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National Reform Manual.

NATIONAL REFORM MANUAL:

SUGGESTIONS AND DATA

FOR

District Secretaries and others.

PHILADELPHIA :
CHRISTIAN STATESMAN OFFICE,
1877.



This Manual is sent forth by authority of the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association, with a view to the more thorough organization and greater efficiency of the movement. The suggestions given are drawn from a pretty large experience in National Reform work. It is requested that all workers should note and communicate such modifications or additions as their experience may suggest, in order that future editions of this Manual may be more complete.

The National Reform Association

ORGANIZED TO MAINTAIN

EXISTING CHRISTIAN FEATURES IN THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND TO SECURE A RELIGIOUS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

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CONSTITUTION
OF
The National Reform Association.

Believing that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of Supreme authority in civil affairs ;

Remembering that this country was settled by Christian men, with Christian ends in view, and that they gave a distinctly Christian character to the institutions which they established ;

Perceiving the subtle and persevering attempts which are made to prohibit the reading of the Bible in our Public Schools, to overthrow our Sabbath Laws, to abolish the Oath, Prayer in our National and State Legislatures, Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, and other Christian Features of our institutions, and so to divorce the American government from all connection with the Christian religion ;

Viewing with grave apprehension the corruption of our politics, and the disregard of moral and religious charac-

ter in those who are exalted to high places in the nation ;

Believing that a written Constitution ought to contain explicit evidence of the Christian character and purpose of the nation which frames it, and perceiving that the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect is used as an argument against all that is Christian in the usage and administration of our government ;

We, citizens of the United States, do associate ourselves, under the following ARTICLES, and pledge ourselves to God and to one another to labor, through wise and lawful means, for the ends herein set forth :

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the "NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION."

ARTICLE II.

The object of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American Government, and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

ARTICLE III.

All persons approving these objects and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be members of this Society.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Association shall be the President, Vice Presidents, General Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. The Secretaries and Treasurer, with twenty-one other members, shall be the Executive Committee of the Association.

ARTICLE V.

Any Society adopting a Constitution in harmony with the aims of the National Reform Association, and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be recognized as an auxiliary, and all members thereof shall be members of the National Reform Association.

[The foregoing Constitution, with the necessary modifications, is recommended by the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association, for adoption by Auxiliary Societies.]

The following form of petition to Congress in behalf of the proposed Religious Amendment was recommended by the National Convention in New York, Feb. 27, 1873 :

To the Honorable, the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled :

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, petition your honorable bodies for such an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government ; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of his revealed will as of supreme authority ; and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions and usages of the government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

National Reform Manual.

SUGGESTIONS FOR WORKERS.

I. GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

1. The broad and practical character of the National Reform movement should be kept clearly in mind. It seeks to maintain every existing Christian feature of our government, such as the use of the Bible in the public schools and Sabbath laws, and attaches value to the religious amendment to the Constitution, because this will uphold and promote everything honoring to God, and Christ, and the Bible, in the life of the nation itself. The actual connection of the government with Christianity is the main point, and the acknowledgment in the written instrument is of importance because of its necessary and powerful influence on this.

2. The friends of National Reform should keep a watchful eye upon the vital issues of the day, and be prompt to exert all their influence in favor of maintaining or securing religious acknowledgments in State Constitutions

when undergoing revision ; of retaining the Bible in the schools ; upholding Sabbath laws, chaplaincies, public days of fasting and thanksgiving, the oath, and all other Christian institutions of our government, so often and so bitterly assailed.

3. It should be carefully remembered that the controversy of National Reform is with the secular theory of civil government, as it seeks practical illustration in our States and in the nation, and as it shelters and intrenches itself in our National Constitution. So far as professing Christians adopt this secular or infidel theory of civil government, the controversy must be with them, as well as with the enemies of Christianity. But every friend of moral and religious influences in the schools ; of laws for the observance of the Sabbath ; of public days of thanksgiving, or any other Christian element of our national life, is logically on the side of National Reform, and should be treated as in large part a friend and co-worker, who, when the great issue is at length raised in the land, will be wholly on the right side.

4. The National Reform cause is one of true piety and patriotism. Its workers are animated by love to God, to Christ their Lord and Master, to the Bible, and to their country. It is God's honor, their country's highest welfare, and the best interests, temporal and eternal, of all their fellow-men, which they aim to promote. And this should appear in every effort put forth.

5. It should never be forgotten that the success of this work depends ultimately on God's blessing ; that all workers should be baptized with the Spirit of prayer ; that in every endeavor by voice, or pen, or any form of effort, there should be sought by the workers and their friends and brethren, the support and direction of Him together with whom all in this work are builders of the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

6. Every friend of our national Christianity into whose hands this little manual may fall, is earnestly urged to rank himself or herself as a worker in this cause of our Lord and our country; and, as opportunity offers, to reap some of the practical fruits indicated in the following suggestions.

II. PREPARING FOR A CAMPAIGN.

1. Before leaving home on any tour, the worker or lecturer should make himself as familiar as possible with the whole subject of National Reform. He should understand something of the principles and philosophy of the subject of religion and the state, be furnished with the historical data necessary, and be ready to meet popular objections against the movement. The special literature of the subject should be carefully read.

