



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

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THE *Pearl of Days* demands the closing of Castle Garden upon Sunday, and gives seven reasons why, in the opinion of the American Sabbath Union, the landing of immigrants should be suspended upon that day. The reasons are of course "civil," as are all the considerations urged by the Union and its friends in behalf of Sunday laws. But notwithstanding the "civil" gloss with which they seek to cover their demands for governmental recognition of Sunday sacredness, the covering is not thick enough to conceal the fact that the real ground of their demand is that the landing of immigrants involves "secular work" upon a religious day. It would seem to the ordinary mind that it would be a work of mercy if not of necessity to release from the crowded steerage the women and children who have been cooped up there for a week or more. But these self-constituted censors of the Government and of everybody else, say, No.

THE National Reform Association is making a strong effort now to get Congress to commit itself by legislation to the sacredness of Sunday, by embodying in the World's Fair bill a provision that will not allow the fair to be open on that day. The Secretary of the Association has interviewed some members of the committee, and other members of the House upon the question, but he gets little satisfaction, and it is to be hoped that whatever efforts they make in this direction may meet with much less satisfactory returns. Sunday is the very day when thousands upon thousands could visit the fair who could not visit it on other days; but that con-

sideration is of little consequence compared to the immense consequences that would follow to the Nation if Congress is once committed to the guardianship of the sacredness of Sunday. That step once taken would be made the precedent for crowding upon the Government further recognition in the same way, and introducing other religious observances and practices to be enforced by the national power. We hope Congress will show even less favor to this than has been shown to any of the Sunday measures that have yet been brought to its attention.

Absolutism Against Government of the People.

THE views of government held by Senator Blair, and expressed in the measures originated by him in the United States Senate, are directly antagonistic to the American theory. And that his measures should receive the support that they have received in Congress, and in conventions of organizations, shows that there is a willingness to depart widely from that theory of government which has made this the best Government on the earth, and which is the theory of government which alone is true. The theory of the Government of the United States is *self-government*. The theory of the Blair legislation is *absolutism*. In the Government of the United States the people are expected to govern themselves; in the Blair legislation it is assumed that the people are incapable of governing themselves, and must therefore be governed.

Lincoln's immortal declaration expresses the American idea of government, "A Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." That is, the people compose the Government. It is a Government in which the people act. In this Government the people govern themselves. They do this by their own authority, by their own will, by their own power of government exerted upon themselves by themselves; and they do it for themselves, for their own good. In other words, each

one of the people is expected to govern himself by his own self-imposed power of restraint, and he does it for himself, for his own best interests. Such a Government is bound to be the best. So long as a majority of the people shall strictly conform to this idea, so long *this* Government will be the best. If any of these individuals casts aside or loses his power of governing himself by himself, then, for the public good, he must be governed. If an individual cannot be governed by himself, he must be governed from without himself; and in such a case only is it expected or provided that governmental authority shall be exerted. There is no place for it otherwise. If it should ever be that a majority of the people should cast aside or lose their power of governing themselves by themselves, then a form of government would, in the nature of things, shape itself by which these would be governed by a mere assertion of governmental authority. But such a Government would be a despotism modified, or absolute, according to circumstances. Such a form of Government would be directly opposite to that of the Government of the United States; and such Government never will rightly obtain here until the majority of the people lose the power to govern themselves by themselves, and for themselves. And whenever people with ideas of absolutism, whether in the United States Senate or in organizations of whatever name, undertake to put into laws their absolutist views to be asserted upon the people, then it is for the people patriotically to assert the just ideas of government, and everlastingly relegate such absolutist propositions to the "paradise of fools," where they certainly belong.

