishment of a Methodist Church in the village. The people were at first distrustful of their ability to support a minister, but he overcame this objection by agreeing that, if by the time that the church was finished they were no better able to do so, he would himself act in the pulpit until their means would allow them to employ a regular licensed preacher. His proposition satisfied the people, subscriptions were started, and the church was quickly erected and soon afterward opened. Tresselman then took his place in the pulpit, the church being the only one in the village, services having

* They are just as numerous now as in former days.

been previously held in a private house. He organized a Sunday School soon after the church had been opened, and instituted Friday evening prayer meetings, and was indefatigable in his attentions to the spiritual wants of his flock, frequently visiting the houses of members to advise with them concerning religious matters.

“It was noticeable that he most often visited the handsome young ladies attending his Sunday School, although he did not slight the residences of prepossessing married women. Fathers and husbands failed to entertain any feeling of jealousy or suspicion toward him, on account of their confidence in the goodness of the work in which he was engaged.

“The delusions under which they had been laboring were suddenly dispelled, however. Some time ago vague rumors were circulated, alleging that Tresselman’s relations to one or two young lady members of his congregation had been none of the purest. These were not believed at first, but were rather set down as bits of gossip. One young maiden, Annie Haight, who has been under his tutelage, could no longer conceal her condition from the knowledge of the villagers, but she refused at first to reveal the name of her seducer. When her condition became known, several other maidens alleged that they could name him, and pointed to Tresselman as the guilty party. When pressed to divulge the source of their information, it was discovered that they had themselves, in some cases, fallen victims to his wiles, or in others had been the object of improper advances on his part. It was not until he had been thus unmistakably pointed out that Miss Haight was willing to confess that Tresselman was her seducer.

“The first impulse of the people on making this discovery, was to lynch the man, but his address saved him from this punishment. When a committee of the village waited on him to demand an explanation, he stigmatized the statement as being false, and said they originated on the part of some girls by a desire to hide their real seducer from exposure. He finally advised them to investigate the charges before they took final action or perpetrate the threatened deed of violence. It was subsequently arranged to hold a meeting on Monday evening, for the purpose of giving him a hearing. Monday evening came, but no Tresselman. Inquiries on Tuesday revealed the fact that he had been seen driving out of the village on Monday morning, but no particular trace could be found of him. Among those connected with his congregation was a lady named Hurst, whose husband was a

traveler in Europe Mrs. Hurst was reported to have decamped with him. On investigation her home was found to be locked and barred. The neighbors thinking that the circumstances justified them, broke into the house, and found that Mrs. Hurst's clothes had all been removed. The following note was found, addressed to her husband :

“‘ DEAR HERMAN—Don't think of me any more as your wife. I have gone with the only man I ever loved. You are much older than me, though you have been to me all I could expect. But I never would be happy with you again.
“‘EMMA.’

“What steps will next be taken toward the clerical Lothario's arrest has not yet been ascertained.”—*N. Y. Times.*

So alarming has been the commission of crime among the Clergy that the people often exclaim in amazement, “What can we do to reform the ministers?” The editor of the *National Police Gazette*, May 4, 1872, has this timely editorial:

“THE CHURCHES.

“Scandal in the churches is becoming much too common. The awful case of the Rev. Dr. Huston of Baltimore, still hangs fire, and is made the subject of much speculative talk not at all complimentary to the influences of church religion. There is no doubt of his guilt, according to evidence which has found its way into the newspapers, and yet the authorities of the ecclesiastical institution to which he belongs are apparently trying to hush the matter up, and bury it out of sight. This is not the right course for them to adopt. They should expose a delinquent in the shortest possible space of time, and officially spurn him from their midst without hesitation. A church scandal nearer at home than the Baltimore case, has transpired since our last, and we have been at some pains to penetrate to the bottom of it. The results of our labors will be found elsewhere. It is a great pity that people professing to be morally superior to the mass of their fellows should be caught tripping in the weakest way. Their example is utterly damaging to the progress of pure ethics.”

“When we see disorders abroad in the world we are apt to despond, and to cry out ‘Lord, what wilt thou do for thy great name?’ The Lord, however, is glorifying himself by

these things. Then why should we be troubled?"—*North-Western Christian Advocate*; and *the Sunday at Home*, Feb. 28, 1868.

While reading the proof sheets of these pages I am almost astounded at the increasing number of cases of clerical crime which the daily papers report. This chapter would scarcely have limits if I attempted to mention them.

The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1872, has the following sensible paragraph :

“Three years ago, when the Methodist Church began to try to hush up the Book-Concern scandals, impartial observers warned the men thus engaged that they would inevitably lower the moral tone of the Church if they persisted in the attempt. It is, of course, impossible to say how strong an effect their persistence had; but it is certainly a noteworthy fact that this particular denomination has had a series of scandals within it during the last few months. Dr. Huston’s case, at Baltimore, was followed by a similar one by one of his congregation. Then came the career of Rev Mr. Cramer, at Copenhagen. Dr. Thompson, at Cincinnati, came into unpleasant notoriety a few days since; and now Rev S. J. Browne, another Methodist clergyman of the same city, has killed a boy 12 years of age. Finally, there comes a report from DeKalb County, in this State, that a Methodist minister has seduced four young girls, and has fled from arrest, leaving his wife and two children behind him. These cases form another chapter in the history of epidemic crime.”

Rev. J. L. Hatch, Westboro’, Mass., in a letter to me under date of July 3, 1872, says: “Though reckoned, and reckoning myself, in a certain sense, among the clergy and the adherents of Christianity—I am free to confess and maintain with you—that ‘the clergy’ (as a class) ‘aim to subvert all governments to their own-despotic sway;’ and that ‘Christianity’ (as generally accepted and understood) ‘is not only foreign but antagonistic to American liberty.’ The priests and clergy of all-ages have been first and foremost in the annals of crime, and especially in sensuality; * * the Protestant Christian clergy of the present century, instead of

falling behind or below the record of other religions, and the Catholic and Protestant clergy of former ages, have shown themselves, so far as evidence can be obtained, the worst of the lot."

Mr. Hatch delivered a lecture, Sunday, June 9, in Marlboro', Mass. The Westboro' *Chronotype*, June 22, contained the following reference to it:

"He called attention to the fact that several of the prominent supporters and official advocates of the 'Evangelical' faith in this vicinity had been convicted of gross licentiousness and horrible crime. Several of these he referred to by name—Rev. B. Phinney (Orthodox) of Westboro'; Rev. Sereno Howe (Baptist) of Abington; Rev. Mr. Reed (Orthodox) of Malden and Rev. Dr. Pomeroy, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The latter gentleman he said was proved to have been a good patron of the Boston houses of ill-fame, and to have expended hundreds of dollars, contributed to send the gospel to the heathen, on the harlots of that city!

"At the close of his lecture, Rev. Mr. Treat, minister of the 'Orthodox' Society in Marlboro', rose and declared Mr. Hatch's statements with regard to Dr. Pomeroy's licentiousness to have been, either ignorantly or intentionally, *false*. He proceeded to state that he was well acquainted with all the facts in the case—his father having been at the time a fellow officer with Dr. Pomeroy—and that he (Dr. P.) had *not* been guilty of licentiousness, but had simply been 'indiscreet, and allowed himself to be victimized by blackmailers,' as other good men before and since had done; and furthermore, that the money he paid out, in this case, was not from the Mission funds or from his salary, but from other funds in his possession.

"Mr. Hatch replied that the black-mailers could never have bled Dr. P., if he had not first by his immoralities placed himself in their power; and, notwithstanding what Mr. Treat had said, he had stated the facts correctly; and the evidence was clear that Dr. P. was not an innocent victim but a gross criminal.

"As this matter has excited considerable discussion, and is a matter of public interest; and as Mr. Treat and his friends persist in the truth of this statement and the utter falsity of the statement of Mr. Hatch, it is thought best that

the evidence should be published in the *Mirror*, and also in the *Chronotype*.

“ I. AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

“ *To the Public* :—Facts have come to the knowledge of the Prudential Committee A. B. C. F. M., deeply implicating the moral character of Dr. Pomeroy, and rendering it impossible that he should longer retain his position as a Secretary of the Board. He has resigned and is no longer to be recognized as an officer of the Board. The facts referred to have no connection with his official action.

“ By order of the Prudential Committee.

“ CHAS. STODDARD, (Chairman).

“ 2. DR. POMEROY'S CONFESSION.

“ The same paper gives the following as ‘on reliable authority’ (probably Mr. Stoddard's), substantially the confession of Dr. P., as made to the Committee, *after* the conclusive evidence of his wrong doing was accidentally discovered, and he was confronted with it.

“ ‘That some months ago he was walking out in the evening, and was accosted by a well dressed female, and at her request accompanied her to her home. While in the parlor in conversation with her, a man came in, and under the threat of exposure forced him to sign a note of \$500; and subsequently he paid it. Since that he was enticed by another female into another house, and there two men assailed him, and forced him to sign another note for \$5000, which he subsequently paid. Another woman, by the representation that she was suffering with a dissipated husband and destitute children, enlisted his feelings, and he opened a correspondence with her, and subsequently, by the advice of *Mr. Choate*, paid \$500, to get his letters back, which he did and destroyed them.’

“ ‘These statements,’ says the *Journal*, ‘Dr. P. admits to be true and nothing further.’

“ ‘Nothing further’ is needed, I believe, to substantiate the truth of Mr. Hatch's statements; but it may be as well to add—

“ 3. HIS TRIAL AND CONVICTION.

“ The Suffolk North Association of Ministers, of which

Dr. Pomeroy was a member, brought his case to trial before them, May 2, 1860; and after a careful sifting of the evidence they proceeded, *by a unanimous vote*, to convict him and expel him from their body, '*for conduct inconsistent with purity, virtue and morality.*' These last words are copied from 'Result of Council.'

"From this evidence the people of Marlboro' and Westboro' can judge for themselves if there has been 'falsification,' and by whom."

So it goes. Men who began preaching with the purest motives and finally perceived the immoral influence of the clerical profession, have boldly testified to the fact. Parson Brownlow says :

"I have no hesitancy in saying, as I now do, that the worst class of men who make tracks upon Southern soil are Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal clergymen, and at the head of these for mischief are the Southern Methodists." *

"A majority of the clergy have acted upon the principle that the kingdom of their Divine Master is of 'this world'; and, as a consequence, too many of them have embarked in fighting, lying and drinking mean whiskey." †

"Here, as in all parts of the South, the worst class of men are *preachers*. They have done more to bring about the deplorable state of things existing in the country than any other class of men. And foremost in this work of mischief are the Methodist preachers. Brave in anticipation of war, and prone to denunciation on all occasions, even in the pulpit, they have been among the first to take to their heels." ‡

But I do not judge the body by the worst members of the profession. The facts I have given in this chapter prove that the Northern clergy are no saints. If the Southern clergy are much worse, then, take them "all in all" they are a "bad lot."

* Parson Brownlow's Book, p. 187.

† Brownlow's Book, p. 190.

‡ Brownlow's Book, p. 392.

In Revolutionary days traitors abounded among them.

“In 1776, Samuel Chase, Judge of the United States Supreme Court and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, about which the ‘Christian Conventions’ prate so much, detected the Rev. Dr. Tubly, of Georgia, member of Congress, in carrying the secrets of that body to the enemy, and compelled him to beat an inglorious retreat from that body, to the British lines.”—*George K. Hazlitt.*

Capt. Geo. K. Hazlitt, of the 108th Illinois Volunteers, informs me that the Methodist Church South tendered and sold their building, together with all its machinery, (in Memphis, Tenn.,) to the Southern Confederacy, for an arsenal.

Those arms stolen by the Confederacy from Jefferson Barracks, and shipped at St. Louis for Memphis, were captured by the Federals at Cairo, with full bills of lading directed to “Arsenal Methodist Publishing House, Memphis, Tenn.”

The clergy as a rule are moral cowards. They advocate such sentiments as are popular in their several localities. In favor of temperance when it is the prevailing sentiment of community, silent or opposed when unpopular. So even with slavery. Stephen S. Foster, when the war raged fiercely between abolitionists and pro-slaveryites declared that the clergy “in their ecclesiastical character*** have publicly defended the slave system as an innocent and heaven-ordained institution; and have thrown the sacred sanctions of religion around it, by introducing it into the pulpit, and to the communion-table! At the South, nearly the entire body of the clergy publicly advocate the perpetuity of slavery, and denounce the abolitionists as fanatics, incendiaries, and cut-throats; and the churches and clergy of the North still fellowship them, and palm them off upon the world, as the ministers of Christ. I know it will be said, that there are exceptions to this charge; but if there be any, I have yet to learn of them.* I know not of a single ecclesiastical body in the country which has excommunicated any of its mem-

* This was true, I believe, when Foster wrote these words.

bers for the crime of slave-holding, since the commencement of the anti-slavery enterprise, though most of them have cast out the true and faithful abolitionists from their communion."

"To understand the true character of the American Church and clergy, and the full extent of their diabolism, you must hear them speak in their own language. Should I tell you the whole truth respecting them, and tell it in my own words, I fear you would entertain the same opinion of me which the Brahmin did of his English friend, who, on a certain occasion, as they were walking together along the banks of a beautiful river, admiring the richness of its scenery, *imprudently* remarked, that in his country, during the winter season, the water became so solid that an elephant could walk upon it. The Brahmin replied, 'Sir, you have told me many strange and incredible things respecting your country before, yet I have always believed you to be a man of truth, but now I know you lie.'"

"The Church and the clergy of the North voluntarily consented to become the watch dogs of the plantation."—*S. S. Foster.*

The Louisville *Commercial*, of the 15th of May, 1872, contains this notice of another clergyman off the track of rectitude:

"CRIME.