2. One or more addresses should be written out, or carefully prepared in outline. It is respectfully suggested that the Christian character of the movement should in every address be made prominent. The claims of Christ as the Ruler of nations should be fearlessly asserted. Herein lies the power of the cause. The truly conservative aims of the movement in maintaining and securing existing Christian features of our government should never be overlooked. There should be wisdom and tact in adapting the address to the community and the occasion; and it should ever be remembered that solid argument and practical point are the speaker's most effective weapons.

3. The whole field of labor for the campaign should be marked out definitely, points for meetings fixed upon, the aid of friends secured, and preliminary arrangements made by correspondence before leaving home, as far as practicable.

4. Supplies of documents—tracts, copies of the *CHRISTIAN STATESMAN*, reports of Conventions, petitions, blank pulpit-notices, hand-bills, posters, National Reform subscription cards, and *CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* subscription cards, should be obtained from the office of the National Association before starting out.

5. The campaign should be laid out so as to economize time and travelling expenses, and strike the most central and important places. In every campaign arrangements should be made to break new ground, as well as to re-visit the fields of former labors.

III. ARRANGING FOR MEETINGS.

1. In arranging for meetings, as in all active campaign work, the Lord's rule should be observed, and laborers go forth in pairs. Two workers together stimulate, encourage, and otherwise greatly aid one another.

2. Having fixed upon a locality for a meeting, the workers should call first on the ministers and other prominent citizens of the place, and take time to talk the matter over satisfactorily with them, securing the approval and co-operation of as many as possible.

3. The most suitable building, all things considered, church or hall, that can be obtained, should be selected for the meeting or Convention. And while consulting pastors and others in the place, the workers should have their own minds made up to hold the meeting, and press energetically forward, unless circumstances render such a course absolutely unwise and injurious to the cause.

4. Judicious use should be made, in all interviews, of tracts and other documents. In all conversations and discussions it is important to maintain good nature, and try to persuade and win, rather than conquer and

triumph over an opponent. A wise rule is, never provoke opposition.

5. Effective use can be made of local papers. Items on the general subject should be furnished, as long as possible in advance of the meeting. And all particular arrangements should be conspicuously announced in the papers in good season. One of the best methods is to have a brief call for the meeting prepared, and signed by all prominent citizens whose names can be obtained, and then publish it, with a local item calling attention to it, in the paper or papers. Such a call ought to state candidly the objects of the National Reform Association. It ought never to be frittered down in order to obtain the names of those who are not willing to avow their connection with this movement.

6. When ministers are out arranging for meetings, they should embrace every opportunity for presenting the claims of National Reform in such pulpits as are accessible on the Sabbath. Such work will accomplish much toward the success of other meetings. It is hardly necessary to suggest that the Scriptural and spiritual aspects, rather than the more strictly political aspects of the question, should be presented on such occasions.

7. Speakers ought always to be definitely engaged in ample time, as many as may be needed for the size and length of the meeting; and their addresses should be so divided as to cover the points effectively, and avoid repetition. Two well prepared speeches are usually enough for an evening meeting, with brief remarks by one or two others occasionally.

8. A chairman for the meeting, a Committee on Resolutions, and any other Committees needed, should be definitely engaged beforehand, and the business of any meeting ought invariably to be thoroughly digested before the time of assembling.

9. Pulpit-notices, hand-bills, and posters should be invariably used. Much depends on the wide, thorough, and timely announcement of a meeting.

10. In all arrangements a wise economy should be consulted. No needful outlay should be spared, when means can be provided, but nothing should be wasted or imprudently expended. The expenses of lecturers, at the very least, should be provided for.

IV. CONDUCTING MEETINGS.

1. Appointments for meetings should be kept without fail. No condition of roads or weather should prevent a lecturer from being at his post, if Providence does not shut up the way.

2. Meetings should begin at the appointed time, be carried forward in a direct, animated, business-like manner, and on all ordinary occasions closed at an early hour in the evening. If the chairman has been wisely chosen there will be little difficulty.

3. A National Reform meeting should never be a mere entertainment. Practical work should be aimed at. The whole conduct of the meeting should be such as to secure practical results in the hearers, and through the efforts which they should be induced to put forth.

4. It is well to give opportunity for the brief statement of difficulties, or requests for fuller information on any point; but a meeting called for addresses and business should never be thrown open for debate. Courteous opposition should be met with courtesy and respect.

5. A brief and pointed series of resolutions, embodying the main points of the movement, will be very helpful in fixing ideas in the minds of the hearers, and will serve to admirable purpose in the report of the meeting published in the papers.

6. Any business to be attended to, such as organizing an auxiliary society, circulating subscription cards, securing subscribers to the STATESMAN, securing names to petitions, should never be delayed to a late hour. All such matters should be carried through in the earlier part of the session, when the audience is fresh and the interest at its height.

7. The Secretary of a meeting or Convention should never fail to prepare or have prepared, or in case of his neglect, the District Secretary should have prepared, a report of the addresses delivered, and the resolutions passed, and the action taken, for publication in as many journals as can be reached within reasonable distance. When the meeting or Convention is a very important one, arrangements should be made for full reports, and an abstract should be promptly sent to leading journals in many States.

8. Every meeting or Convention should be regarded as in a most important respect a failure, no matter how eloquent the speeches nor how enthusiastic the audience, unless practical points are gained—subscriptions secured, an organization effected or revived and strengthened, petitions circulated and signed, or arrangements made for their systematic circulation, subscribers obtained for the STATESMAN, or some similar tangible end accomplished.