Our whole machinery of government is framed upon this idea, from the precinct or town, through the county and the State, to the national Government. Now from the precinct to the Nation, the idea of each successive form of authority is that it should only be exerted where no other could avail. Beginning with the individual: if every individual would strictly

govern himself by himself, there would be no need to assert the authority even of the precinct to govern. But all men do not do that; and therefore what the individual does not or cannot do, which can be done by the authority of the precinct, is done by it. If it can not be done by the precinct authority, it is done by the county government. And when things arise that cannot be settled by county authority, the State authority is asserted, and must be. And when anything arises that cannot be settled by the State Government, then the authority of the national Government is employed. Thus the forms of the national Government are employed only about those things which cannot be performed by any other. The forms of the State Government are employed only with those things which cannot be performed by any other within the bounds of the State; the forms of the county only with those things which cannot be performed by any other; within the limits of the county, and the forms of the precinct or the town only with those things which cannot be performed by any other means within its limits. All things which can be done by the individual is left for him to do; and it is only when the individual fails, that any power or authority beyond him can act or is expected to act. This is the American theory of government. The power and the form of government springing from the individual, the Government thus deriving its just powers "from consent of the governed."

Now the theory of the Blair legislation is directly the opposite of this—that the national Government is all-pervading, all-absorbing, and absolute; sweeping away all subordinate forms of government; destroying individuality, and absorbing even the individual himself.

Senator Hale, in his speech against the Blair Educational bill, March 7, 1890, has so well described the Blair idea of government and the purpose which is proposed in the Blair Educational amendment, that we allow him to state it in his own words. We quote from the record:—

Now, Mr. President, upon the general proposition that the common schools are better left to the States and to the localities, the Senator from New Hampshire and I are at odds; and his view, not only as to what the Constitution carries, but as to what is wise and practicable for the general Government to do, in many things that come nigh to the every-day life of the people, is not my view.

The Senator is well able to make his views clearly seen and known; and I read now an extract from the speech which he made here when he launched his bill in 1882, as showing the conception that he then had of the wide extent to which the general Government should interfere in the work of establishing common schools. What the Senator said further shows his understanding of the reach of the general powers of the Federal Government under our fundamental law.

Here is what the Senator said:—

The Nation is a whole. As such it must act; as such it is to be saved or lost. In this battle for its life the whole line must be maintained or advanced. Reinforcements must be sent to the weakest parts. Because they are the weakest is the reason

that help is wanted. If they were strong no reinforcements would be needed. Nor does it change the duty and necessity, even if there be forces, unless they fight. They must still be aroused to duty, for the work must be done. The evil is the same whether the battle be lost for one cause or for another; but in this struggle I believe there is as great danger to the future of the country from the northern cities as from the southern States.

Mr. President, we may look far and wide, and search long and deep, before we will find in the record of any debate that has taken place in Congress for a hundred years, a clearer and stronger and more sweeping statement of the doctrine of those who believe that in the general Government lies the power to do all things; and that whenever and wherever a trouble arises, or a wrong is found, or a grievance appears, or an unsatisfactory condition exists, then it is not only within the Constitution, but both wise and practicable, for the general Government to assume control and to find the remedy.

It is a remarkable and eloquent statement which the Senator from New Hampshire made, and covers all the ground. Senators will perceive that he is not here advocating the somewhat occult but undoubted power which lies in our Government, as it must lie in any well-ordered government, the power of "self-preservation," the power which exists *ex necessitate rei*. He has talked a great deal about this in the debate which has arisen here during this session, and he has wisely left his larger view, which he maintained in 1882, in the background; but his bill is the same, his purpose is the same, and if the measure shall ever be enacted into law it carries with it all the vast, stately, majestic programme which he has marked out as the field for the work of the general Government. He has struck out in one "fell swoop" all the various functions which the States and the municipalities have hitherto exercised upon the subjects which cover the every-day life of the people. He says:—

The Nation is a whole. As such it must act; as such it is to be saved or lost. In this battle for its life the whole line must be maintained and advanced. Reinforcements must be sent to the weakest parts. Because they are the weakest is the reason that help is needed. If they were strong no reinforcements would be needed.

But the Senator goes further. If he finds State and local apathy upon its domestic concerns, he would have the general Government become the agitator and stimulator of life and exertion, and would have all these, which I believe should come from the localities, furnished from the central power. He says:—

Nor does it change the duty and necessity, even if there be forces, unless they fight. They must still be aroused to duty, for the work must be done.