"*Another Huston Scandal—A Former Kentucky Minister in Trouble.*

"ST. LOUIS, May 14th.—Rev. Dr. E. F. Berkley, who, for fifteen years previous to a few months ago, was pastor of St. George's Episcopal Church of this city, was arraigned to-day before an Ecclesiastical Court on the charge of assault and battery on Ella C. Perry, eleven years old, but in reality for taking improper liberties with the child at different times during the summer of 1870. The proceedings of the court were public up to the time the testimony of Miss Perry was taken, when the doors were closed and her evidence is therefore not known.

"Mr. Berkley is fifty-nine years old; was pastor of Christ

Church, Lexington, Kentucky, nineteen years before coming here, and until these charges were brought bore a spotless reputation. The court is composed of Rev. M. Sheets, of Monroe City; Rev. M. Runcie, of St. Joseph; Rev. D. Thrall, of Sedalia, and A. C. Judd, of Chicago. G. S. Van Wagoner, of St. Louis, is the counsel for the defendant."

Oh, certainly, they are all models of spotless piety until they are known. Close the doors so that the wicked public shall not know anything about how this old shepherd treated the lambs!

Worse and worse. I cannot be justly accused of reciting old and almost forgotten crimes of the clergy. In nearly every daily paper there is recorded clerical offences against good order and decency. A case of free-lustism has just transpired at Shabona, Illinois, which the *Chicago Times* thus serves up:

"LASCIVIOUS DOINGS OF REV. E. G. RIBBLE, SHABONA, ILL.

"Numerous Farmers' Daughters Sacrificed on the Altar of His Unholy Lusts—Previous History of the Shameless Shepherd.

"The Rev. Dr. Huston, of Baltimore, accounts of whose misdoings have burdened the telegraph for some months past, and furnished matter for newspaper comment from Maine to Oregon, is respectfully requested to hide his diminished head. The champion clerical scandal belt, which he wore with so much grace, has been ruthlessly torn from his grasp, and now adorns a brother minister not enjoying one-fourth of his perquisites, stationed at a mere settlement on an Illinois prairie. A short dispatch dated Shabona, DeKalb county, Illinois, published in the *Times* on Sunday morning, announced that a report was current there that a Methodist minister named E. G. Ribble, had seduced several young girls of his flock, and succeeded in effecting his escape. On receipt of the information a reporter of the *Times* was dispatched to the scene of the alleged outrages, and after a brief sojourn in the neighborhood, has succeeded in possessing himself of a net-work of facts which will ever stamp these disclosures as among the most remarkable clerical scandals on record.

“The village of Shabona, situated at the southern extremity of DeKalb county, about sixty miles due west from Chicago, is an old settlement, dating from the time when the Indian chief after whom it is named still held sway in that region. Although of such ancient and honorable lineage, it never attained to the dignity of a corporate town, and now, as thirty years ago, consists of less than a score of houses. Modern railroads have given it the go-by, and at no distant day it will follow the old chief to the grave. But this old Indian settlement, from time immemorial, has been a recognized religious centre sending out the Word for twenty miles around, and two tall spires still adorn the one street of the village. It was in one of these that the reverend Lothario held forth with an unction never to be forgotten. But his spiritual labors were not confined to Shabona. A little white church, six miles away, situated in what is known as the English settlement, and another an equal distance in an opposite direction, divided his attention in three equal parts, though his home was fixed in Shabona. The munificent salary of the shepherd of all these various flocks is \$600, which sum was fixed by the Rock River conference, when it placed him in charge, less than one year ago. He came with a clear bill, was highly recommended by that august body to the arca-dian residents of the grove and the settlement who welcomed him with open arms, and to-day will tell the wayfarer that they never had a minister among them who was so well-beloved and brought so many sinners to grace.

“The English settlement soon became a favorite field for his labors, and last winter he instituted a series of protracted meetings, which were largely attended by the young people of the neighborhood. After the service it was customary with him to take one of the young ladies of his flock in his buggy, drive her home, and remain at the house of her parents for the night. He showed no partiality in these favors, and during the protracted meetings near a dozen different girls accompanied him. The parents being worthy, honest, well-to-do farmers, residing within a circle of five or six miles, were rather pleased to see their daughters in such pious company, never entertaining a suspicion that their lambs could come to grief at the hands of so pious a Christian and himself the father of an interesting family of three children, the eldest past ten years of age. In time the good shepherd evinced more discrimination and selected only three or four young girls, each in the neighborhood of sixteen years, as the special objects of his pious attentions, and now and then he

would devote himself to a single one for three or four evenings in succession. During the spring, in the seed time, there was a lull in the religious exercises, but about a month ago they again opened with an unwonted furore and continued for several weeks. During the period he again devoted himself to the young girls of his flock with his old warmth, though exciting no suspicion until near the close of the series. One of the young girls to whom he paid special attention is named Mary Holmes. She lost her mother less than a year ago, and with her father was the only occupant of the old farm house. The girl suddenly evinced a strong dislike to her shepherd, and refused to go to meeting. She was questioned regarding her aversion, but for a long time refused to give any explanation. Finally she confided her secret to a young girl in the neighborhood, who in turn related it to her mother, she to her husband, and he to Mr. Holmes. The old father refused to believe the story when told, and expressed great indignation that his daughter should retail such horrible stories about their beloved minister. However, he questioned the young girl himself, and by her truthful manner soon became convinced that her tale was founded on truth.

“The story she told was substantially as follows:

“One evening after protracted meeting she accompanied the Rev. Ribble to her home, where he expressed a desire to remain all night. During the drive his conduct somewhat startled her—it was so extremely loving in its nature—but as she had become a recent convert of his, she concluded that his feelings were the result of religious ardor. On retiring, the house being a small one, she gave up her bedroom to the visitor, and betook herself to a lounge in the sitting-room, while her father camped in the garret. During the night she was suddenly awakened by some one touching her person, and, on opening her eyes, beheld the parson by her side. Her first impulse was to scream, but she became reassured when her visitor soothingly remarked, ‘Don’t be afraid, Mary, I won’t hurt you; I only came to see if you were sleeping well, as a young Christian should. Although in dishabille, he coolly seated himself on the outer rim of the lounge, and before long made the proposal to her to share his bed with him, saying it was so much nicer than the hard lounge, and that he was loathe to see one of his pets so inconvenienced. The young girl refused to be guided by his suggestion, and begged of him to leave her. He again reassured her that he meant no harm, and then said, ‘Mary,

if you will not come to my room, give me a place for the night on the lounge with you.' The girl now became thoroughly alarmed, and jumping from the couch, ran up stairs and lay for the rest of the night on the hard, bare floor.

"Old Mr. Holmes gave credence to the story of his daughter on hearing it from her own lips, and concluded to give the matter further attention. To this end he called upon his neighbors for counsel, a meeting of the vestry was held, and it was proposed to have a serious talk with the parson. On Sunday week the purpose was carried into effect. A committee of four of the most reputable members of the congregation were appointed to wait upon their beloved shepherd for the purpose of hearing an explanation. Before the service was over they retired and stood outside debating matters. When the services concluded, and the elder (as the people generally call him) was coming out of the church, he noticed the men standing a little way apart engaged in earnest conversation. He turned very pale on seeing them. Some hidden monitor evidently informed him that he was the subject of their confab, and so he beckoned them, and said he would like a few moments conversation with them. He then led the way to the rear of the church, and stopping, pathetically exclaimed, 'I am guilty, but don't kill me, don't kill me, don't kill me,' repeating the latter half of the sentence three times. The committee were not a little astonished at this outburst, especially as they had reason to suppose that he had no knowledge of their mission, and they hastened to reassure him. This was evidently not what he had expected—it was as proof to him that all was not known—and he took heart. He was then questioned regarding his conduct toward Miss Holmes, and confessed that he had kissed her, but with no evil intentions. Whatever the private opinion of the committee may have been, they gave no voice to it, and, as no serious harm had been done, in order to avoid scandal they concluded to hush up the matter.

"Among the committee was a farmer named William Cutts, who is the father of a prepossessing daughter, about seventeen years of age, named Emily. When the old man had left the parson he was suddenly overcome by an undefined feeling of dread. As he remarked to the reporter of the *Times*, 'I felt as if some one had knocked me all of a heap; I thought of my Emily and remembered that that scoundrel had driven her out just as he had Holmes' daughter. I went home in fear and trembling. I called my wife and said to

her, 'Mother, I want you to talk to Emily and ask her if she has had anything to do with the elder.' My wife would not do it at first. She said it was nonsense, but I told her to do it, and so she went into the house, and says she, Emily, come here, I want to talk to you as a Christian mother to her Christian daughter. Don't be afraid, tell me all you know; have you had any dealings with the elder?' When Emily heard this she began to cry, and my fears became greater. My wife again said, 'Emily, tell me all—tell me the whole truth,' and then my daughter told me what I thought would make me crazy. It's a week ago, and my wife hasn't eaten anything since, and I'm afraid she'll never get over it.' At this point the sturdy old farmer broke down, and sobbed like a child. When he had commanded himself sufficiently he related the story of his daughter's wrongs.

"It appears that about a month ago a protracted meeting was held at the house of Samuel Cutts, a brother of William, and Emily was in attendance. On returning one night the obliging minister asked the girl to ride with him in his buggy, a proposition to which she readily assented. When they had proceeded about half a mile, on entering a grove, the minister began taking liberties with her person. She resisted his advances until she was overcome, and when her strength was overcome he accomplished his purpose. The girl wept bitterly and would not be comforted. At first he used gentle words of persuasion, endeavoring to convince her that no harm had been done, but when he found that soft words were of no avail, and she still insisted on telling her parents, he suddenly changed his mien, and threatened her life if ever she dared to breathe a word of the events of that evening. He finally succeeded in calming her, and drove to the house of her parents, where he remained all night. The next morning he borrowed \$25 from a neighbor and went on his way rejoicing. When Mr. Cutts had been placed in full possession of these details, he was nearly frantic with rage, and called upon his neighbors for advice what to do. They counseled moderation, and in the mean time appointed another committee to wait upon the parson at Shabona. When they approached him one of them remarked, 'You had better keep out of the way of Mr. Cutts or he will shoot you.' No sooner had the man uttered these words, than the godly minister took to his heels and made for a grove in the rear of the village. He was followed by a man named Kennedy, who finally succeeded in overtaking him. The latter exclaimed, 'I have fallen from grace. I fell about six weeks

ago, after a revival meeting where I had converted Miss Holmes, and she fell about my neck and kissed me, and I kissed her in return. That was the beginning of my fall.'

"Mr. Cutts in the mean time had procured a warrant from Justice Wormley, charging Ribble with the crime of rape. The paper was placed in the hands of a constable who proceeded to Shabona the following day, Friday. When he reached the church, the delectable elder was preaching a funeral sermon over the body of a child. The humane constable allowed him to finish his discourse, and when the people had left the church, he approached the minister and informed him that he was under arrest. The officer then took him before Esquire Alexander, who refused to entertain the case on account of a defect in the warrant, it appearing that no place was designated where the crime is alleged to have been committed. The constable, nothing daunted, proceeded with his charge a distance of six miles, to the house of Justice Wormley, who had issued the warrant, but this court also perceived and took cognizance of the defect and declared the prisoner discharged until another warrant could be issued. By this time darkness had approached, and when Ribble heard that he was discharged he quickly picked up his hat and ran out of the house, and in a few moments had disappeared from view.

"It appears that he met a friend with a buggy near the place who assisted him to Shabona. No sooner had he arrived at his home, than he set about to effect his escape. He disposed of a horse and buggy for little more than half its value, kept some money himself, gave the rest to his wife, and then borrowed a horse and buggy from one of his converts, named Miles Scott, and drove rapidly to Earle, on the Chicago and Burlington railroad, took the train, and has not been seen or heard of since. It is believed, however, that he has gone to the State of New York, where his parents reside.

"The neighborhood is filled with rumors of other cases of violence, and the names of three or four other girls are bandied about, but as these have made no confession, however seriously they may have been sinned against, or are sinners, it would be unjust to publish their names to the world. There is, however, little doubt that at least one more fell under the elder's blandishments.

"Before the revelations were made public no man stood higher in the estimation of the community where ill-fortune placed him, than this man Ribble. Before his arrival the

church in the English settlement was divided. He united it, and brought many new converts into the fold. The people all loved him, and he himself remarked to one of his flock before he left, 'I feel because all my people loved me so much.' Said old man Cutts 'I never took a man so much to my heart as I did this elder. I loved him as I would my own son. But he has betrayed me cruelly' Said old man Kennedy, a bit of a wag: 'If he had taken to some of our old women, who are always crazy about the parsons, I would not have cared so. It would have served them right. But to take our little lambs. It's too bad. The trouble was he was too well fed, and didn't work enough. The next one we get we'll give him less fodder and more work.'

"The absconding parson left behind him a devoted wife and a family of three interesting children, who will soon fall upon the church for support. It is true, she says she has faith in her husband's innocence, but as the presiding elder of the district, Rev. Mr. Jewett, remarked to the *Times* reporter, 'she says it in a way that shows she has serious doubts.'

"Presiding Elder Jewett, of Aurora, visited the settlement on Monday, and on an investigation he has concluded to call a committee of ministers to investigate the charges. This committee will consist of Rev. W. Cone, of Earl, Rev. J. S. David, of Arlington, Rev. H. W. Stoddard, of Blackberry, Rev. N. O. Freeman, of Clinton, Rev. W. H. Haight, of Paw Paw, and Revs. J. F. Yates, W. D. Atchison, and S. P. Keys, of Aurora.