V. SECURING THE FRUITS OF LABORS.

1. A fundamental rule for the husbandman in this field, as in any work of seed-sowing, is to look after the seed sown. To scatter the seed and leave it to rot, or permit the springing blade to be choked, is a profitless labor. When a meeting has been held in any place, and an interest awakened, the field should be again visited

at an early day. An impression made by addresses, conversations, tracts or other documents, should be followed promptly with other influences. The energies often scattered over a wide field, to little purpose, might be concentrated with powerful and lasting effect on a particular community.

2. Except in some instances in places where the cause is presented for the first time, an annual subscription should invariably be taken. The more any class of people can be induced to do for any cause, the deeper interest they will take in it. There should be no false delicacy in holding back from an appeal for money in a good cause like that of National Reform. It is a privilege as well as a duty to give for its support. The best method of taking subscriptions is by cards. All cash cards should be forwarded, with the money, to the Treasurer of the National Association. All time cards should be retained by the District Secretary, and promptly presented for payment at the time when the subscription falls due. The Finance Committee, whose work it will be at any meeting to circulate cards and take the subscription, should be carefully selected.

3. At every meeting an earnest endeavor should be made to secure subscribers for the **CHRISTIAN STATESMAN**. A good agent, or more than one, should be furnished with specimen copies of the paper, and cards for receiving subscriber's names, and the District Secretary should state the relation of the paper to the movement, as it is held and managed in trust for National Reform, and in all such cases offer it to new subscribers at a price that will only cover the cost of paper and press-work for extra copies, with postage prepaid. Such an offer and statement will show clearly that the aim in obtaining subscribers is the furtherance of the work of National Reform, and not the pushing of any financial enterprise.

No more important fruit of National Reform work can be secured than this. The STATESMAN is the right arm of the whole movement. The cause itself advances or falters with this organ of the National Reform Association.

4. An organization of the friends of the cause should be effected in every place where a score or a dozen of them can be brought together. Such a work as circulating petitions should be given to the newly organized society, and at least one or two meetings should be held every year, the members helping the District Secretary to work up each meeting. No organization should be permitted to die out.

5. When Subscriptions for the National Reform cause are taken up where there is no local association, the District Secretary should take charge of the funds, and forward the same to the Treasurer of the National Association. If there is a local auxiliary association, its Treasurer should take charge of the money, using what may be needed in local work, and forwarding the balance to the District Secretary, to be by him paid over to the Treasurer of the National Association.

6. Every one attending a meeting or Convention, who is able to prepare a report for publication, should without delay furnish such a report to some newspaper in the neighborhood. Reports of this kind should always be put into the hands of some friend whose influence with the editor will make sure of their insertion. A definite understanding should be had among those who prepare reports, as to the particular paper to which each report shall be sent.

7. Every District Secretary should charge himself with having a report of every meeting held promptly forwarded for publication in the CHRISTIAN STATESMAN. Such reports will stimulate laborers in other fields. No class of reading is more attractive and

animating to the friends of the cause than early and pithy accounts of stirring meetings and Conventions.

8. The District Secretary should keep an accurate account of all work done—the number of meetings arranged for and addressed by himself in his own district; the number of meetings addressed for which others made arrangements; the total number of auxiliary societies in his district and their membership; the number of new societies organized within the year and their membership; the number of names obtained for petitions; the amount of money raised at meetings, and in other ways; the number of pages of tracts and Convention reports distributed. Occasional reports of other items should be sent to the STATESMAN, and a complete annual report in due form should be sent to the National Association. Blanks will be furnished to District Secretaries for their Annual Reports.

VI. CIRCULATING PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

1. The friends in every neighborhood should organize themselves, if not already organized, into an auxiliary society, put themselves into communication and connection with the District Secretary, and appoint suitable persons to carry forward this work. The whole section of country should be marked off into districts, and one energetic canvasser assigned to each. Earnest women make excellent canvassers.

2. Each signature should be appended to two petitions, one for the Senate, and the other for the House of Representatives.

3. The names of all, men and women, old and young, should be obtained as far as possible. All who are old enough to understand thoroughly what they are doing,

have the right of petition, and will be heard respectfully. The names of children should not be taken.

4. Every signature should be by the petitioner's own hand, in large clear characters, in ink. Have the signer sit down with good pen and ink, and write deliberately. The post-office and State should be always added in full.

5. The petitions should be kept as clean and neat as possible. A soiled petition, with names in dim lead pencil marks, scarcely legible, injures the cause it seeks to promote.

6. To keep up the interest and push forward the work with energy, meetings of the organization should be frequently held, at which signatures may be obtained and canvassers may report progress.

7. To stimulate workers elsewhere, let reports of successful labors be sent for publication in the columns of the CHRISTIAN STATESMAN.

8. When the space for signatures is filled, half sheets of foolscap paper may be pasted on. Additional petitions, whenever needed, may be obtained by applying to the District Secretary, or to the office of the National Association.

9. When rolls of names are complete they may be retained by the District Secretary until the National Association directs their presentation to Congress.

10. Every canvasser for signatures should carry with him a copy of the "Demands of Liberalism." Few who see them refuse to give their names.

IMPORTANT EXTRACTS.

[In citing authorities it is important, on the one hand, to be thoroughly accurate, and to speak "by the book;" yet at the same time, on the other hand, an address should never be made heavy with the reading of long extracts, and the use of the abstruse terms of writers. The lecturer should make the thought his own, express it in clear, plain language, be thoroughly posted in his authorities, and be able to produce the extract itself whenever necessary.]

I. HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY.

Colonial Charters.

The first Charter of Virginia, dated April 10, 1606, ascribes to the earliest settlers in America "desires for the furtherance of so noble a work which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government." (Hening's Statutes of Virginia, Vol. I., p. 58.)

The Great Patent of New England, Nov. 3, 1620, declares that the settlement of that part of our country

was undertaken "in hope thereby to advance the enlargement of the Christian religion to the glory of God Almighty." The sentence above quoted from the Virginia Charter is also found in this instrument. (Brigham's Plymouth Colony Laws, pp. 1-17.)

The other Colonial Charters contained similar declarations.

Colonial Compacts.

The Compact entered into by the Pilgrim Fathers in the Cabin of the Mayflower, Nov. 11, 1620, opens with the words—"In the name of God, Amen." Then it is added: We, whose names are underwritten, having undertaken for the glory of God, and advance of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a body politic for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid." (Plymouth Colony Laws, p. 19.)

The settlers at Rhode Island, immediately after fixing upon their abode, subscribed the following Compact of government dated March, 1638: "We whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and, as He shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and absolute laws of His, given us in his holy Word of truth, to be judged and guided thereby." (Rhode Island Colony Records, Vol. 1. p. 52.) A more thoroughly Christian instrument of government than this cannot be found in the records of the Colonies or of the world. It is an

admirable summary of the three fundamental principles lying at the basis of all Christian government—an acknowledgement of the Sovereign Jehovah, the political Messiahship of Christ, and the supreme authority of the Word of God.

The "Combination for Government" entered into by the settlers at Exeter, New Hampshire, dated the 4th day of the 8th month, 1639, reads as follows; "We, . . . brethren of the church at Exeter, . . . with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government among us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government, as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, . . . and binding of ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to such godly and Christian laws as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and enacted among us according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty." (Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I., p. 463.)

The articles of Confederation between the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, subscribed May 19, 1643, begin with the following words: "Whereas we all came to this part of America with one and the same end and aim namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace," etc. The second article of this bond of union is as follows: "The said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby

enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

Other articles, signed Sep. 5, 1672, by commissioners of the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth and Connecticut, with the last of which the Colony of New Haven was then incorporated, contain the same religious acknowledgments. (Plymouth Colony Laws, pp. 308, 309.)

Colonial Laws.

The "Great Law" of Pennsylvania furnishes one of the best examples of the balancing of liberty and law in the early history of our country. This justly celebrated "Great Law," as it has been termed, comprises the body of laws passed at the Assembly which met at Chester, or as it was also called, Upland, December 7th, 1682, for "the province of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging."

The Preamble to this body of laws reads thus: "Whereas the glory of Almighty God, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government, and therefore government in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression of the one side, and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for

the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity—Be it therefore enacted," etc.

Careful provision was made in this body of laws for securing true liberty of conscience—not irreligious or atheistic license, but genuine Christian liberty in subjection to the laws of the province: "Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author, as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind: It is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in anywise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and shall be punished accordingly. But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretence of conscience in this province, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor, that whether

masters, parents, children or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions." (Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, pp. 619-621.)

Similar laws were enacted by all the Colonies.

Early National Acknowledgments.

The Journals of the Continental Congress contain the records of numerous devout acknowledgments of God by that body. The following are specially note-worthy: May 17, 1776, was kept as "a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer," by appointment of Congress, that they with the Colonies might confess and bewail sin, and "by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease God's righteous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon and forgiveness." A month and a half afterward, on July 2, a resolution was passed declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, and dissolving their political connection with Great Britain. Then, on July 4, was adopted that immortal instrument, in which, while asserting the nation's independence of oppressive human authority, Congress devoutly acknowledged that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inherent and inalienable rights." Then "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world" for the rectitude of their intentions, they closed their Declaration with the words: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

As Congress had repeatedly betaken itself to God in fasting and prayer in times of distress, so when in

answer to the nation's prayers victory was granted to our arms, Congress appointed days of thanksgiving. The first resolution of this kind is found in the Journal for October 31, 1771: "Resolved; That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several States to set apart a day for thanksgiving for the signal success lately obtained over the enemies of the United States." This Committee consisting of Messrs. S. Adams, R. H. Lee, and Roberdeau, reported on November 1, recommending the setting apart of "Thursday, the 18th of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise, that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor; and that, together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor, and their humble and earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessings on the governments of these States respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole; . . . to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue, and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." (Journal of Congress, Vol. II., pp. 93, 239; Vol. III., pp. 467, 468.)

The Articles of Confederation, ratified on June 26, 1778, acknowledge "the Great Governor of the world," and bind the States "to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them or any of them on account of religion." (See Resolution of Ratifi-

cation and Third Article, Journal of Congress, Vol. IV., p. 382; Vol. III., p. 503.) The interpretation of this is found in the acknowledged Protestant character of the States, and the fear of attack from Romanism.

The third article of the famous Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the Northwest contains the following provision: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." (Journal of Congress, Vol. XII., p. 90.)

State Constitutions.

The thirteen original State Constitutions all contained devout acknowledgements of God and Christianity, except Virginia, in which State the influence of Thomas Jefferson prevented such acknowledgment.