Moreover, Mr. President, as applied to this subject of education, the advocates of the bill, as represented by the Senator from New Hampshire, show that their purposes and intent were for the general Government to assume the sustenance and supply for the common-school system, both North and South. Upon this all-embracing plan, which filled the mind and aroused the imagination of the Senator from New Hampshire, he goes on to say:—

The evil is the same, whether the battle be lost for one cause or for another; but in this struggle I believe there is as great danger to the future of the country from the northern cities as from the southern States.

Mr. Blair rose.

Mr. Hale: I wish the Senator would wait. I shall be through in a few minutes.

Mr. Blair: If the Senator is undertaking to state somewhat of my position, he does not state it fully.

Mr. Hale: I read from the *Record*.

Mr. Blair: But the Senator does not read all that there is in the *Record*.

Mr. Hale: No; I have not the time; and I am too old a man. (Laughter.)

Mr. Blair: If the Senator would read all the *Record*, he would know more about this bill, and he would know more about what I have stated in relation to it, too.

Mr. Hale: I say again, Mr. President, that upon such a vast illimitable scheme of the powers and duties of the general Government connected with the practical question of their exercise, the Senator and I are at odds. His view is neither that which needs to be taken to-day, by reason of the circumstances and conditions that apply and exist in different parts of the United States, nor was it the view of the fathers.

Many of those things which appertain to the comfort, the happiness, the welfare of the millions of people in the United States, who make up the best of its population, can be better attended to and managed at home than here; and because of this, as much as because it was not intended that the Federal Government should aggress upon the States, thus the fathers left it.

I say again, Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire has not failed to make himself understood. I have no difficulty in seeing the picture which the Senator has before his mind. I have to take no pains in discerning the outcome of a rule or policy that illustrates such a picture. Whether the Senator at once seizes for the general Government exclusive supply and control of the common schools, or whether he makes his approaches gradual and by devious steps, the result is the same.

When the Federal Government takes upon itself a portion of the work of maintaining the common-school system of the country, that moment local and State interest begin to decline; that moment another set of feelings and desires and expectations relating to education takes possession of the minds of the people—the desire to secure more, the desire to be free from home burdens,—and out of this comes the death of the local and neighborhood feeling which has given vitality to our common schools. The humble but useful fabric reared by the local and State interests is torn down, and in its stead is built up a vast, imposing structure, reared and maintained by the general Government.

Under such a doctrine as this, whether applied to common schools or to other various subjects which are better left to the localities, but one result will follow—the line of local interest and State interest, the line of local power and State power, recedes and fades, an uncertain shifting shore that disappears before the restless aggrandizing sea of Federal interference.

Let these principles be made more of, and spread everywhere and sacredly held by all the people, that a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," may not perish from the earth.

A. T. J.

Some Pertinent Questions.

THE *Union Signal*, of February 13, makes several quotations from the first number of Mr. William T. Stead's *Review of Reviews*, published in London, England. Mr. Stead believes in a good time coming, when there will be a grand federation of English-speaking people, and also a United States of Europe. What hinders this now is this: "The religious side of politics has not yet entered the minds of men." And we say in truth, Woe be to the world when that time comes. This happy result is to be brought about, however, and Christianity is to show forth among the nations through the following:—

Men and women must work for the salvation of the State with as much zeal and self-sacrifice as they now work for the salvation of the individual.

And how will they save the State? Will the State repent, confess its sins, make

reparation of all its unjust gains, believe, and be baptized? And when it is "saved," will it be taken to heaven? This salvation of the State, of which so much is said, is a deception. The duty of the Church and of Christians is to save men and women out from the world. While in the world, they are not to be of the world. Every step in the direction of religion in the State only carries that State so much nearer the Dark Ages, and places so much more power in the hands of that system—the Papacy—which knows so well how to use every advantage gained.—*Signs of the Times.*

Good Words in a Sunday Convention.