"During an interview the *Times* reporter had with Presiding Elder Jewett, at Aurora, the latter expressed a belief in Ribble's guilt, which impression was confirmed by the latter's escape, and expressed his determination to give the case a careful investigation.

"This man Ribble has behind him one of the most remarkable careers on record, and so curiously is it interwoven with the Methodist Episcopal Church, as represented by the Rock River Conference, that this body will be very generally called upon to 'rise and explain.'

"Ribble hails from Niagara county, State of New York. He came West a young man, and skirmished about in the neighborhood of Ottawa for some years, being generally regarded one of the most dissolute persons in that neighborhood. In 1858 he lived for some time in the town of Marengo, where he fully sustained his old reputation. One night in company with a lot of rowdies, he broke into the

abode of an old widow lady, and in sheer wantonness, drank her milk and broke her crockery ware. This escapade created intense indignation in the neighborhood, and there was talk of inviting the perpetrators to leave town. On the following evening Ribble attended church, and 'got religion.' How much, the reader can judge for himself after perusing his subsequent history. He soon began to 'travel' on what he 'got' at that meeting. He first launched out in little prayers, and recitals of experience, which must have been extremely edifying if he told all he knew; but soon he felt 'a call' and began to preach. At this time he was associated with what are termed the Free Methodists. In 1860 he married his present wife, whose parents were then living near Aurora. She is a lady who has ever been highly respected, and has the sincere commiseration of all good people. Shortly after the event the young couple moved to Freeport, where Ribble began to preach in a regular way. He was in great favor with his brethren and sisters until it began to be whispered abroad that his conduct was not all that it should be, and he was got rid of before the scandal became very public. He next filled an appointment at Marengo, the place of his conversion. The report of his misdoings had not reached this rural settlement, and he was well received. But Satan again took full possession of him. His doings soon became town talk.

"Hitherto he had confined his attentions principally to married ladies and widows, but at this place he changed his tactics. He laid special siege to the affections of a beautiful young girl, the daughter of one of the most respectable citizens in the county. He induced her to correspond with him, and in this way succeeded in planning an appointment, which, had it come to pass, would doubtless have resulted in the ruin of the confiding girl. Happily the note conveying her consent to the appointment was intercepted. The news of the affair got abroad, and the young men of the village prepared a pot of tar, and having procured a bag of feathers, were about to decorate him, when some of the older members succeeded in appeasing the wrath of the crowd, on the promise of Ribble that he would leave the place instantly.

"This interesting expounder of the gospel next appeared in his old *role* at St. Charles, the citizens of which place would none of his tricks, and the church preferred charges against him.

"A council of twelve prominent members of the church and ministers were convened and prepared nine different

counts against him, under the general headings of 'illicit intercourse,' 'taking unjustifiable liberties with the persons of women belonging to his congregation,' and 'for using insulting language.' No testimony was taken before the committee, as he plead 'guilty' to each one of the charges, and he was accordingly deposed from the ministry of the Free Methodists.

"This trial created considerable excitement at the time, and many censured the committee for undue severity. This event occurred in 1865. Ribble held aloof for a year or two, and then made his appearance among the Methodist Episcopalians. He was accepted on probation and assigned to the village of Little Rock, about fifteen miles west of Aurora. The good people of this settlement were not altogether pleased with this allotment, and they appealed to the presiding elder of the district, Mr. Fuller. He was indorsed by the presiding elder.

"This ecclesiastical functionary thereupon appeared before the people and told them that he had thoroughly investigated the charges preferred against Mr. Ribble, and was convinced they were not true, being incited by envy and malice. This opinion was delivered by Elder Fuller, in spite of the many proofs of guilt accumulated by the committee, to which he had access, and which are still preserved. The people of Little Rock were soon convinced, however, that Fuller's indorsement must be accepted with a good many grains of allowance. In connection with his clerical duties, Ribble taught the young ideas of that neighborhood how to shoot. Among his pupils were a number of nearly full-grown young ladies, who soon began to complain that their teacher was in the habit of taking undue liberties with their persons, and the said teacher was transferred just in time to prevent an exposure.

"Ribble next appeared at Wyandotte, where he preached for two years, and so far as known, conducted himself with some attempts at decency. At the Rock River Conference, held last August, he was admitted to full membership, and assigned to Shabona."—*Chicago Times*, July 11, 1872.

Editorially the *Times* said :

"The Methodist Episcopal Church has certainly been peculiarly unfortunate of late in the number and character of its contributions to the vast volume of clerical scandals. But the facts concerning the recent affair at Shabona, in this

State, which are recited in an article published this morning, would seem to suggest some doubts whether the Church is not itself to blame in part for the frequent damaging developments against its clergymen. It would appear, for example, that Ribble having previously been deposed from the ministry of the Free Methodist Church for grossly improper conduct, was accepted as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the full knowledge of this fact. If it may be inferred from such circumstances as this that the latter Church does not maintain a high standard of qualification for its ministry, the Church cannot hope to escape the full responsibility for such scandalous occurrences."

True, the clergy do not like the *Chicago Times*, but as an accurate reporter of news it is admitted by the press generally that it has few if any equals.

In its edition of July 12th, it has the following temperate editorial :

"CLERICAL SCANDALS.

"It is with extreme regret that the journalist, interested in the permanence and strictness of social institutions, feels obliged to comment on the gross immorality prevalent in society. The regret becomes all the deeper when that immorality crops out in quarters to which society naturally looks for the most shining examples of continence, temperance, and all the other cardinal virtues. Poor, imperfect human nature instinctively seeks with longing eyes to find a bright exemplar, the effulgence of which will shed light on its own dark and stumbling steps. But when the ambassadors of the Lord are found to hide under their sacred gowns passions no less rampant and ungovernable than those against which they threaten the terrors of hell in their weekly sermons, even the optimist may be pardoned for a tear of anguish, and the cynic for a sneer more steeped in vitriol than before. Were the Protestant clergy, like their Catholic brethren, debarred from a natural and legitimate channel for the relief of human instincts, their derelictions could be palliated ; but when a lawful outlet in alliance with the sacred vows they have taken on themselves is only as the withes that bound Sampson, there must be indeed something rotten in the Church.

"For several months past the public journals have been

full of this sort of bon-bons for the morbid taste of the lovers of sensation. Nearly every large city in the country has furnished at least one flagrant case of unbridled licentiousness among the brethren of the gown. These trumpeters in the army of the church militant have followed the injunction of the Bible, to be as wise as serpents, but not to be as innocent as doves. They have looked on the lambs of the flocks over which they have been set, not as things to be tenderly guarded and nurtured, but as legitimate spoil for their own private appetites.

“The case of the reverend rascal Ribble, whose salacious pranks at Shabona, in this State, have just come to light, is a worthy supplement to the many others which have been going the rounds of the prints. The beastly details of this clerical wolf’s exploits are not fit to be alluded to except in the most general terms.

“The clergyman, like the physician, has extraordinary facilities for the commission of a certain class of crimes, and those facilities are such as to heap double damnation on him if he is sufficiently diabolical to make use of them. One peculiar feature of such cases generally is, that the reverend sinner aims to rifle the sweetness from the very flower and budding life of the congregation. One worthy deacon, in commenting on the reverend Ribble’s exploits, is said to have bewailed, with an almost laughable earnestness, the fact that it was only the tender lambs which seemed to suit the fastidious appetite of the ministerial Lothario. If it were only the bell-wethers, the old maids, the scrawny and antiquated matrons, there would be no matter of special complaint. But that the parson who was commanded by scriptural injunction to think not what he should eat and drink, should be such a *gourmet* as to prefer lamb to mutton—that was the last hair that broke the camel’s back. The worthy deacon did not reflect as to the impracticability of the suggestion, and failed to recall the fact that the extraordinary and overweening confidence placed in clergymen, while it is an effectual bar—independent of religious duty—to the honorable man, leaves an open gateway for hidden lusts. Clergymen may be reasonably supposed to be as fastidious in their amorous tastes as the Gentiles outside of the pale of the communion.

“Two pressing suggestions forced on the mind by this and similar cases are the extreme laxity which has commenced to govern certain denominations in accepting candidates for sacred orders, and the mildness with which

lesser offences that infallibly lead to greater ones are excused. Cæsar's wife should be above suspicion, and the first stain that sullies the clerical ermine is a blot that never can be expunged. Ecclesiastical commissions may attempt, on the ground of expediency, to pronounce the charges false or exaggerated, but if there is the slightest proof of such indiscretion it should ever debar the accused from continuing in his sacred office. The facts in the past life of the man Ribble show that similar exploits were whitewashed at former times by the official actions of denominational bodies, and that instead of being branded on his forehead he was turned loose to seek 'green fields and pastures new.' Until the action of denominational bodies becomes inspired by a rigid severity, by scrupulous care in warning their brethren abroad of the character of the wolves in sheep's clothing, Christians may expect to be scandalized week by week and month by month with these examples of clerical depravity."

I fear my readers may infer from these facts that the clergy are not as virtuous as other men, notwithstanding they so loudly profess to be moral and religious exemplars, and hence, the only class, as a class, that should be revered, and, if need be, they and their friends elected to administer this government in a Christian manner. But it should be remembered that their temptations are greater than those of other men. The pernicious notion that the imaginary influence called "divine grace" could make the nature of men and women anything else than human nature, has been a prolific cause of crime in "holy circles," because the barriers of self-restraint have all been removed. The clergy advocate a system of religion which leads them to depend upon something or somebody, outside of self, for support. And when they do sin, the elastic element of their system—vicarious atonement—covers it, so that crime will not appear against them.

While it indeed is not a pleasant task to hold up before the public gaze the short-comings of our fellow-beings, it becomes, in a case like this, a duty which cannot be ignored on any sentimental plea of sickly charity. Charity never favors crime. No Christian condemns Jesus Christ because

he denounced in such a severe way the corruptions of the Pharisees. Those Pharisees exalted themselves as patterns of piety. So do the clergy of to-day. The world would probably have suffered little, if any, had there been no Pharisees nor Phariseeism. It can as easily dispense with Christianity and its clergy, and be all the better for it. All efforts to separate the immorality of the clergy from the system they constantly promulgate, is unavailing. Immorality is the logical sequence of Christian teaching. If the large percentage of moral church-members is supposed to contradict this statement, I affirm that moral church-members are not logical. They are moral in spite of the system. They are compelled to admit that however immoral they may have been, are, or may be, they can be forgiven, and every sin, from the least to the greatest, can be cancelled. But Nature holds the culprit strictly responsible. This may be one reason why Christians are not over friendly to Nature

I have said that the "sacred calling" of the clergy is no bar to immorality. This statement is fully sustained by a Monthly journal, called the *Pulpit*, published in Chicago, and devoted to the Orthodox religion. It printed the following truthful article :

"We infer from what we hear in private conversation, and what we read in the public journals, that the public think it very marvelous that so many of the clergy are wrecked upon the rock of sensuality. The astonishment is not astonishing. People who do not make a habit of thinking, will hardly be thoughtful enough to know the fact with reference to this matter. The fact is that there is no profession, class or avocation, so exposed to or tempted by the devil of sensuality as the ministry. The very sanctity of their office is an occasion of their stumbling. The office is confounded with its occupant. The sanctity of the former is made the possession of the latter. Now, the office is an invulnerable myth : its occupant is a man of like passions with other men.

"No temptation is sufficient to overcome the office, while so stout-faithed an occupant of it as Peter, the apostle, may fall grievously at the first approach of the adversary. Un-

thinking women may seem to be only tempting the office, when they are unwittingly laying snares for its occupant. By their persistent exhibition of confidence in the office they are confiding persistently in its occupant. And so it comes to pass in this way that the minister, with all his flesh and blood about him, has the door of temptation thrown open to him and then closed behind him. Blind confiding on the one side, and the unguarded sociability on the other, lead to equivocal circumstances as to both.

“No man in the world has so few conditions imposed upon him at the threshold of society as the clergyman. His passport to social life is almost a *carte blanche*. Women of both states [married and single] and all ages are his companions, socially and professionally. The rules of social intercommunication between the sexes are, in his case, virtually suspended. What would be an indiscretion with other men is a matter of course with him. He shares, or is alternately admitted to the privacy of the sick room with the physician. Wherever spiritual advice is called for, there he reigns alone and unmolested. And he is a sedentary man, of nervous-sanguine temperament, and, like all men of this sort and life, feels the law of his flesh warring against the law of his religion. None have such temptations as those of sedentary life. In proportion to the idleness of the muscles, is the activity of the passions. The devil tempts the industrious; idle men tempt the devil. The clergy should give more earnest heed to ‘muscular Christianity.’

“But not only is their life afflicted with deficiency in bodily exercise, it is additionally accursed with the temptations that take advantage of this physical feebleness. Half the crimes of sensuality come of physical feebleness. Considering, then, this sandy-haired composition, this nervous combustibility, this superabundance of sexual heat from a deficiency in physical exertion and this extraordinary exposure to the wiles of the wicked, and the insinuating influences of unsuspecting, the marvel, nay, the miracle is not that so many but so few of the clergy fall into the sins of sensuality. The wonder is, not that so many yield, but that so many stand firm.

“And so far from these clerical sins of sensuality being the inexplicable lapses they are represented to be by the public press and the private Grundys, they are not only the least surprising but the most excusable sins the clergy can commit. But we do not excuse, we explain them. We are giving their comparative and not their actual criminality.