Thirty of our present State Constitutions contain an acknowledgment of God in the preamble. The Constitutions of Alabama, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, in the preamble, invoke the guidance or the favor and guidance of Almighty God. Those of Maine, Massachusetts, and South Carolina implore the aid and direction of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, or the direction of the Great Legislator of the universe. Those of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and North Carolina, acknowledge the dependence of the people of these States on Almighty God, the Supreme Being, or the Sovereign Ruler of nations. That of Colorado expresses "profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the universe." Those of New Jersey, North Carolina, and Rhode Island look to Almighty God for a blessing. Those of Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Neva-

da, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin, express in varying phrase, gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, for freedom, etc. The Constitutions also of New Hampshire, Tennessee and Vermont contain express religious acknowledgments in the body of the instrument.

Judicial Decisions.

Among the many judicial decisions rendered, the following are of high authority and importance :

"We are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity Christianity, in its enlarged sense, as a religion revealed and taught in the Bible, is not unknown to our law." (Chancellor Kent, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, in the case of the People v. Ruggles, 8 Johnson's Reports, pp. 295-297.)

"Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania ; not Christianity with an established Church, and tithes, and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men." (Justice Duncan, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the case of Updegraph v. the Commonwealth, 11 Sergeant and Rawle's Reports, pp. 394-409.)

"The Christian religion is recognized as constituting a part and parcel of the common law, and as such, all the institutions growing out of it, or in any way connected with it, in case they shall not be found to interfere with the rights of conscience, are entitled to the most profound respect, and can rightfully claim the protection of the law-making power." (Chief Justice Johnson, in the Supreme Court of Arkansas, case of Shover v. the State, 5 English's Reports, p. 263.)

"It is said, and truly, that the Christian religion is part of the common law of Pennsylvania." (Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous Girard Will case, 2 Howard's Reports, p. 298.)

Action of the United States Senate and President Lincoln.

During the late war there were repeated acknowledgments of God by the Congress of the United States. On March 2, 1863, the Senate passed a resolution, "devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations," "deploring the national offences which have provoked his righteous judgment, yet encouraged, in this day of trouble, by the assurances of his Word, to seek him for succor according to his appointed way, through Jesus Christ," and requesting the President to set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation. (See Congressional Globe, 3d Sess. 37th Cong., p. 1448.)

In pursuance of this resolution, President Lincoln issued his proclamation, appointing the 30th of April, 1863, and acknowledging "the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence on the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon," and recognizing "the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed, whose God is the Lord." Further on this memorable document says: "Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us. It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

II. AUTHORITIES IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

The Nation a Moral Person.

The moral personality of nations is affirmed by Chancellor Kent, whom Charles Sumner described as "the unquestioned head of American jurisprudence, as follows: "States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong, inasmuch as they are collections of individuals, each of whom carries with him into the service of the community the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life." (Commentaries on American Law, Vol. I., p. 3.)

Bouvier, in his elaborate and authoritative work on Institutes of American Law, thus defines a nation: "A nation is an independent body politic; a society of men united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by their joint efforts and their combined strength. Such a nation becomes a moral person, and is susceptible of obligations and rights." (Institutes, Vol. I., p. 16.)

Again the same author says: "Nations or states become moral persons, having an understanding and will peculiar to themselves."—(Ibid. p. 76.)

Vattel in his Law of Nations affirms that a nation or state "has its own affairs and interests; it deliberates and takes resolutions in common, and thus becomes a moral person which has its own proper understanding and will, and is capable of obligations and rights." (Le Droit des Gens, Tome I., pp. 72, 73.)

Martens, one of the highest authorities on International

Law, in his *Summary of the Law of the Modern Nations of Europe* says: "The state, considered as a moral person, is equally susceptible of a two-fold order of rights and obligations: 1st, the interior relation which is established among its members, and 2nd, its exterior relation toward strangers." (*Precis du Droit des Gens Modernes de l' Europe*, Tome I., p. 39.) This writer frequently affirms the same truth.

Dr. Verge, the learned editor of Martens, and one of the most learned of political philosophers of France, thus confirms the statement of Martens: "The word State signifies the community of laws or of government, and in this acceptation a State is a veritable moral person." (*Ibid.* p. 82.)

Laferriere, in his *Course of Administrative and Public Law*, says: "States are moral persons having a free and intelligent nature, and possessing, on account of that nature, fundamental and inviolable rights." (Tome I., p. 292.)

Kluber, another author, whose work on the Law of the Modern Nations of Europe is a standard authority, also speaks repeatedly of States or nations as moral persons. For example: "The State is a society, free and independent, . . . representing in relation to other States, a moral person enjoying natural liberty." (*Ott's Edition of Kluber*, p. 68.)

Victor Cousin, in his eloquent treatise on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, bears the same testimony: "Government, which represents society, is also a moral person." (*Paris Edition of 1873*, p. 396.)

Heffter, a German author whose treatise on the International Law of Europe is recognized as a standard in France as well as in Germany, thus distinguishes between commercial companies and nations: "Commercial companies, which have played an important part in the

colonial politics of the last three centuries, are essentially different from nations. . . . They never become moral persons of international law." (Bergson's Edition of Heffter, p. 35.)