IN previous numbers of the SENTINEL we have shown the fallacy of the idea that civil government may enforce any portion of the moral law, and we have also shown the evil consequences which would necessarily result from an attempt to put such a fallacious idea into practice. We are glad to present in this number a corroboration of our views by a minister of the gospel. And we are the more glad because the argument which we shall quote was made in a Sunday convention, in the second annual meeting of the Sabbath Association of Iowa, which was held in Des Moines, November 12 and 13, 1889. Rev. J. K. Fowler, of Cedar Rapids, gave an address on "The Basis of the Civil Sabbath," which was printed in full in the *Iowa State Register*, of November 13, from which we quote. Speaking of the laws already existing, and of the Sunday laws which the association is seeking to make, he said:—

If these laws are right, why are they right? There needs to be a clearing up on this point. The ideas of many are vague and faulty as to the genius and intent of these Sunday regulations. Many in the Church and out imagine that they prescribe a precept of the Christian religion; that they are simply a transcript of the fourth commandment to our statute-books. More than that, many ardent defenders of the Sabbath, justify them on that ground. They say, God has enjoined the observance of the Sabbath, and the State should do the same. But God has demanded that we be good stewards of his bounty, and give liberally to him. Is the State therefore to command this? God has commanded that we be given to hospitality. Is the State to see to it that this be accomplished? God has commanded that we honor one another and in honor prefer one another. Shall the State undertake the enforcement of these divine laws? It is time we had done arguing for Sabbath legislation before Congress or other legislative bodies on plea of its divine institution and scriptural authority. It is utterly untenable according to the spirit of our charters of government.

In this paragraph the question is fairly stated, and the statement in the closing sentence is correct. After referring to certain judicial decisions on certain laws against crime, the speaker continued as follows:—

The civil law forbids these, not as offenses against God, but as crimes against man. The law has to do with the relations of men to each other, and not with the relations of men to God. To base

these Sunday laws thus upon a divine command, as the civil ground, is to that extent to join Church and State, and to violate the fundamental principles of the State and federal governments.

In the above paragraph we have a just distinction made between sin and crime. Sin is the violation of the moral law. Crime is a violation of human law. We wish the reader to notice the latter part of the paragraph just quoted. In agreement with arguments we have before presented, he shows that for the State to base its law upon divine command, or to attempt to enforce any one of the divine commands, is the union of Church and State. This was wholesome truth to present before a Sunday convention. We wish every Sunday convention could listen to similar talk. Mr. Fowler continued as follows, concerning the idea that the State could enact a Sunday law on the basis of the divine commandment:—

But such a basis of the Sunday law is not only illegal, but it may be even unscriptural. The Bible itself does not warrant us in inscribing upon the civil statute-books whatever we find to be the mind of the Lord. The Bible does give us a divine standard of moral duty, by which we may discriminate between right and wrong. But it also gives a divine model of wise legislation. It shows there are some things reasonable and some unreasonable to undertake by the civil statute, that statutory law is not to be framed always into exact correspondence with the criterion of individual duty. And this scriptural lesson is one of the very first importance for a Christian citizen of a republic like ours to learn.

We wish every citizen of this republic might learn this scriptural lesson. The fact that the great body of the National Reformers desire to have the State attempt to re-enact and enforce the law of God, shows, according to Rev. Mr. Fowler, of Cedar Rapids, that they are very deficient in scriptural knowledge; and in this we agree with him. Again Mr. Fowler said:—

If our zealous, well-meaning, but deluded friends of the Sabbath, desire to defeat the very ends they aim at, they want to push to the front, and press upon the law makers this scriptural command for the basis of Sunday laws, until a furor of public feeling like that of 1826 again sweeps the country and takes with it every vestige of Sabbath legislation. Many good people, even in these boasted days of religious liberty, fail to understand that the State is not competent to enact divine precepts because they are divine. The law against murder is not on the civil statute-books because it is in the decalogue, but because society could not exist without such a law. The law against stealing is not in the civil code because it was found essential to maintain the rights of property. Government exists to secure to men life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to maintain a peaceful and orderly, a mutual, helpful condition of society. Hence its laws simply aim at these ends. They are passed because of some supposed public need, because it is believed the general good requires them. We are bound thus in the matter of the Sunday laws to stand outside of the Bible and argue for them on the same line as all the other laws, because the public need and advantage require them. If we cannot indicate them on these grounds, then they can claim and deserve no place on the statute-books.