“While we regard a sudden trip into sensual sin as comparatively the most excusable of the obliquities of which the clergy can be guilty, we certainly advise all those who are thus guilty, or feel themselves in danger of being, to quit the pulpit at once and forever. And let none go to the sacred office who are not strong in the flesh as well as in the Lord, and let the physically feeble who are in it leave it, lest a worse fate come upon them. Divine grace will not make amends for physical infirmities.

“As for seduction, that is a crime than which none are more heinous, infernal and damnable, let who will commit it. The man who is convicted of it deserves every twinge of the torture to which he can be subjected by the retributive laws of the Divine Government. Nor is there any explanation to be offered for that horrible species of the genus sensuality, of which several clergymen in this country have recently been found guilty, and which shall be nameless here. Such offences are very peculiarly odious and abhorrent, in view of the fact that sensual gratification is not possible without adding more than one to the number of the debauched.

“Let these putrid brethren be cut off and put away, and let there be a rigorous endeavor to lift the standard of Clerical purity in the above, as well as in every other respect; but let it be remembered also that the steadfastness of the clergy is a matter of amazement, when the considerations we have named are taken into the account.”

“Steadfastness of the Clergy is a matter of amazement,” considering their dangerous and trying situation! But they claim to have “divine grace” to keep them from sin! Where is the “grace”? Says the *Pulpit*, “What would be an indiscretion with other men is a matter of course” with the clergy. In other words if the same degree of familiarity between the sexes prevailed among people in general, that obtains among the clergy and their fair parishioners, we would have social anarchy. The *Pulpit* asserts that the minister has fewer conditions imposed upon him than any other man in the world, “the door of temptation thrown open to him and then closed behind him.” “There,” says the *Pulpit*, “he reigns alone and unmolested.” He is there to give spiritual advice “alone and unmolested”! “The miracle

is," says the *Pulpit*, "not that so many but so few of the clergy fall into the sins of sensuality." Does the *Pulpit* know how many fall of whom the public never hear? Is the public made acquainted with all the cases? Are not strenuous efforts almost invariably made to conceal the crimes of their pastors? The boasted purity of these "saintly" men, is as empty as their theology is hollow. They teach the blinded that if it were not for their holy office, and their own very immaculate persons as the "chosen of the Lord" this world would soon become immoral beyond the possibility of reclamation. They are Saints in name, but in practice are passionate, vindictive, bigoted, envious, jealous, conceited, love to be thought holy and above all like to be fondled, petted, *reverenced* by their sheep and lambs. Yet there are some good men among them, men who love their fellow-men, but as a profession there is no class more immoral than the Clergy. As a body they will not compare with the legal profession, either in intellect or morals. There is scarcely a crime which has not been committed by the Clergy. Were it not for their foolish assumption that they are holier than the generality of mankind their depravity might be charged to the imperfections of human nature. They would then be, like other unfortunates, objects of pity, and the kindly hand would be extended to reclaim them. But in most cases they deem human aid and sympathy of minor importance, and settle their accounts with God. Their teaching is calculated to undermine the foundations of man's moral nature. However atrocious their crimes they can have them all washed away in the "blood of Christ." Such a doctrine is demoralizing. Faith in preference to works is their favorite principle. *Merit*, they teach, will not win heaven, and their lives prove they expect to enter that harbor by *Dead-head Pass*.

The cause of so much crime among the Clergy lies deeper than the Chicago *Pulpit* could see or would admit. It is not only the delicate and tender relation which the Clergy bear to the female members of their flocks, subjecting them to the

“insinuating influences of unsuspection” that is a cause of their sinful practices. There is one force still more powerful—their *religion*. It allows them to sin without limit, provided they wash themselves in figurative blood.

The immoral tendency of the Christian religion is illustrated in the following Scripture and poetry, published by the Dublin Tract Repository, entitled “Leaflets for Letters, Gospel No. 38.” This and other kindred publications are distributed in Boston and elsewhere by agents of the Young Men’s Christian Association :

“DEADLY DOING.

“How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from DEAD WORKS to serve the living God.”—(*Heb. ix: 14.*)

“By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.”—(*Gal. ii: 16.*)

“What, then, must I DO to be saved?

“NOTHING, either great or small,
Nothing, sinner, no ;
Jesus did it—did it *all*,
Long, long ago.

“When *he* from his lofty throne
Stoop’d to do and die,
Everything was fully done.
Hearken to *his* cry—

“‘IT IS FINISH’D!’ Yes ; indeed,
Finish’d every jot.
Sinner, this is all you need ;
Tell me, is it not ?

“Weary, working, burden’d one,
Why toil you so ?
Cease *your* doing ; all was done
Long, long ago.

“Till to JESUS’ WORK you cling
By a simple faith,
‘Doing’ is a deadly thing—
‘Doing’ ends in death.

“Cast your deadly ‘doing’ down—
Down at Jesus’ feet ;
Stand ‘IN HIM’—in *him* alone,
Gloriously ‘COMPLETE!’ *

* “Ye are complete in him.—(*Col. ii: 10.*)”

Religious papers are teaching this. The *North-Western Christian Advocate* says that God is glorifying himself by the disorders in the world. This accords with what Dr. Emmons, of New England taught, that "it always was, and is, and will be, God's secret will, that all things shall take place, which he sees will best promote his own glory and the highest good of the Universe, whether they are good or *evil*, right or *wrong*, in their own nature."

Society is corrupted with this kind of literature. The vicious teaching begins with the little child who is required to commit to memory, "A Short Catechism for Young Children": Question: "What kind of a heart have you by nature?" Answer. "A heart filled with all unrighteousness." Question. "Does your wicked heart make *all* your *thoughts*, *words* and *actions* sinful?" Answer. "Yes; *I do nothing but sin.*" Question. "Can you of yourself reform and renew your wicked heart?" Answer. "No; I am *dead* in trespasses and sin."

Is it surprising that humanity is no better than it is? The New York *Tribune* reports that at a Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church "the Rev. James Wallace of St. Louis said the Sabbath School may be made use of for very evil purposes. Sabbath Schools, as usually conducted, are very great evils, and ones which Presbyterianism deploues. He had a conversation with the Rev. Mr. McKinley, a Presbyterian clergyman in Champaign City, Illinois, who pronounced the Sabbath School to be one of the greatest evils of the times. Four-fifths of the convicts in the New-York Penitentiary, he said, were found to be Sabbath School scholars."

This statement was vehemently denied by several of the Clergy present. But such teaching as they impart from week to week must inevitably lead to such a result. It is no escape to say that the Short Catechism is used in but few Orthodox Sunday Schools at the present time. The same sentiments are embodied in their juvenile literature. In a small Sunday School paper entitled the "Little Folks," Vol. 3, No. 37, is the following lesson :

“ Out of marble a figure looking just like a person may be cut, but the marble cannot move, or do anything with its eyes, or hands, or feet, because it has no life. Just so is a person who thinks he can get to heaven by being good. Jesus in the heart gives eternal life—nothing else can—and if we would have eternal life, we must be willing to give up all that we have for Jesus’ sake.” “ Little friend, do you think if you never lie, swear, cheat, and are good to your parents and friends, you will go to heaven? If you do, you are wrong. *Only to be good* can never take any one to heaven.”

In No. 38 occurs this paragraph :

“ Jesus gives everlasting life. But he does not give it to those who try to get it by *being good* or *doing many good works*. The master in the vineyard did not pay money for work, neither does Jesus pay everlasting life for *good acts*. He will not let any one *earn* everlasting life for fear it would make proud hearts, so he just *gives* it to all who *believe that he died for their sins*. The great, strong man who can do much work for Christ is no surer of eternal life than a weak little child who *believes* in Jesus, and loves him.”

And so the children terminate their careers as criminals, unless their natural sense of justice rebels against such teaching. No wonder so many of the Clergy become wrecks.

Christianity cannot show as pure a record as Paganism. It claims the honor of establishing peace and good will among men, and to exercise an unlimited amount of moral and civilizing influence, but there are not two Christian nations on earth that will trust each other, even in times of peace, without a standing army. Fifteen hundred millions of dollars are expended annually to sustain a peace army in Europe. Is not Christianity civilizing, especially when backed by powder and ball? Is it not peaceful when upheld by bristling bayonets?

William Howitt of England, himself a Christian, in his work entitled “ Colonization and Christianity,” writing of Europe, makes a strong statement :

“ The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and

upon every people that they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."

Hon. James M. Peebles, a gentleman of extensive research, and a distinguished traveler, bears similar testimony :

"Are professing Christians in this century really any better—any more charitable and Christ-like than those denominat-ed infidels and 'ultra-rationalists'? Nearly two thousand years of trial and demonstration have justly written down Christianity a most stupendous failure! The fruits, the influences, justify such judgment. Its highways ablaze with war banners, are paved with human skulls; and its history, shocking to refined natures, can only be written in tears and blood. The candid in every walk of life must admit that, since the famous Constantinian Council, its undertones have been the groans and pleading cries of the persecuted and the imprisoned, the beheaded and the burned at martyrs' stakes!"—*Jesus: Myth, Man, or God.*

On page 85 of this startling book, he says :

"Carefully tracing the career of the Christian Church under the patronage of Christian sovereigns, one is compelled to consider Christianity synonymous almost with persecution and fiendishness! Does an apologist say this was not Christianity? The groundless assertion is denied. It was—it *is* Christianity. And what is more, it is in perfect keeping with the genius of the system as interpreted by councils, synods, and the masses of its devotees. If the fruits are disliked, disown—deny the tree—the *name*, even, of the tree that bore and bears them. This theological superstructure—Judaized Christianity—with its total depravity and vicarious atonement—with its angry God and threatened retaliatory damnation of numberless millions—naturally and legitimately promotes just such individual and natural wickedness as we have been contemplating."

Need we be astonished at anything the Clergy may do? Their religion licenses them to commit all sorts of crimes. If some of them are good citizens it is because they are less influenced by their religion than their human nature.

XV.

IS THIS A FALSE ALARM?

Nine years have rolled round since this modern Movement for recognizing God in our Constitution began. Now and then in the discharge of my duties as a public lecturer, I notified the people that there was a plot by the Clergy against our Nation. This was as early as 1864. The people generally received such affirmations as the result of what many would, good-humoredly, term my natural antipathy to the clergy.

In 1868 I heard a Methodist minister, Rev. Mr. Stoughton, Belvidere, Ill., declare that the Christians of the country ought to unite and form a Christian party. I then sounded the voice of warning more frequently. In October, 1869, I delivered a lecture in the capital of Iowa upon the subject. In November there was a State Convention of ministers at Oskaloosa. They met to discuss the subject of recognizing God in the Constitution, and to form a State Association. The evening before the Convention I addressed a large and intelligent audience in Oskaloosa, and received a courteous invitation through the press to attend the Convention and participate in the discussions. I spoke to them freely and frankly. I told them that their "Reform" (?) meant Spiritual despotism, the most cruel, merciless species of despotism. I cannot help feeling earnestly in this matter. Do not see how any American citizen can feel otherwise. One of the leaders in your Movement goes so far as to declare, "We will defend this right to recognize God in the Constitution

with our property, our *lives* and our sacred honor. Necessity is laid upon us to do it."

Mr. President, this means war, if it means anything. If war must come, then let it come; if we must appeal to the sword, then let the sword come, and the dagger! For one I am willing to fight for this government of Jefferson, "this heathenish and Infidel government," as it is sneeringly called by a body of religious fanatics. Though a peace man I am willing to fight against religious oppression, and in favor of liberty. Oh, this idea of God's ruling the nation in person is fraught with evil. Before the Infidels got the reins of government in their own hands, and so "stole a march" upon the Christian world, you had a fair specimen of Christian rule. Its history is written in characters of blood. There were *holy* crusades against human life; bitter persecutions in the name of religion. There were pious puritans who fled from religious oppression; but retained a large measure of intolerance. Their vile superstition, called religion, prompted them to banish Roger Williams who was a friend to religious liberty; incited them to flog Quakers in the name of God, and to bore their tongues with red-hot irons, thinking they did God service! I cannot trust you as *Christians*, but I can trust you as *men*. We want no God recognized in our Constitution. We rejoice in an Infidel government—the best, the freest the sun ever shone upon.

I repeat, if you intend to force your opinions you shall have war.

The short speech, of which the foregoing is a synopsis, produced a wild scene of confusion. The *Oskaloosa Herald* took a more cheerful view of those scenes than did the clergy at the time. It said:

"The *Convention opened wide the door of free discussion*. Right bravely was it done and there resulted, as compensation, the liveliest interest in the proceedings. How could it be otherwise in a body where orthodox, liberalist, Jew, atheist, laymen, lawyers—those for and those against—occupied the floor? *It was a rare sight to see an atheist pouring out the*

fierce vials of his pent-up denunciations on the heads of the clergy, and a Jew reading with a broken accent but earnest tone, his labored apology. And no one can regret the freedom allowed in the outcome. If to gain the public attention be any part of the object of such conventions, then was this one a wonderful success."

The Oskaloosa *Conservator* opposed the clergy.

I treated all the gentlemen personally with the utmost courtesy, as was acknowledged on the floor of the Convention, and jokingly remarked to several of the Reverend gentlemen that I thought they ought to return me a vote of thanks for filling their church with people anxious to witness the intellectual conflict.

It was not my privilege to be present at the National Christian Convention in Philadelphia, in January, 1871. But I sent a note of warning which was read, and denominated a letter from a "Chicago Infidel."

I addressed the following letter to the *Christian Statesman* :

CHICAGO, April 12, 1872.