Phillimore, whose International Law is one of the very highest authorities—doubtless the most profound and elaborate work on the subject ever produced in Great Britain, thus defines the nature and law of nations: "Moral persons are governed partly by divine law, which includes natural law; partly by positive instituted human law, which includes written and unwritten law or custom. States are reciprocally recognized as moral persons. States are therefore governed in their mutual relations, partly by divine, and partly by positive law. Divine law is either 1st, that which is written by the finger of God in the heart of man, when it is called natural law; or 2nd, that which has been miraculously made known to him, when it is called revealed or Christian law. The primary source, then, of international jurisprudence is Divine Law." (Phillimore's International Law, Vol. I., p. 15.)

The same truth is affirmed in Halleck's and Woolsey's International Law, Mulford's Nation, Lieber's Political Ethics, and numberless other authorities.

Religion and Civil Government.

Justice Story, one of the most eminent judges that ever graced the Supreme Bench of the United States, declares that "the right and the duty of the interference of government in matters of religion have been maintained by many distinguished authors, as well those who were the warmest advocates of free governments as those who were attached to governments of a more arbitrary character. Indeed, the right of a society or government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be

contested by any persons who believe that piety, religion, and morality are intimately connected with the well-being of the State, and indispensable to the administration of civil justice. The promulgation of the great doctrines of religion, the being, and attributes, and providence of one Almighty God ; the responsibility to him for all our actions, founded upon moral freedom and accountability ; a future state of rewards and punishments ; the cultivation of all the personal, social, and benevolent virtues ;—these never can be a matter of indifference in any well-ordered community. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. And at all events, it is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation, to doubt that it is the especial duty of government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and of the freedom of public worship according to the dictates of one's conscience."

"There will probably be found few persons in this or any other Christian country who would deliberately contend that it was unreasonable or unjust to foster and encourage the Christian religion generally as a matter of sound policy as well as of revealed truth. In fact, every American Colony, from its foundation down to the revolution, with the exception of Rhode Island, if, indeed, that State be an exception, did openly, by the whole course of its laws and institutions, support and sustain in some form, the Christian religion ; and almost invariably gave a peculiar sanction to some of its fundamental doctrines. And this has continued to be the case in some of the States down to the present period, without the slightest suspicion that it was against the principles of public law and republican liberty. Indeed, in a re-

public there would seem to be a peculiar propriety in viewing the Christian religion as the great basis on which it must rest for its support and permanence, if it be, what it has ever been deemed by its truest friends to be, the religion of liberty."

"Probably at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the Amendment to it now under consideration, [the first amendment,] the general, if not the universal sentiment in America was that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the State so far as was not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation.

"It yet remains a problem to be solved in human affairs, whether any free government can be permanent when the public worship of God and the support of religion constitute no part of the policy or duty of the State in any assignable shape. The future experience of Christendom, and chiefly of the American States, must settle this problem as yet new in the history of the world, abundant as it has been in experiments in the theory of government."

"The real object of the Amendment was not to countenance, much less to advance, Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government." (Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, Cooley's Edition, Vol. II., pp. 603-606.)

Among the most important statements of the connection of religion with government is that found in the

tender and solemn words of Washington's Farewell Address :

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are the indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." (Statesman's Manual, Vol. I., p. 75.)

John Adams, second President of the United States, in his first annual Message to Congress, Nov. 23, 1797, at the time when French infidelity endangered our national welfare, acknowledged the nation's ground of gratitude to God "for a national spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks." (Works of John Adams, Vol. IX., p. 110.)

Francis Lieber, many years Professor of Political Science in Columbia College declared : "The great mission which this country has to perform with reference to Europe, requires the total divorce of State and Church—not religion." (Civil Liberty and Self-Government, p. 264.)

The intimate connection of religion with the very existence of a nation is strikingly set forth by Prof. Max Muller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Religion:" "It was Schelling, one of the profoundest thinkers of Germany, who first asked the question, What makes an *ethnos*? What is the true origin of a people? . . . Is it community of blood? I doubt it. Community of blood produces families, clans, possibly races, but it does not produce that higher and purely moral feeling which binds men together and makes them a people. It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. . . . The most signal confirmation of this view is to be found in the history of the Jews, the chosen people of God. The language of the Jews differed from that of the Phenicians, the Moabites and other neighboring tribes, much less than the Greek dialects differed from each other. But the worship of Jehovah made the Jews a peculiar people, the people of Jehovah, separated by their God, though not by their language, from the people of Chemosh (the Moabites) and from the worshippers of Baal and Ashtoreth. . . . A people as Schelling says exists only when it has determined itself with regard to its mythology. . . . Hegel, the great rival of Schelling, arrived at the same conclusion. In his "Philosophy of History" he says: "'The idea of God constitutes the general foundation of a people. Whatever is the form of a religion, the same is the form of a State and its Constitution; it springs from religion, so much so that the Athenian and Roman States were possible only with the peculiar heathendom of those peoples, and that even now a Roman Catholic State has a different genius and a different Constitution from a Protestant State.'" (Lectures on the Science of Religion, New York Edition, pp. 55-57.)

Written and Unwritten Constitutions.