With this also we heartily agree; only one statement might have been made a little stronger, and that is, that laws passed to secure men life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are passed on account of some

supposed public need. There can be no supposition about it. If there is to be any public at all, it is an actual necessity that life and liberty be preserved. But in all these paragraphs which we have quoted the speaker has shown a clear perception of the limitations of human government, and we would that all could read his argument and see the force of it, and agree with him that, if Sunday laws are made to stand, it must be because the public good requires them. The next and closing paragraph of this speech shows how impossible it is to make it appear that the public good requires a Sunday law, and that the Sunday should be enforced for the same reason that laws are enacted against stealing. Said he:—

That a law-guarded rest-day is one of these agencies will hardly be questioned by any reasonable man. On that day peace of God settles down over Sabbath-keeping land. The din of labor ceases, and the din of strife and merry-making, and a few quiet hours are given in which the most engrossed and toil-burdened soul may at least have the opportunity, if it will, to worship God and learn of truths that bear upon a right life. Remember that the law makes no attempt to enforce religion, or even religious observance, on Sunday. It simply institutes a weekly civil holiday, and surrounds it with safeguards such as subserve the interests of morality and make as favorable as possible.

In this last paragraph the speaker went against all he had so clearly stated before. His attempt to show that society requires such a law, by stating that on Sunday, if enforced by law, peace settles down over the land, and a few quiet hours are given in which all may have the opportunity to learn of God and truths that bear upon a right life, shows that such laws are at least an attempt to enforce morality. There is not the slightest ground on which a so-called civil Sunday law can be based consistently with justice. If it is said that man needs one day in seven for rest, then we will point to the thousands who are observing the seventh day of the week, and to the scores of thousands who are observing the first day of the week, without any law compelling rest. That is sufficient evidence that no such law is needed. If the law is asked only in order that man may have one day in the week to rest, why is it that many who have strictly and quietly rested on the seventh day have been persecuted for not resting on the first day? They have surely rested one-seventh of the time, and nobody can claim that resting upon the first day of the week will do a man more good than resting upon the seventh. Of course it will be said that the seventh day is not the day that the law recognizes; that the great body of Christians recognize the first day, and therefore the law should demand rest on that day. So then the whole question of the civil Sunday law is given up, and it is admitted that the basis of the law is some supposed superiority of Sunday over other days.

It needs no argument to show that all the physical good that may be gained by

resting on Sunday is gained to an equal extent by resting on Saturday, and as to the good of society we challenge anyone to demonstrate that a society observing the seventh day is not outwardly, to say the least, as good as one which observes the first. But in spite of Mr. Fowler's little defection at the close of his speech, we think it is a good one, and commend it to the careful perusal of all our readers.

E. J. W.

A Shaky Foundation.

WE are not the only ones who are curious to know how the American Secular Union is going to get a Manual of the purest principles of morals, without inculcating religious doctrines. One of their own number, Mr. Edward S. Stark, of this city, published an article in the *Truth Seeker*, of February 22, in which he said:—

In its invitation to the contest for an Agnostic Manual of Morality, the Secular Union leaves us in the dark as to whether Agnosticism is meant in its narrow sense, as merely rejecting the religious belief, or that it applies also to the scientific field, in the sense of its purity from prejudices and obscurantism. Science, namely, is apt to produce objectionable consequences the same as religion, if it is not purified from superstitions, servility, and the worshiping of spurious authorities. Without such a purification it may bring about very deplorable results, particularly in such a delicate and entangled question as that of morality, which, while losing its transcendental foundation in religion, is bound to look for a basis elsewhere, and may obtain from the science such a shaky one that the whole structure would not be able to stand on it for a moment. . . . The principal points at issue are: 1. Shall the manual adopt the unscientific hypothesis of a separate soul, existing *par se*, and, under certain aspects, completely independent of the body? Those who may think that it is a question of psychology and not of morals, and that therefore it can be easily avoided, will soon change their mind about it if they try to write upon ethics. This or that hypothesis will, against their wish, transpire through the wording of every sentence. The author will find himself under the necessity of speaking about some sort of immaterial entity underlying moral actions, their righteousness or viciousness.