PROPRIETORS "CHRISTIAN STATESMAN:"

Gentlemen : I am fully aware of the magnitude of the movement in which you exhibit so much energy. I concede the ability of the leading men engaged in the attempt to secure a recognition (in the *magna charta* of our country) of God, Jesus Christ, the Bible and the Christian religion. As I said in my letter to your Philadelphia Convention, "Were I a *Christian* and felt as I think a Christian must feel, I do not see how I could oppose your movement. But as I am anti-Christian I oppose it, and believe I am serving my country by so doing."

A year later and Mr. Abbot, of the *Index*, expressed a similar sentiment in your Cincinnati Convention.

You ask for nothing but what the *logic* of Christianity gives you. The contest, therefore, is really between Christians and anti-Christians—Christianity and Infidelity.

Should you make the rapid progress for the next decade which has been attained within the past year, I believe your

movement will be a success. The belittling of your cause by the Liberalists of the country, and their consequent apathy, are favorable to your efforts to Christianize the government. To prevent, if possible, this calamity, I have written a work. The people need to be re-impressed with the principles of secularism which gave birth to our nation. "Common-sense" laid the foundations of our *human* government in 1776. Common sense in 1876 will be as necessary to save it from Christianity.

Undoubtedly you have faith in your principles. You court discussion, which always shows confidence to maintain principles. Hence, I will have no objection to publish one page of the prospectus of your *Christian Statesman* in my catalogue of books and papers to be bound in the volume. I will allow it to run through all the editions of my book, so that the readers of *THE CLERGY A SOURCE OF DANGER TO THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC* can procure your paper if they choose, and thus become acquainted with its objects and arguments. This I offer provided you will be equally liberal in allowing me an equal space for a regular standing advertisement of my book, thus enabling your readers to post themselves on the other side of the question.

Hoping to receive a favorable reply,

I am yours, respectfully,

W. F. JAMIESON.

In calling the attention of my fellow-citizens to the danger which threatens us I have been met, in almost every locality, with the assurance that it would "not amount to anything;" "will soon blow over;" "Orthodoxy is nearly dead;" "a wild, impracticable, *impossible* scheme;" "there is no ground for fear," etc., etc. I almost feared the pecuniary risk of launching a book upon an indifferent public. But the Liberal press began to call attention to the growing evil of Church and State union, public attention is everywhere becoming enlisted on one side or the other.

In May, 1870, Francis Ellingwood Abbot, in an address before the Free Religious Association, held in Boston, after

having declared that the Church is "seeking to ally itself with the State" proceeded to specify:

"I refer to the attempts, laughed at thus far by the country, to get the Church established by law, through a theological amendment to the Constitution. The project seems ridiculous enough, yet it is the drowning man's clutch at a straw. When such men as Dr. Cheever and Professor Taylor Lewis virtually advocate the absurd scheme in the New York *Independent*, the significance of the movement becomes more than trivial; and the late Pittsburg Convention, though empty as a bubble, is a bubble that shows the drift of the current. What but conscious weakness and alarm could prompt such a violation of Puritan principles? Is it not plainly a retrogression to Catholic ground? And what could cause this retreat to the Church-and-State theory of Rome, except the fear produced by the formidable spread of free thought? Nothing short of deadly peril to the Church would ever reconcile American Christians to it. *Yet we shall hear more, and not less, of this wild, despotic project.* The instinct of self-preservation is strong in all organized bodies; and, reason being on the side of free thought, Christianity must rely on law. Even the Unitarians, professedly the friends of freedom, know well how to make the law eke out the deficiency of their arguments.

"I am no alarmist. I hate all wars, even in self-defence.

* * * * *

But I see an irrepressible conflict between the Christian Church and the modern world which has got to be fought out here in America. The question of the life or death of the Christian Church will yet shake this continent to its foundations. It will get into politics,—nay, is already getting into politics. The Bible-in-schools controversy and the agitation of the theological amendment to the Constitution are but a hint of what is yet to come. I wish I could feel sure that this great conflict would be settled peacefully at the polls; but I do not feel sure of it. The moneyed institutions of the Christian Church are vast, its social influence is enormous, its slumbering power for evil is beyond all estimate. Representing nobody in this Association but myself,—nay, uttering what I know seems to most of them and to you to be the wild extravagance of theories pushed to absurd extremes,—I do nevertheless avow my own conviction that American civilization and the American government have a

domestic enemy in the Christian Church to be compared only to the great slave-power of the South. What the Anti-Slavery Society did to the South, this Association is doing to the Church,—awakening and exasperating an enemy whose hand may yet be raised against the nation's life. Those who are disposed to slight the warning will do well to remember the incredulity of the North down to the very outbreak of the war. The great question of political slavery has been gloriously settled: the still greater question of spiritual slavery is looming up before us. What may lie between the present hour and the hour of final settlement, I can but dimly discern by the light of ideas; but sure I am, that freedom shall yet win her crowning triumph over the Christian Church, to be remembered with the same profound thankfulness with which we now remember the fall of the slave Confederacy."

And still the masses say there is no danger!

In an essay read at the Detroit Convention of the Free Religious Association, Dec. 8, 1871, Mr. Abbot said:

"But this state of things cannot last forever. The incongruity of American government and American religion is forcing itself on millions of minds. Freedom in *either* means freedom in *both*. The Sunday question, the Bible-in-schools question, the Christian Amendment question are but outcroppings of this interior contradiction in American life. The nation is coming to be uneasily aware that it has got to adjust its government and its religion anew. The consciousness of this necessity will increase. There is a great practical absurdity to be got rid of—the absurdity of maintaining a despotic religion in a free country. The people are slowly awaking to the fact that a free State must have a free religion—that one as well as the other must rest on the great law of natural reason—that it is impossible to settle some very important practical questions, so long as the popular government and the popular religion are at sword's points on questions of fundamental principles. The Bible must either stay in or stay out of the schools; the Sunday must either be secularized or made a sacred day; the Constitution must either be kept secular or made Christian. Nor can questions like these be settled without coming to a distinct understanding whether the natural law of reason, or the arbitrary law of Christianity, shall govern men in casting their votes. The Christian religion points to one solution of these questions;

reason points to another. And men soon learn to perceive, when called to act, that they cannot walk simultaneously in opposite directions. Contradictions in mere opinion are very apt to lie undetected in ordinary minds. But contradictions in action are soon perceived. From these facts it is clear that a conflict of ideas is imminent in this country, if not already here. Our strictly secular form of government, recognizing no law but that of reason, is now beginning to work as never before in modifying men's thoughts about religion. They are rapidly coming to the conclusion that it is necessary to have a *Free Religion in a Free State*.

“There is a profound need at this time of a NEW ABOLITIONISM. The slavery of despotic will still continues over human souls, though the chains have fallen in fragments from their limbs. The Anti-Slavery Society has nobly accomplished its work, and gone into the past crowned with the benedictions of the age. This Association is neither more nor less than a new Anti-Slavery Society—an organized protest against the soul-bondage that still survives to darken the pathway of mankind. If it comprehends its own historic mission, its trumpet will give no uncertain sound. It will blow a blast, not noisy or obstreperous, but yet so clear and piercing that it shall penetrate to the farthest confines of the land, and (a more illustrious exploit) into the deaf ears of popular indifference and ecclesiastical stupidity. Natural reason instead of arbitrary will, whether in the administration of States or the conduct of private lives—in a word, Free Religion in a Free State—that is our battle-cry; and all but the dead will leap up at the sound of it, electrified with a new purpose and a new insight into the grandeur of America's destiny.”

The key-note of this polished scholar's and true reformer's address was struck by himself at Boston when he said, “Sure I am, that freedom shall yet win her crowning triumph over the Christian Church.” Yes, I think so, too, but *centuries* will have come and gone first. When Mr. Abbot saw the danger, which I have written this book to prove exists, he evidently felt that something should be done at once to stem the tide which was setting in favor of the Christian scheme. He urged the people to act promptly, and wrote and circulated the following :

" COUNTER-PETITION.

" *To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled :*

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully and earnestly ask your honorable bodies to preserve inviolate the great guarantees of religious liberty, now contained in the Constitution of the United States, and to dismiss all petitions asking you to adopt measures for amending said Constitution by incorporating in it a recognition of 'God as the source of all authority and power in civil government,' and of 'the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler among the Nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority.' We protest against such proposed amendments as an attempt to revolutionize the government of the United States, and to overthrow the great principles of complete religious liberty and the complete separation of Church and State on which it was established by its original founders."

In his address to the public he said :

"Send your own name, and as many other names as possible, authorizing me to append them to the above counter-petition. Roll up the list to thousands and tens of thousands of names. Let such a protest be heard as shall put a speedy end to this fanatical attempt to subvert the fundamental principles of this free republic.

"Address

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
 " *Editor of The Index,*
 "Toledo, O."

Feeling that Mr. Abbot's hopeful view of a short, sharp and decisive conflict would lead many to believe the Christian plot could be crushed by a little brief concert of action, I penned an article for the *Present Age*, of Chicago, Feb. 10, which contained these extracts :

"Francis E. Abbot, editor of the *Index*, delivered a discourse, and published it in his paper, on the God question. I rejoice to see this awakening to a sense of the dangers which threaten our nation."

"Mr. Abbot, I perceive, has not taken the dimensions of this danger. He is alarmed, it is true, at the audacity and priestly wiles of the Protestants; but when he imagines that

a 'counter-petition' shall, as he says, 'put a speedy end to this fanatical attempt to subject the fundamental principles of this free republic,' he shows that he is not fully aware of the magnitude of the attempt. It is never wise to underrate the strength of an adversary. A 'counter-petition' of a million names might be enrolled in ten days, and it would not have the extinguishing effect upon these fanatical Christians that friend Abbot supposes it would. He thinks such a list of names might pour in as would make the Christian Convention, which will assemble in Cincinnati the latter part of this month, the last of the kind. Vain hope! I know the men who are engaged in the nefarious plot to overthrow religious and political freedom. They are in deadly earnest, and believe in pushing their claims for the glory of God. Every day they gain strength. This is evident from the notice that liberal societies are forced to take of their Constitutional-God movement."

In the same article I said,

"The Christians will, as a body, sustain the movement. Many of them have already arrived to the conclusion that if, as they believe, a church government is superior to a secular one, the latter may be dispensed with altogether.

"Many Liberalists stultify themselves by falling in with the universally prevalent notion that without churches the people would become barbarians, and so they contribute money to build and, afterwards, to support them. This is a grievous error. Church property is no help to any town.

"What a shame it is, too, that Spiritualists, Infidels and other Liberalists, will quietly submit to the Christian imposition of being taxed to support orthodox churches free from taxation. Every dollar of church property ought to be taxed. A poor widow must pay the last cent levied against her cottage, while the imposing church edifice next door is untaxed! If God owns any of these buildings let him be assessed! If man owns them let him pay the bill. Religionists are perfectly free to worship their idols, but they have no right to tax anti-Christians to support those idols."

In the *Index*, January 20th, the concluding words of a paragraph entitled "Sign the Petition!" has the thrill of energy in them: "Make it a point of honor to have your name on this first petition against the audacious attempt to

crush out religious liberty in America. *Let treason to humanity fall dead at its birth, riddled through and through with the ballots of indignant freemen!*"

In the *Index* of February 3, Mr. Abbot says :

"*The success of this movement would be the concentration of all political power in the hands of an intolerant church party. Such success is an impossibility. But the impossibility lies in the certainty that the freemen of America would rise in arms as one man, before they would suffer ecclesiastical ambition to plant its foot upon their necks. We deprecate strife, but we believe in self-defence; and we have no self more dear to defend than the liberty of Man.*"

It is this sense of security that has been our chief danger. Mark the language of Mr. Abbot as contained in the foregoing paragraph. "Such success is an impossibility." In the very next week's issue he expresses an entirely different view. He said, "*Religious liberty in America must do battle for its very existence hereafter.*" What wrought so great a change in one week? This: A National Christian Convention was held at Cincinnati, which Mr. Abbot attended. Here is his leading editorial of Feb. 10 :

"THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

"The 'National Convention to Secure the Religious Amendment of the United States Constitution' was held in Thoms' Hall, Cincinnati, on Wednesday, January 31, and Thursday, February 1. The hall accommodates about seven or eight hundred, and was well filled at every session of the convention. About two hundred and fifty delegates, from ten different States, reported themselves. The audiences were in full sympathy with the object of the convention, if frequent and loud applause is a trustworthy sign of sympathy; although it was evident that a minority of those present were attracted only by curiosity. The spirit of the convention was that of deep earnestness, and impressed the attentive observer as indicative of strong convictions very sincerely held. It was a note-worthy circumstance that, comparatively speaking, very few women were present.

"From the introductory speech and Report of the General Secretary, it appeared that the National Association (by

which the convention was called) has at least thirty auxiliary associations, each with a membership ranging from twenty to three hundred. Within the past year nearly two hundred public meetings have been held, attended mostly by 'large and enthusiastic audiences.' It was proposed to push the work of the Association with redoubled energy by distributing tracts, sending out lecturers, holding meetings for public discussion, multiplying subordinate associations, and circulating petitions to Congress. The great aim of the Association is to prevent the abrogation of Sunday laws, the expulsion of the Bible from the schools, and so forth, by so amending the United States Constitution as 'to place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the nation.'

"From the Report of the Executive Committee it appeared that ten thousand copies of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention have been gratuitously distributed; that a General Secretary (Rev. D. McAllister) has been appointed, with a salary of \$2,500; that a long and elaborate paper by Prof. Tayler Lewis, of Union College, in advocacy of the ideas and objects of the Association, will soon be published; that the number of the Executive Committee is recommended to be increased to twenty-five, besides including all presidents of auxiliary associations; that \$2,177 have been raised the past year by the Association, and that a balance of over \$90 remains in the treasury. Nearly \$1,800 were raised at this Convention.