The distinction between written and unwritten Constitutions is carefully drawn by the best writers on political philosophy and constitutional law. Says Judge Jameson, Professor of Law in Chicago University :

"By the Constitution of a commonwealth is meant, primarily, its make-up as a political organism ; that special adjustment of instrumentalities, powers, and functions, by which its form and operation are determined. This is a Constitution *considered as an objective fact*. Besides this the term "Constitution" has a secondary meaning, which is, perhaps, more common than the one given, involving equally the conception of a system of political instrumentalities, powers, and functions, specially adjusted for the purposes of government ; but conceived of, not as an objective fact, but as a systematic written statement of such a fact, in the shape of *formulae* addressed to the understanding. In other words, a Constitution in this secondary sense is the result of an attempt to represent in technical language some particular Constitution existing as an objective fact. This is a Constitution *considered as an instrument of evidence*." (Jameson's Constitutional Convention, p. 66.)

"The Constitution of the United States is twofold,—written and unwritten,—the constitution of the people and the Constitution of the government. The written Constitution is simply a law ordained by the nation or the people instituting and organizing the government. The unwritten constitution is the real or actual constitution of the people as a state, or as a sovereign community, and constituting them such or such a state. It is providential, not made by the nation, but born with it. The written Constitution is made and ordained by the sovereign power, and presupposes that power as already

existing and constituted." (Brownson's American Republic, p. 218.)

"The Constitution of the political people has a twofold character: there is a real and a formal Constitution. The one is the development of the nation in history, the historical constitution; the other is the formula which the nation prescribes for its order, the enacted constitution. The one is the organism; the other is the form for the organization of the nation. The one is in identity with the nation in its organic being—it is written only in the law in which the members are fashioned; the other is the method which the nation establishes for its procedure, and the order to which the whole is to conform." (Mulford's Nation, p. 144.)

The same distinction is found in other able writers. See Hurd's Law of Freedom and Bondage, Vol. I., pp. 296, 297; De Maistre's Works, Vol. I., p. 12.

In applying the foregoing distinction Judge Jameson speaks of the importance of having the written Constitution a true transcript of the unwritten, and of the danger of any inconsistency between them. Where the provisions of the written Constitution do not correspond to the facts of the unwritten constitution, he declares that "not only may the people, but if they would insure peace with progress, they must by amendments cause the former to conform substantially to the latter." (Jameson's Constitutional Convention, p. 73.)

True Liberty and Rights of Conscience.

The liberty of individuals can never be asserted against the rights of the whole people or the nation. This point is specially emphasized by Dr. Francis Lieber, one of the most eminent publicists of America. He says of true liberty, or liberty as enjoyed specially by the English speaking peoples:

"It consists in the civil guaranties of those principles which are most favorable to manly individual independence and ungrudged enjoyment of individual humanity; and those guaranties which insure the people, meaning the totality of the individuals, as a unit, or the nation, against being driven from the pursuit of those high aims which have been assigned to it by providence as a nation, or as a united people. Where the one or the other is omitted, or exclusively pursued, there is no full liberty." (Lieber's Civil Liberty and Self-Government, p. 56.)

III. THE LOGIC OF SECULARISM.

Prayer excluded from the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States.

When Benjamin Franklin moved that prayers be offered every morning before proceeding to business, the motion was opposed and defeated by adjournment without a vote. (See Elliot's Debates, Vol. V., pp. 253-255; Franklin's Works, Edited by Sparks, Vol. V., p. 155; and Dr. Craven's Tract, "The Religious Defect of the Constitution," [No. 3 CHRISTIAN STATESMAN Series,] for Dr. Franklin's resolution, his speech in support of it, an account of opposition to the motion, and its defeat.)

The Name of God excluded from the Constitution.

See the Tract, No. 7 of the CHRISTIAN STATESMAN Series, giving array of "Testimonies to the Religious Defect of the Constitution of the United States;" also Dr. Craven's Tract, as above.

The Tripolitan Treaty.

The Treaty with Tripoli dated January 3, 1797, though superseded by another in 1805, and though neither of

them is now in force, shows clearly the interpretation which was put upon the United States Constitution by leading men of that day: "The Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion; it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Musulmans." (Article XI of Treaty with Tripoli, dated Jan. 3, 1797, United States Revised Statutes, Ed. of 1875, p. 756.)

Jefferson's Interpretation of the Constitution.

When President Jefferson was requested to appoint days of fasting and prayer, and days of thanksgiving, he refused at different times to perform any such act, on the express ground that the Constitution prohibited him, although there were precedents to the contrary in the administration of the government by his predecessors. His language, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Millar, in the year 1808, is as follows: "I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises." (Jefferson's Works, Vol. V., p. 236.)

Decision of the Supreme Court of California.

In the case of Newman, before the Supreme Court of California, April term, 1858, when the enforcement of the law against the public desecration of the Sabbath was in question, Chief Justice Terry held that the enforced observance of the Christian Sabbath is a discrimination in favor of Christians, and a violation of the religious freedom of others; and that "the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it altogether."

Judge Burnett held, in the same case, that "there can

be no higher law for this court than the Constitution ; and in determining this question of Constitutional construction, we must forget, as far as in us lies, that we are religious or irreligious men. . . . The Constitution of this State will not tolerate any discrimination or preference in favor of any religion ; and, so far as the common law conflicts with this provision, it must yield to the Constitution. Our constitutional theory regards all religions, as *such*, equally entitled to protection, and all equally unentitled to any preference." (Ex parte Newman, 9 California Reports, pp. 502-512.)

Horace Greeley's View of the Constitution.