These points are well taken. Morals must have a basis. If it is proposed to remove ethics from a religious basis, some other basis must as certainly be supplied; and when any other basis is found, as Mr. Stark says, it will be such a shaky one that the whole structure would not be able to stand on it for a minute. Mr. Stark truly says, the author of such a scheme "will find himself under the necessity of speaking about some sort of material entity underlying moral actions their righteousness or viciousness," and just as soon as the subject of righteousness is touched, the realm of religion is entered. The fact is, as we proved in our article before on this subject, it is an utter impossibility to inculcate morality without at the same time, inculcating religious doctrine. Morality has no basis other than the religious.

As time goes on we become more and more curious to see that Manual.

Sunday Legislation in Canada.

March 5 "An act to secure the better observance of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday," was introduced into the Dominion Parliament, and read once. On the following day it passed a second reading, and is in a fair way to become a law. The provisions of this bill are as follows:—

1. Whoever on the Lord's day, shall either labor, himself, or shall compel his apprentice, servant, or other person under his control or charge, to labor, or perform any other work than the household offices of daily necessity, or other works of necessity or charity, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

2. Whoever on the Lord's day sells, or publicly shows forth or exposes or offers for sale, or purchases, any goods, chattels, or other personal property, or any real estate whatsoever, or does any work or business of his ordinary calling, works of necessity and charity only excepted, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

3. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, be guilty of promoting, directing, or causing horse-racing, foot-racing, cock-fighting, or dog-fighting, or shall engage in any noisy public game whereby the peace and quiet of the Lord's day is disturbed, and manual labor made necessary in preparing for and conducting the same, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

4. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, tittle in any inn, tavern, or house of public entertainment, or shall allow or permit tipping in any such inn, tavern, or house of public entertainment, or shall revel or publicly exhibit himself in a state of intoxication, or shall brawl or use profane language in the public streets or open air, so as to create any riot or disturbance or annoyance to Her Majesty's peaceable subjects, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

5. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, hunt, shoot, or pursue or take or kill any game or any wild bird or animal, or shall discharge fire-arms, except in the just defense of person or property, or in the performance of military or police duty, or shall use dogs, net, trap, or other appliance for the above-mentioned purposes, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

6. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, go out fishing, or shall take, kill, or destroy any fish, or use any gun, fishing-rod, net, or other appliance for that purpose, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

7. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, either as proprietor, publisher, or manager, engage in the printing, publication, and delivery of a newspaper, journal, or periodical; and whoever shall, on the Lord's day, engage in the sale, distribution, or circulation of any newspaper, journal, or periodical published on that day, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

Sections 8, 9, 10, and 11 deal with traffic on the canals and railways, which is limited to cases of necessity and carriage of perishable goods, under restrictions. The clause in regard to Sunday excursions is as follows:—

Excursions on the Lord's day by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or part by steamboat and part by railway, and having for their only principal object the carriage of passengers for amusement or pleasure, and to go and return the same day by the steamboat or railway or any other owned by the same person or company, shall not be deemed a lawful conveyance of passengers within the meaning of this act; and the owner or corporation, superintendent, or person by virtue of whose authority and direction such excursion is permitted or ordered on the Lord's day, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The penalties are defined as follows:—

12. Any person convicted before a justice of the peace of any offense declared in sections 1 to 7 of this act, inclusive, to be a misdemeanor, upon the oath of one or more than one credible witness, or upon view had of the said offense by the justice himself, shall for every offense be fined a sum not exceeding fifty dollars, nor less than one dollar, together with the costs and charges attending the proceedings and conviction, and such prosecution shall be commenced within one month of the commission of such offense and not afterwards; and shall be laid and tried in the county or municipality where the offense was committed.

13. The penalty for any offense committed under sections ten and eleven of the act shall be the imposition of a fine not exceeding four hundred dollars for each offense, to be recovered in any court having jurisdiction in civil cases to that amount, to be recovered by any person suing for the same under this section and for the purposes thereof.

14. All sums of money awarded or imposed as fines or penalties by virtue of this act shall be paid, one moiety to the party charging and prosecuting the offense, and the other moiety to the treasurer of the county or city where the offense was committed.

It is further provided that "a conviction under this act shall not be quashed for want of form; nor shall any warrant of commitment be held void by reason of any defect therein." Persons accused of felony may still have the benefit of all doubts and errors, but violators of the Sunday law, should this bill pass, will not be permitted to escape through any error, no matter how glaring.