"The Business Committee recommended that the delegates to this convention hold meetings in their respective localities to ratify the resolutions adopted at Cincinnati; that twenty thousand copies of the proceedings of this convention be published in tract form; and that the friends of the Association be urged to form auxiliary associations. All these recommendations were adopted.

"We saw no indication of the artful management which characterizes most conventions. The leading men,—Rev. D. McAllister, Rev. A. M. Milligan, Prof. Sloane, Prof. Stoddard, Prof. Wright, Rev. T. P. Stevenson,—impressed us as able, clear-headed, and thoroughly honest men; and we could not but conceive a great respect for their motives and their intentions. It is such qualities as these in the leaders of the movement that give it its most formidable character. They have definite and consistent ideas; they perceive the logical connection of these ideas, and advocate them in a very cogent and powerful manner; and they propose to push

them with determination and zeal. Concede their premises, and it is impossible to deny their conclusions; and since these premises are axiomatic truths with the great majority of Protestant Christians, the effect of the vigorous campaign on which they are entering cannot be small or despicable. The very respect with which we were compelled to regard them only increases our sense of the evils which lie germinant in their doctrines; *and we came home with the conviction that religious liberty in America must do battle for its very existence hereafter.* The movement in which these men are engaged has too many elements of strength to be contemned by any far-seeing liberal. Blindness or sluggishness to-day means slavery to-morrow. Radicalism must pass now from thought to action, or it will deserve the oppression that lies in wait to overwhelm it."

Mr. Abbot was permitted to make the following remonstrance before the Convention :

"Without casting any reflections upon the motives which have led to this attempt to Christianize the United States Constitution, I wish to enter a most earnest protest against the attempt itself. I will not inflict a long document on your attention, but confine myself to a single point of vast practical importance.

"If the proposed changes are ever made in the Constitution, their necessary result will be to prevent all persons except Christian believers from holding any office, civil or military, under the American government. No honest disbeliever in the newly incorporated doctrines will be able to take the oath of allegiance required from all United States officials and soldiers. Only Christian believers and dishonest disbelievers will be able to take it; consequently the entire power of the government, both political and military, will be constitutionally concentrated in the hands of those who believe, or profess to believe, the doctrines thus incorporated.

"The very large portion of the American people who do not believe in these doctrines will thus be rendered incapable of holding office, deprived of all representation in Congress and the other branches of the national government, and robbed of rights which have been hitherto recognized as theirs from the very adoption of the Constitution. They will be degraded to a subject class, ruled by an aristocracy of Christian believers.

"This state of things once established, the 'appropriate

legislation' by which the new policy must be sustained will necessarily involve the proscription and suppression of free thought, free speech, and a free press. Whether intended now or not, oppressive persecution must be the consequence of the adoption of the proposed amendment. All your disclaimers of the intent or wish to persecute are utterly idle. The matter will not be in your hands. Persecution will grow like a cancer in the body politic just so soon as the coveted inequality of religious rights once poisons its blood.

"Now I urge you to consider well the temerity of your proposed usurpation of political power. I warn you against the peril of instigating the Christian part of our population to attempt this usurpation. I caution you against the folly of supposing that the majority of the people will finally consent to this subversion of their common liberties. I beg you to count the cost of this agitation before you carry it further. It is a wild and insane delusion to expect that the great body of freedom-lovers will ever submit voluntarily, or can be made to submit by force, to any such outrageous oppression, whether in the name of God or man. I make no threat whatever, but I state a truth fixed as the hills when I say that, before you can carry this measure and trample on the freedom of the people, you will have to wade through seas of blood. Every man who favors it votes to precipitate the most frightful war of modern times; and it is simply preposterous for any of your number to speak of the liberals as 'threatening war.' *You* threaten war when you avow a purpose to destroy the equality of religious rights now guaranteed by the Constitution to all American citizens. On the assailant in this struggle be all the responsibility of its results!

"In the name of freedom, and humanity, and peace, I appeal to you to recognize the real tendencies of your enterprise, and to abandon it as not only hopeless, but also most dangerous to the tranquillity of the land. If you are *thoughtlessly* favoring a scheme whose success would be the establishment of a Christian oligarchy on the ruins of this free republic, you will turn away from it with horror when reflection has shown you its sure issue. But if you *deliberately* aim to compass this usurpation of power and this disfranchisement of all but Christian believers, notwithstanding the inevitable calamities involved, you will, if as honest and earnest as I believe you to be, point out to the people the abyss that yawns before their feet. Of this be sure—there are millions of men in America who will never submit

to be ruled by an oligarchy, whether Christian or anti-Christian. If I wished to destroy Christianity in this country by unscrupulous means, I should encourage your attempt in every way; for the reaction you will create will open the eyes of millions to the fact that Christianity and freedom are incompatible. But because you are not only Christians, but also fellow-citizens, fellow-men, and brothers, I appeal to you most earnestly TO BE CONTENT WITH THE EQUAL RIGHTS YOU NOW ENJOY BEFORE THE LAW, without seeking to destroy the rights of those who are not Christians in belief. I appeal to you to make no further efforts to fan into a flame the dangerous fires of religious bigotry; for the conflagration, once kindled, you will be powerless to control. Rise above the temptation to seek the triumph of your creed by political strife, and trust your cause, as I trust mine, to the power of truth over the human soul."

Said Professor Sloane at the Convention :

"I believe we have held no Convention on this subject without hearing the roaring of some wild beast, threatening blood. * * * We follow peace; but those who make these threats may as well know that they cannot intimidate or drive us from our firm purpose. If they attempt to carry them into execution, they will be met by a resolution as determined as their own, and by a heroism that no system of unbelief ever inspired."

Said Rev. T. P. Stevenson, one of the editors of the *Christian Statesman* :

"Since this nation believes in Jehovah as the God of nations, have we not a sacred and indefeasible right, as a nation, to worship our God? * * * This right we will maintain, with our lives, if necessary, as the highest of all rights; a right which no individual, and no minority of individuals, can limit or abridge."

Said Rev. H. H. George, one of the most active men of the movement and the Secretary of the Convention :

"What we want is to make our Constitution conform to the religious spirit of the nation. If there is to be a fight, let it come. Christian men will never relinquish their belief without a terrible struggle."

That is the history of the Oskaloosa Convention repeating itself. Yet there are thousands of Liberalists who disregard, or do not perceive these signs of the gathering storm of a Religious War! I am almost compelled to say that it is inevitable.

The *Index* of February 17, had the following editorial :

“WANTED—A MILLION NAMES.

“Not long ago we wrote to Mr. Sumner, inquiring if he would present the Counter-Petition in Congress when the time for its presentation should arrive. To this inquiry we have received the following cordial reply :

“SENATE CHAMBER, Feb. 1, 1872.

“DEAR SIR:—I shall present the petition you mention, with pleasure and sympathy.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.”

“Nothing less could be expected of the Senator whose career has been one long, resplendent, and heroic service of human freedom. Let us see to it, friends, that the petition to be thus illustriously presented shall be worthy of the cause and of the man.

“Do not rest till the roll of names shall count up its hundreds of thousands,—nay, if need be, its millions. Do not grudge a little labor now, when it may avert evils which the wildest imagination cannot paint in colors too deep or dark. If any think us extravagant in our estimate of the dangers of this Christian Amendment agitation,—if they regard the movement as too fanatical or absurd ever to become influential enough to create a strong public opinion in its favor,—let them remember how idle at the time seemed the predictions of those who years ago warned the nation against the young lion of Secession. It was only a cub, a kitten, a figure of speech. But it drank one day the blood of our best and dearest. The day is approaching when no man will confess that he ever laughed at this nascent monster of Bigotry.

“We are perfectly willing to be thought to-day over-excited or ‘scared by a bug-bear.’ What seems an inflamed imagination is the coolest-headed calculation of cause and effect; and we appeal from the present to the future for our justification. It is of no consequence what the blind say of

the seeing. We care less than nothing what scepticism or cynicism or ridicule may say of our warnings against this movement, *provided friends, you will take up this work of getting signatures to the Counter-Petition.* That is the first thing to be done. The task is but just commenced. Make a clean sweep of your own town. Get every name in it that you can. Leave no one, man or woman, unasked. Do not stop till the work has been done so thoroughly that nothing remains for gleaners. Let the hoarse murmurs of the great protest go up like the sound of many waters, drowning the serpent's hiss with the grand affirmation of ETERNAL LIBERTY FOR THE WESTERN WORLD."

Within four months there were *thirty thousand names* sent to Mr. Abbot for enrollment on the protest submitted to the people for signature. But the Legal-God-Christians feel strong enough to laugh in derision at such efforts. The Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* of April 1, says :

"The editor of *The Index* seems not to be aware that in the years 1868-9 petitions were poured upon Congress from all parts of the country, in behalf of the proposed amendment. When we deem it wise to enroll our forces in a petition, we shall be happy to compare forces with the opposition."

Says the *Index* :

"We are sorry to see a disposition on the part of some to consider the remonstrance as unnecessary. If the revolutionists succeed in enlisting on their side the Young Men's Christian Associations and other ecclesiastical organizations (and they are trying to do this), they can easily obtain names on their petitions by the hundred thousand. The dictate of simple common sense is to forestall them, and thus bring to bear against them the power of a great public opinion *already publicly expressed.* Many Orthodox persons will sign the remonstrance to-day. Wait long enough, and they will be dragooned into support of the measure in contemplation. We unhesitatingly stake our reputation for insight into the tendencies of the times on the prediction that within a very few years this Christian Amendment movement will be the great absorbing question of American politics. It is fatuity to despise the gathering cloud because it is to-day 'no bigger

than a man's hand.' Years ago, even before we had ever heard of this 'National Reform Association,' we held the same opinion concerning the general movement it represents. Slavery once abolished, this is the next great issue in the order of development. Do not, friends, fall into the same mistake as in 1861, and be caught unprepared when the time for action comes."

It will be a long and bitter contest—bitter on the Christian side.

On the 7th of February I penned the following which was published in the Free Religious journal:

"POLITICAL CHRISTIANS.

"EDITOR INDEX:—

"*The Clergy a Source of Danger to the American Republic.*'

"Such is the line upon which for five years I have been conducting the campaign against the clerical interference with our 'Infidel' government. Mr. Abbot, I trust that no Liberalist will underrate the strength of the enemies of free government. I have many reasons for the opinion that the ministers believe they are doing God service in Christianizing our government. I know the men engaged in it. They are in earnest. They feel their cause is as holy as Garrison believed 'Abolitionism' to be, and are confident that God and victory are with them. They have been laboring in this cause—they and their ancestors—ever since 1787. At that time they deplored the 'wretched infidelity then abroad upon the air of the world,' which gave us a 'godless constitution,' a 'heathenish thing.' They explain that Satan at that time was unusually active and 'stole a march upon the Christian world!' The 'Covenanters' were never reconciled to the Constitution which insulted God by omitting his name. In 1863 the modern form of the movement began. It is gaining strength. Our chief danger is to believe it is a harmless movement, or, if dangerous, that it can easily be extinguished. We need to beware of indulging an undue sense of security. I am glad you have espoused the cause of Liberty against clerical rule.

"This effort to Christianize our institutions will endanger, far more than African bondage did, the perpetuity of the Republic. We are upon the eve of a great religious war that will not be entirely a wordy one."

Even some who have been very active in securing signatures to Mr. Abbot's Counter-Petition have not realized the magnitude of the movement they were opposing. One gentleman in closing a note to the *Index* said, "Had I time, and if the dog was not already dead, I would be disposed to rout him from every school house in the State." The editor, in a note, said :

"Let local meetings be held everywhere, for the purpose of discussing this subject in all its bearings. But do not hold them as if 'the dog' were 'dead.' That is a terrible mistake.

"THE INTEREST OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DEMANDS THAT THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT SHOULD BE CARRIED. It is the only measure that can preserve to Orthodoxy its permanent dominion over society. These men see this fact as clearly as we do. Do not flatter yourself that they will cease their agitation. Meet them on their own ground. OUT-AGITATE THEM! Carry these questions right before the people, and make every man decide which petition he will sign, theirs for tyranny or ours for freedom!"

Charles Voysey, of England, writes to Mr. Abbot :

"Imagine, then, what an army of dragon's teeth would be sown by incorporating these terms into the Constitution! Rival sects would then never be without a bone of fierce contention, and all the time of your legislators would be occupied in keeping the 'Christians' from flying at each others' throats.

"For my part, I have long since forsaken the name of 'Christian' as in any sense expressing my views, or as in any way a term of honor. It has either no fixed meaning, or it is a term of reproach as expressing mingled superstition and uncharitableness. I would ten times rather be called a Jew, as Jesus was, for I am quite as little of a Christian in my beliefs as he.

"Will America condescend to take up and put on our cast-off clothes? We, in England, are much nearer to the repudiation of the Christian name than fanatics dream.

"We are on the eve of either disestablishing the Church—of separating Church and State—or else of disestablishing the dogmas so as to leave all opinions alike unimposed and unprotected. Will America, of all countries in the world,

make a retrograde step, and try again what the old country has tried for centuries and found to be almost an unmitigated curse? I cannot believe this. Such a step would be ominous of your coming downfall."

The people of European countries are watching this scheme of the clergy with the deepest interest. Let Liberty be overthrown in America and where would it dare to raise its head?

Those secular papers opposed to the movement, yet treating it as scarcely worth notice, are recreant to their post of honor as guardians of liberty. The *Cincinnati Gazette*, of February 10, expressed the opinion that nine-tenths of the professors of religion in the United States are either positively or negatively opposed to it, and that not one in ten thousand would vote for the proposed amendment, if submitted. All such statements are well calculated to put Liberalists to sleep, and to encourage Christians to invoke the aid of all opposed to infidelity.