Commenting on one of the early petitions to Congress in behalf of the Religious Amendment, this distinguished writer said : "We deny that this is a Christian nation. France, Spain, Russia, Austria, Mexico, Portugal, Brazil, &c., are Christian nations, no matter how many of their people may be non-Christians ; this country is *not* Christian, though a majority of its inhabitants probably are. 'Almighty God' is *not* the 'source of all authority and power' in our Government ; the people of the United States are such source. . . . The Federal Constitution is based on the idea that religious faith is a purely personal matter with which civil governments have properly nothing to do, and with which they cannot meddle without doing far more harm than good." (New York Tribune, March 7, 1865.)

Judge Welch's Decision.

"If by this generic word 'religion,' [in the Constitution of Ohio, in the provision taken from the Ordinance for the Territory of the Northwest, already quoted, p. 34,] was really meant 'the Christian religion,' or 'Bible religion,' why was it not plainly so written ? . . . The same word

'religion,' and in much the same connection, is found in the Constitution of the United States. The latter Constitution, at least, if not our own also, in a sense, speaks to *mankind*, and speaks of the rights of *man*. Neither the word 'Christianity,' 'Christian,' nor 'Bible,' is to be found in either. When they speak of 'religion,' they must mean the religion of man, and not the religion of any class of men." (Judge Welch, of the Supreme Court of Ohio, in the case of Board of Education of Cincinnati v. Minor et al., 23 Ohio State Reports, 246.)

Dr. Speer's Political Philosophy.

Dr. Speer, in his work on Religion and the State, asserts the theory of Secularism in this way :

"So far as the National Government is concerned, 'the people of the United States,' considered as a body politic, have no religion to teach, no doctrine of God to promulgate, and no form of worship to sustain or enforce. Their Constitution is purely secular in its objects, and its authority entirely human, without any pretence of divine right." (Speer's Religion and the State, p. 210.)

Speaking of the Tripolitan Treaty this writer says : "The language of this article in the Treaty was used for a purpose, and that purpose was in exact correspondence with the fact contained in the Constitution itself. Christianity, though the prevalent religion of the people when the Constitution was adopted, is unknown to it. The Constitution says that it shall be unknown as having any place in the organic law of the United States, or in the legislative powers of Congress." (Speer's Religion and the State, p. 211.)

The civil authority with us, he affirms, "proposes a *secular* education, and that only—an education that would be needful and useful in this life, if there were no God, and no future for the human soul." (Page 53.)

The Demands of Liberalism.

Dr. Speer's conclusions link on in perfect consistency with the "Demands of Liberalism," in which "Secular government" finds its logical development. No opponent of the constitutional expression of the connection of our government with Christianity can consistently stop short of these Demands :

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the 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 educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character 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. 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.

The above is the platform of *The Index*, published in Boston, and established a few years ago with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars.

Associations have been formed in many cities and towns for the furtherance of these demands, and on the Fourth of July, 1876, a National Congress of representatives from these societies, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, and organized the "National Liberal League." We quote from its Constitution:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, from beginning to end, in spirit and in letter, is framed in accordance with the principle of the total separation of Church and State; and the Treaty with Tripoli, signed by George Washington as a part of the supreme law of the land, declares emphatically that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion;" and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts, the administration of the national government, and the administrations and Constitutions of the several State governments, maintain numerous practical connections of the State with the Church, thereby violating the spirit of the United States Constitution and the glorious traditions which dedicate this country exclusively to the natural rights of man; * * * * *

Therefore, We, the members of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, convened at Philadelphia from July First to July Fourth, 1876, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I. The name of this association shall be "The National Liberal League."

* * * * *

ARTICLE III. The specific objects of the National Liberal League shall be 2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property; the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance

of Sunday as the Sabbath ; the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind ; the abolition of State-paid chaplaincies ; the substitution of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury for the judicial oath ; the non-appointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority ; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government and the adequate guaranty of public order, prosperity and righteousness ; and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of Church and State.

The Resolutions adopted at this Congress protested against the proclamation of President Grant inviting the people to celebrate the Fourth of July in the Centennial year by religious observances ; against the closing of the International Exhibition on the Sabbath ; against the avowed endeavor of the government to "Christianize the Indians," and against the motto "In God we Trust" on the national coins, and recommended the bust of Thomas Paine for permanent preservation in Independence Hall.

Secularism in State Constitutions.

Five State Constitutions, viz., those of Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Oregon and West Virginia, contain no recognition of God or of Christianity, except as it may be remotely implied in provisions concerning the common law, education, or rights of conscience.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

United States of America.

We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, 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.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their

Speaker and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years ; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments : when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside : and no

person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States : but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy ; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any

question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time: and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose, or concur with, amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives, and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall

have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. 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, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power--To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post offices and post roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance

of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year eighteen hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another : nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expendi-

tures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports and exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office

during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the

person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he 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.*"

SECTION II.

The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of

adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State,

claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws

prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislature of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the

legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

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, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

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.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

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 and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

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.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the

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nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor ; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved ; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

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The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding

Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of the representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Of the AMENDMENTS, the first ten were proposed by the First Congress, in 1789. The eleventh, by the Third Congress, March 4, 1794. The twelfth, by the Eighth Congress, 1803-'5. The thirteenth, by the Thirty-eighth Congress, February 1, 1865, and declared ratified December 18, 1865. The fourteenth, by the Thirty-ninth Congress, June 13, 1866, and declared ratified July 28, 1868. The fifteenth, by the Fortieth Congress, February 26, 1869, and declared ratified March 30, 1870.