Rev. H. H. George, Secretary of the Cincinnati Convention, published a letter in the *Gazette*, which shows clearly that more than nine-tenths of the professors of religion would be in favor of God in the Constitution; and I believe that a majority of world's people would favor it when tested as Christians intend to put it: Christianity *versus* Infidelity.

Said Rev. Mr. George in reply to the *Gazette*:

"I shall simply narrate my experience. I have been over a large part of Ohio, parts of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and elsewhere, where meetings have been held to discuss this subject. Those meetings would have at different times six and seven hundred people, and sometimes as high as a thousand. And after the subject was presented, ninety-nine hundredths of the audience would say amen to it. And able, honest, earnest men, would often exclaim in astonishment—'Why, can any Christian man oppose the nation acknowledging God and Christ and the Bible?'

"My candid opinion is, and I have had the best opportunity to know, were this matter laid fairly before the Christian people of this country, at least the four-fifths of them would unhesitatingly pronounce in its favor."

I have traveled over large portions of Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, and held meetings in Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Ohio, and my experience proves that Mr. George is right, and the Rip Van Winkle Liberalists who dream there is no cause for alarm, are wrong. Well does Mr. Abbot say :

“It is easy to laugh at these Orthodox revolutionists, as the Southern fire-eaters were universally laughed at in the North before the war. But the great mass of pre-occupied, indifferent outsiders as little understand the ideas and spirit of the Christian Church as the Northern people understood those of the South. What ignorance is capable of doing when officered by fanaticism or ambition the rebellion showed, and the liberals would be vastly wiser if they appreciated the unfathomable ignorance that prevails throughout our Orthodox population concerning the first principles of religious liberty. Fear of abolitionism drove the South into desperate revolt ; fear of ‘infidelity’ is slowly but irresistibly driving the Church into a revolt as desperate, but more dangerous because masked behind forms of law. Whoever has learned that liberty is never safe under the same roof, nay, on the same continent, with ignorance, and has observed the dense ignorance of equal rights manifested by the Church in all its corporate action, will see that, so long as the Church has power over the minds of the majority, religious liberty even in America exists by sufferance alone.”

Says the *Christian Statesman* :

“Since the Cincinnati Convention, the work has been prosecuted with increased interest and vigor. We have accounts from every quarter of meetings to hear the reports of delegates and ratify the resolutions of the Convention ; of public discussions in lyceums, colleges, and meetings for that purpose, and of a general demand for information on the subject.”

This telegram was published by the associated press :

“NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

“OBERLIN, O., May 21.—The National Christian Association, opposed to secret societies, held a prayer meeting

this morning at the Second Congregational church, where its sessions are to be held. A large number of delegates are present. Prominent delegates declare it to be their belief that the association will make a nomination for the Presidency. The probable candidates are Grant, Greeley, Carpenter of Chicago, and J. Blanchard, of Wheaton, Ill."

Some of the best talent of the Churches is enlisted to secure the amendment. It is easier to make converts to the cause of God-recognition than to Christianity itself.

The Boston *Investigator* received *one thousand names* on a protest from Davenport, Iowa. The Liberal Press opposed are the *Present Age*, Chicago; *Golden Age*, New York; *Woodhull & Claflin's*, New York; *American Spiritualist*, New York; *Iowa Reform Leader*; *Banner of Light*, Boston; *Lyceum Banner*, Chicago; *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, Chicago; also the *Investigator* and the *Index*. Several others, including German and Jewish papers, such as the *Israelite*, of Cincinnati, have done valiant service in exposing and opposing the schemes of the Clergy. But on the other side is a host of religious papers that favor it. Scores of secular papers also throw their influence in behalf of God-recognition. There is work to be done. As Mr. Abbot aptly expresses it:

"We assume no defensive attitude. We are for carrying the war into Africa. We should spurn the proposal to leave things as they are, on condition that this Christian Amendment agitation should cease. No! We have demands to make."

"The agitation they [Christians] depend on as a means of preserving the 'Christian observances' which still deface the practical administration of this non-Christian government, will ultimately lead to their total abolition. Let them agitate. The struggle between Christianity and secular freedom for the control of this country is inevitable, and will only be hastened by agitation. While these revolutionists are urging their demands, the liberals will more vigorously urge their own. What are they?"

"1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempted from just taxation.

"2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State legislatures, in the army, navy, and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

"3. We demand that all public appropriations for sectarian educational and charitable institutions shall cease.

"4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

"5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

"6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

"7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath, shall be repealed.

"8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian morality' shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

"9. In short, we demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

"That is our reply to the audacious demands of the 'National Reform Association.' Let the people decide which shall govern this country, Christian tyranny or secular freedom."

I need not say more to show that this is no "*false alarm*"!

XVI

WHY THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS GODLESS.

"The great and direct end of government is liberty."—*Patrick Henry.*

"I shall always respect that jealousy which arises from the love of public liberty."
—*Iredell.*

"Liberty is hunted with bloodhounds."—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."—*John Milton.*

"The people may increase their liberty while they diminish their superstition."

"The clergy, taken as a body, have always looked on it as their business to enforce belief, rather than encourage inquiry."

"In England political freedom and religious scepticism have accompanied and aided each other."

"The increase of the power of the clergy is incompatible with the interests of civilization. If, therefore, any religion adopts as its creed the necessity of such an increase, it becomes the bounden duty of every friend to humanity to do his utmost, either to destroy the creed, or, failing in that, to overturn the religion."

"In France, the authority of the clergy was increased by a superstitious king; faith usurped the place of reason, not a whisper of doubt was allowed to be heard, and the spirit of inquiry was stifled, until the country fell to the brink of ruin."

"The rebellion, thus raised by the zeal of the Protestants, was soon put down; but, according to the confession of Rohan, one of the ablest of their leaders, it was the beginning of all their misfortunes. The sword had now been drawn; and the only question to be decided was, whether France should be governed according to the principles of toleration recently established, [by the Catholics] or accord-

ing to the maxims of a despotic sect, which, while professing to advocate the right of private judgment, was acting in a way that rendered all private judgment impossible."

"An immense majority of the clergy,—some from ambitious feelings, but the greater part, I believe, from conscientious motives,—are striving to check the progress of that scepticism which is now gathering in upon us from every quarter."

"Well-intentioned, though mistaken men."

"How superficial is the opinion of those speculative writers, who believe that the Protestant religion is necessarily more liberal than the Catholic. If those who adopt this view had taken the pains to study the history of Europe in its original sources, they would have learned that the liberality of every sect depends, not at all on its avowed tenets, but on the circumstances in which it is placed, and on the amount of authority possessed by its priesthood. The Protestant religion is, for the most part, more tolerant than the Catholic, simply because the events which have given rise to Protestantism have at the same time increased the play of the intellect, and therefore lessened the power of the clergy. But whoever has read the works of the great Calvinist divines, and, above all, whoever has studied their history, must know, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the desire of persecuting their opponents burnt as hotly among them, as it did among any of the Catholics even in the worst days of the papal dominion. This is a mere matter of fact, of which any one may satisfy himself, by consulting the original documents of those times."

"A powerful church, and a numerous clergy, are supposed to be the necessary guardians of religion, and every opposition to whom is resented as an insult to the public morals."

"When the human reason began to rebel, the position of the clergy was suddenly changed. They had been friendly to reasoning as long as the reasoning was on their side. While they were the only guardians of knowledge, they were eager to promote its interests. Now, however, it was falling from their hands: it was becoming possessed by laymen: it was becoming dangerous."

"This, then, is the great starting-point of modern civilization. From the moment that reason began, however faintly, to assert its supremacy, the improvement of every people has depended upon their obedience to its dictates, and upon the success with which they have reduced to its standard the whole of their actions."

“How idle it is to ascribe the civilization to the creed; and how worse than foolish are the attempts of government to protect a religion, which if suited to the people, will need no protection, and if unsuited to them, will work no good!”

“Many persons have been led into the singular error, of ascribing all modern enlightenment to the influence of Protestantism.”

“It is to the diffusion of knowledge, and to that alone, that we owe the comparative cessation of what is unquestionably the greatest evil men have ever inflicted on their own species. For that religious persecution is a greater evil than any other, is apparent, not so much from the enormous and almost incredible number of its known victims, as from the fact that the unknown must be far more numerous.”

“Surely, then, we have reason to say, that, compared to this, all other crimes are of small account; and we may well be grateful for that increase of intellectual pursuits, which has destroyed an evil that some among us would even now willingly restore.”—*Extracts from H. T. Buckle's History of Civilization in England.*

“Remarkable work on the ‘History of Civilization.’” “Philosophical writer.” “Devoted to liberal ideas.”—*Senator Charles Sumner.*

In 1546 the Venetian ambassador at the court of the Emperor Charles V stated, in an official report to his own government on his return home, “that in Holland and Friesland, more than thirty thousand persons have suffered death at the hands of justice for Anabaptist errors.”—*Correspondence of Charles V and his Ambassadors*, edited by William Bradford, London, 8vo, 1850, p. 471.

The number of persons punished for heresy by the Inquisition in Spain during the eighteen years of Torquemada's ministry is more than one hundred and five thousand, according to the lowest estimate. Eight thousand and eight hundred were burned.—*Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i.

The Inquisition put to death two thousand Jews in Andalusia, in one year. Seventeen thousand besides “underwent some form of punishment less severe than the stake.”—*Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i, p. 410.

In 1838, in Protestant Sweden there “is inquisition law, working in the hands of a Lutheran State-church, as strongly as in Spain and Portugal in the hands of a Roman Catholic church.”—*Laing's Sweden*, p. 324.

In Holland, even two hundred years ago, the clergy pos-

essed less power than in other countries; and therefore, there existed an unusual amount of toleration.—*Observations upon the United Provinces, by Sir William Temple*, vol. i, pp. 157–162.

In England Lord Eldon said in a speech in the House of Lords, in 1810, that “the enactments against the Catholics were meant to guard, not against the abstract opinions of their religion, but against the political dangers of a faith which acknowledged a foreign supremacy.”—*Twiss' Life of Eldon*, vol. i, p. 435.

Protestants have defended their persecution of Catholics upon political rather than religious grounds.—*Somers Tracts*, vol. i, pp. 189–208.

“This is the stale pretence of the clergy in all countries, after they have solicited the government to make penal laws against those they call heretics or schismatics, and prompted the magistrates to a vigorous execution, then they lay all the odium on the civil power; for whom they have no excuse to allege, but that such men suffered, not for religion, but for disobedience to the laws.”—*Somers Tracts*, vol. xii, p. 534.

“How much still remains to be done for freedom of thought!” “A country [the American Union] that owes its almost miraculous material prosperity to its frank acceptance of the idea that man can comprehend Nature and subjugate her to his use—a country that furnishes the most brilliant instance of the conquest of Nature by man, owes it to itself, and owes it to the world, to stand forth the Defender, and Protector of thought.”—*Draper on Civil Policy of America*, p. 235.

Even the clergy themselves, both Catholic and Protestant, admitted to De Tocqueville that “they mainly attributed the peaceful dominion of religion [in the United States] to the separation of Church and State.” He says that during his stay in America he did not meet with a single individual, of the clergy or of the laity, who was not of the same opinion upon this point.—*De Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, vol. 1, p. 337.

“Distinguished as almost all the legislators of the Union were for their intelligence, they were still more so for their patriotism.” “They had the courage to say what they believed to be true, because they were animated by a warm and sincere love of liberty.”—*Democracy in America*, vol. 1, p. 162.

The wise founders of our government knew of the horrible

religious persecutions in the American colonies as warnings against giving religion any power in the administration of the affairs of State. It does not seem necessary to present the details of American Colonial history to show how dreadful was the reign of religious terror in America, when like enraged beasts Protestant Christians flew at each others' throats for the purpose of strangling heretical opinions. The spirit of persecution, so easily engendered by religion, is only latent, not extinct. A storm of religious passion would fan it into a fierce, devouring flame against Free Inquiry and Infidels. As Milman rightly observes, "intolerance seems inherent in the religious spirit." History proves that Liberty's worst enemy is *Religion!* In the strict sense there is no such thing as "religious liberty" any more than there is *slavish freedom*. It was doubtless the clear perception of this fact which led the framers of our American Constitution to totally ignore religion in its construction. The history of all the religions shows that they have been a curse to the race. There is no exception made in favor of any religion. Christians admit the charge in all its force when applied to all systems except their own. Protestants consider Roman Catholicism an enemy to the race, and Catholics unite in anathematizing heresy as the vilest thing invented by Satanic power. Truly, as remarks the great Henry Thomas Buckle, "in every sect, the clergy, as a body, have *always* been remarkable for their intolerance of opinions different to their own."* It cannot be that they are worse by nature than other men. It is chargeable to their religion. The same author affirms that "the Protestants, who professed to take their stand on the right of private judgment, became, early in the seventeenth century, more intolerant than the Catholics, who based their religion on the dictates of an infallible church."

De Tocqueville says :† "I think that the Catholic religion

* "Civilization in England," vol. I. p. 397.

† Democracy in America, by A. De Tocqueville, vol. I, p. 328.

has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of Democracy in America."

Wherever religion had power it has professed to befriend God by sucking the blood of human victims. It needs no long array of figures and authorities to prove what even a casual reader of history knows to be a fact, that the histories of religions are dripping with blood. Religion, with frowning front, has always opposed human progress. It was the Christian religion in 1793, and subsequently, that directed the English war with France, against *doctrines* and *opinions*, "having for one of its main objects the discouragement of the Democratic sentiment among the people"—"a bitter war carried on against every kind of free discussion." There were vindictive punishments visited upon many of the best minds of the age. Many were fined, imprisoned or transported, merely because they expressed their sentiments with freedom, and employed such language as is used by speakers of this day with impunity, and by writers for the public press. Bishop Horsley, a great champion of the English rulers, said in the House of Lords, in 1795, that he "did not know what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws, but to obey them." Certainly not, if God is the source of all power in civil government. The men who had a religion to back them, the men who ruled by "divine right," have always been arrayed against the liberties of the people, and the clergy have ever been the willing aiders and abettors of the ruling classes. The soul-sickening history of religion in the American colonies, together with the religious wars which scourged Europe, warned the founders of the American Republic to beware of the poisonous influence of religion, and they heeded the warning. Says one historian,* in speaking of the clause in the Constitution concerning religion:

"The people of the United States were so fully aware of the evils which arise from the union of Church and State,

* James Bayard "On the Constitution," 1833, p. 131.

[in other words, of religion and politics,] and so thoroughly convinced of its corrupting influence, upon both religion and government, that they introduced this prohibition [against the union of religion with the State,] into the Fundamental Law."

This fact has been from the first displeasing to the clergy. In 1833 this displeasure was still manifest. Mr. Bayard, in the same connection, adds :

"It has been made an objection to the Constitution, by some, that it makes no mention of religion, contains no recognition of the existence and providence of God; as though his authority were slighted or disregarded. [Mr. Bayard, while acknowledging the fact that there is no recognition, proceeds to argue that no slight was intended.] But such is not the reason of the omission. The convention which framed the Constitution comprised some of the wisest and best men in the nation; [Is not this a sufficient reason why they wished to have nothing to do with union of religion and state?] men who were firmly persuaded, not only of the divine origin of the Christian religion, [?] but also of its importance to the temporal and eternal welfare of men; [This is an admission in favor of the logic of the Church-and-State party; if the Christian religion is a temporal blessing, why should its influence in government be dreaded?] the people, too, of this country, were generally impressed with religious feelings, and followed, and acknowledged, the superintendency of God who had protected them through the perils of war, and blessed them in their exertions to obtain civil and religious freedom. But there were reasons why the introduction of religion into the Constitution would have been unseasonable, if not improper.

"In the first place, it was intended exclusively for *civil* purposes, and religion could not be mentioned because it made no part of the agreement between the parties. They were about to surrender a portion of their civil rights for the security of the remainder, but each retained his religious freedom, entire and untouched, as a matter between himself and his God, with which government could not interfere. But even if this reason had not existed, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to use any expression on this subject which would have given general satisfaction. [When did Christian despotism ever give general satisfaction?] The

difference between the various sects of Christians is such, that while all have much in common, there are many points of variance; [There is no quarrel with the historian's *facts*, but when he speculates as to the probable causes of given events, he is frequently lost in a wilderness of conjecture; for instance, "points of variance" are not a cause why God and religion were not recognized. In various countries the Christian religion was, and is, the religion of the State, notwithstanding "points of variance,"] so that in an instrument where all are entitled to equal consideration it would be difficult to use terms in which all could cordially join. [The modern Constitutional-God Christian has solved that difficulty.] Besides, the whole Constitution was a compromise, and it was foreseen that it would meet with great opposition before it would be finally adopted. It was therefore important to restrict its provisions to things absolutely necessary, so as to give as little room as possible to cavil. Moreover, it was impossible to introduce into it even an expression of gratitude to the Almighty for the formation of the principles of the government; for when the Constitution was framed, and submitted to the people, it was entirely uncertain whether it would ever be ratified; and the government might, therefore, never be established." [And was the instrument more readily welcomed without a recognition of God than with it, by a people who believed in him; a people, says Mr. Bayard, who were "generally impressed with religious feelings" ?]

"The prohibition of any religious test for office was wise, [Yes, Mr. Bayard, and we have Infidels, not Christians, to thank for it,] because its admission would lead to hypocrisy and corruption. [When were Christians ever known to hesitate, as a body, in securing special privileges on that account?] The purity of religion is best preserved by keeping it separate from government; [which is good for the government,] and the surest means of giving to it its proper influence in society, is by the dissemination of correct principles, through the medium of education. The experience of this country has proved that religion may flourish in all its vigor and purity, without the aid of a national establishment, and the religious feeling of a community is the best guarantee for the religious administration of the government."

Under the head of "Rights of Conscience," Mr. Bayard says:

"By the first article it is declared that Congress shall make

no law respecting an establishment of religion * *
 * * * * * The imposition of any
 'religious test' had already been prohibited by the Consti-
 tution, and nothing in it could be construed to invest the gov-
 ernment with a right to interfere in matters of religion. *But*
such was the solicitude of the people on this point; [I italicize
 this sentence] such their sense of the evils of a national
 religious establishment, and their determination to preserve
 the utmost freedom of conscience; that it was deemed proper
 thus to deprive Congress of all pretense for ever attempting
 to legislate upon this subject."

On page 134 he says:

"From the nature of the new government, possessed of only limited powers, granted by a written instrument, it could not have gone beyond the prescribed limits, even if these express restrictions had not been imposed; *but the anxiety of the people to secure their liberty against every invasion, would not permit them to LEAVE ANY ROOM FOR DOUBT on this subject.*"

Such was the care which revolutionary heroes took to secure themselves and their posterity against the corrupting influences of religion.* But the people of to-day are fondling religion and petting its priests. The descendants have been made to believe that religion (which their ancestors could not trust,) is both safe and beneficial to society. The priesthood have been actively at work, educating the people to make religion paramount to patriotism; to relax their vigilant guardianship of liberty; and, finally, to surrender it into the keeping of the "Servants of God." Our liberty-loving revolutionary heroes were extremely anxious to render religion *powerless* in the State. They succeeded. And now these ministers of a Jewish-Jehovah-Christian-God are striving to retrieve a lost cause by making religion mistress of the State. Because I know the power of these

* For more copious references in regard to the great caution which the founders of our government exercised in keeping the State free from religion, the reader is directed to the "Federalist," "Kent's Commentaries," and "Story's Commentaries on the Constitution,"

men I make this earnest appeal to my fellow-countrymen to prepare for the approaching religious tornado which will sweep over this continent, and which will undoubtedly uproot, here and there, in its wide and destructive course, the Democratic principles that King George's "rebels" labored so assiduously to plant. He is blind who cannot see that the influence of the clergy is great enough to inaugurate a stupendous revolution. Well has that noted reformer, Stephen S. Foster, said, "The ear of the nation is open to them every seventh day of the week, when they pour into it just such sentiments as they choose. And not only are they in direct and constant contact with the people in their public ministrations, but in their parochial visits, at the sick bed, at weddings, and at funerals; all of which are occasions when the mind is peculiarly tender, and susceptible of deep and lasting impressions."

"Their whole time is devoted to the work of moulding and giving character to public sentiment; and with the advantages which they enjoy over all other classes of society, of leisure, the sanctity of their office, and direct and constant contact with the people, as their 'spiritual guides,' their power has become all-controlling. It is, in a *finite* sense, omnipresent in every section of the country, and is absolutely irresistible wherever their claims are allowed."

It was this class of men, the clergy, that the framers of the Constitution were unwilling to trust. They were not even willing to confide in the *liberal* sentiment of the country. When MR. PINCKNEY, in the Constitutional Convention, moved to add to the article,—

"But no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States.

"Mr. Sherman thought it unnecessary, the prevailing liberality being a sufficient guaranty against such tests.*"

The "no religious test" prevailed. Thomas Jefferson,

* Madison Papers, vol. v, p. 498.

under date of February 7, 1778, wrote from Paris, in a private letter to a gentleman in Virginia, which Patrick Henry saw,* and which contained these statements :

“ I wish, with all my soul, that the nine first conventions may accept the new constitution, because this will secure to us the good it contains, which I think great and important. But I equally wish that the four latest conventions, whichever they may be, may refuse to accede to it till a declaration of rights be annexed. This would probably command the offer of such a declaration, and thus give to the whole fabric, perhaps, as much perfection as any one of that kind ever had.”

One of the first rights mentioned by Jefferson was the right of the people to have a purely *secular* government.

Because my fellow-citizens feel comparatively safe from religious oppression, and because I know, from years of study, observation and travel, that a more serious danger never threatened the existence of our American Republic than the Christian religion, in the hands of the Christian Clergy, I have endeavored, by facts and arguments in this volume, to keep alive in the breast of every American, native and adopted, the old love for this noble Union. May it ever prove a home for the religiously and politically down-trodden of other nations. Our country is gloriously free. Let us keep it so by resisting the earliest indications of clerical interference with the affairs of State.

* History of the Constitution of the United States, by George Ticknor Curtis, Vol. ii, p. 562.

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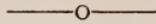
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"I have, Will; but that which cannot stand the test must fall. That's my doctrine."

"I hope you will be able to abide by it then," said a steady voice close by his side.

"My God, Helen!" exclaimed Granger, starting to his feet, "you here?"

"I am here, sir—here to thank you for the lesson you have taught me. It is a poor rule that won't work both ways. If a woman that can be flattered by one man before marriage, can be flattered by another after marriage, a man that will flatter, lie to one woman before marriage, will lie to her and flatter others after marriage, and I want a man that I can trust. * * * * *

"You pity my ruined condition, but those who cannot stand must fall" she continued, fixing her clear gray eye upon his with a gaze that held them. "I want none of your pity, sir." And hear me, Edward Granger; there is no one man that can drag me down.

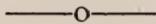
"No, sir, I am not ruined; no woman is ruined unless she thinks so. And I here swear in the presence of high Heaven that I will not sink; that even with the additional burden you have imposed upon me, I will rise higher than you can ever hope to rise, and my child shall take a higher position than any child born of an unloving; heartless woman, with you for its father, can possibly reach."

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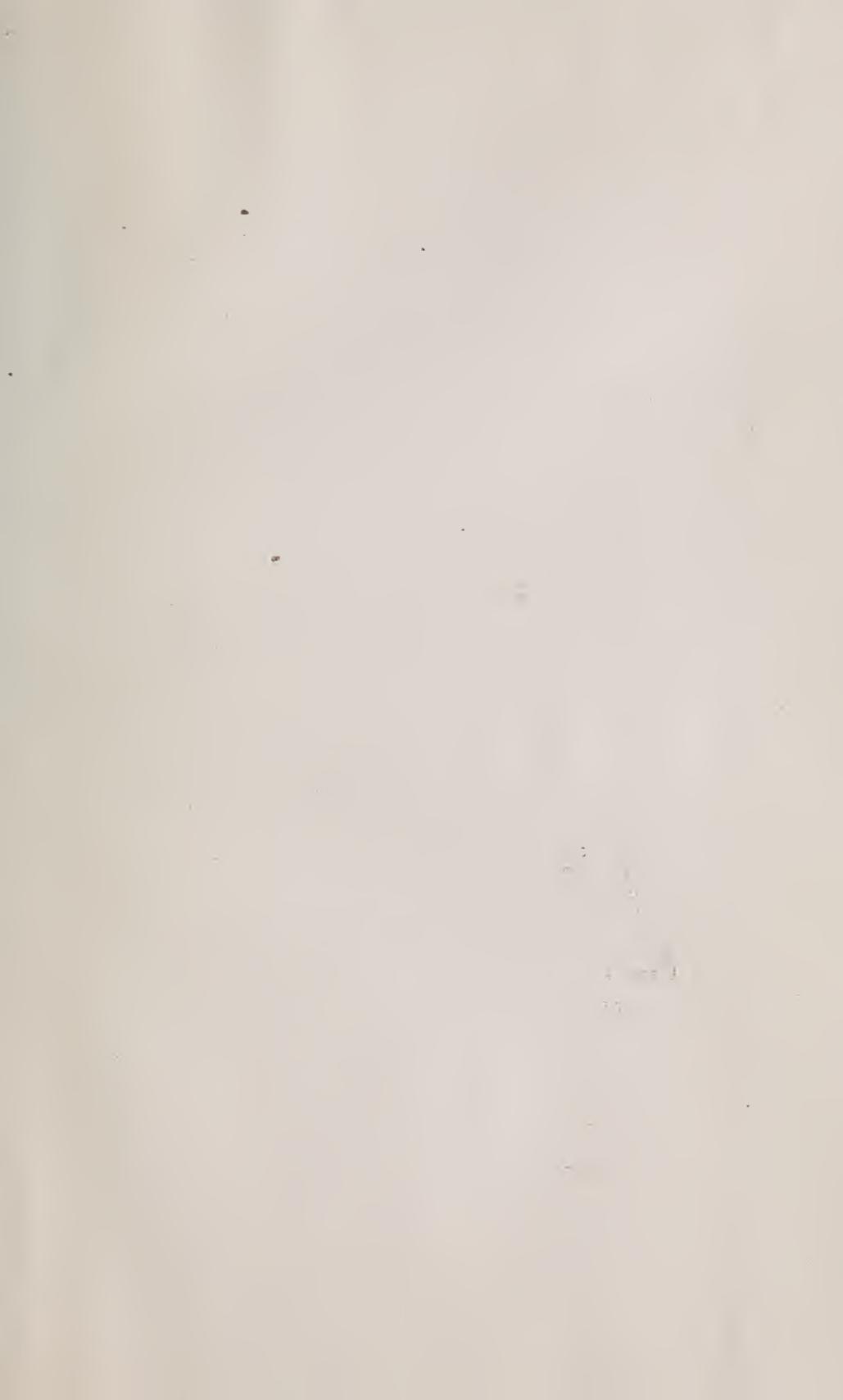
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