The bill provides no exemptions for any class except Indians, and for no work except "works of necessity and charity." And no pretense is made that it is a "civil" measure. On the contrary, its author urges its passage because it is demanded by certain religious bodies. Nobody pretends to deny that it is religious legislation, and that it is designed to promote the religious observance of a religious institution. But such a law is no more religious in Canada than are similar measures in this country. And the motive underlying the demand for such legislation is a spirit of intolerance, wherever found.

Liberty of Conscience Must Be Preserved.

THAT priceless document, the Constitution of the United States, declares the principle of total separation between religion and the State. It provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Freedom of conscience has thus been made the foundation of our Government. Only by upholding this principle as a sacred palladium is religious intolerance kept out of our borders, and the brightest civilization developed.

This just and equal treatment of all religious denominations has been at all times a thorn in the flesh of those who suppose themselves to be the sole possessors of truth, and deem it their duty to force their views upon all. Again and again attempts have been made to Christianize our Gov-

ernment and to introduce a State religion. Every time such attempts have been successfully defeated. But the enemy of liberty does not slumber, and continues to work zealously for the promotion of its mischievous plans. Three religious bills are now before Congress—the Blair Sunday-rest bill, the Breckinridge Sunday bill for the District of Columbia, and the Blair Educational amendment, which provides for the teaching of the principles of Christianity in the public schools.

The National Religious Liberty Association, an organization consisting of men of all denominations who are friends of religious liberty, is circulating a petition and is now represented at Washington by men whose duty it is to oppose the three religious bills above mentioned. It is the duty of every just and liberty-loving man to add strength to this movement. It is most eminently the duty and in the interest of the Jews to do all that is in their power to save the secular features of our Government and to keep the Constitution free from the embarrassment of religious intolerance.

The petition will be circulated among our Jewish fellow-citizens, and the *Tidings* hopes all will sign it.—*Jewish Tidings*.

Sunday Laws for the Capital of our Country.

THE American Sabbath Union, an ecclesiastical-political organization, has taken upon itself to make the city of Washington, or rather the District of Columbia, happy by the adoption of a rigid Sunday law. A member of Congress, Mr. Breckinridge, from the State of Kentucky, has brought in a bill in which it is expressly said that it shall be illegal for all people to do any secular labor or business on Sunday. Only those persons are excepted who conscientiously, and from religious conviction, keep another than the first day of the week. The title of the bill is "A bill to prevent persons being forced to labor on Sunday."

The movement is not altogether new; a bill was brought before the last Congress, but it was strongly attacked by Seventh-day Adventists and Baptists, and therefore this second bill with the exemption clause, which is intended to satisfy the opponents, was brought in.

All Sunday laws, as they have been enacted so far in twenty-eight States of our Union, rest on the principle of legal religious views; but if a State, through its representatives in legislation, lays down such measures, it concerns the State only, while in case of legislation of Congress such measure does not only extend over the District of Columbia, but, as a national law, concerns all Territories, and must be acknowledged as a legal measure there. For this reason the Prohibitionists have tried to have a law passed by Congress

which prohibits the manufacture and sale of all liquor, because they knew that by this the same law would become binding in the Territories of the country.

A few weeks ago, a convention of the American Sabbath Union was held here, to induce the public to sign the petition to Congress, and make general propaganda for their movement. The sessions were held in a Methodist Church; the management was in the hands of ministers. Every session was opened by prayer and Scripture reading, and closed with a benediction by one of the ministers. The delegates of the General Synod—Dr. Butler, from Washington, and Rev. Sylvanus Stall, from Baltimore—were appointed as speakers to work for the cause. So the Lutheran Church did not fail to send representatives, in this legalistic-ecclesiastic-political movement for a Sunday law. Without regard to the deception which is on the face of it, if we compare the title with the wording of the bill, an Evangelical Lutheran Christian cannot lend his hand to such a mixing of secular and spiritual power.

I, as representative of the General Council, attended the first evening session of that convention, that I might hear what should be brought up. And I must say that what was said in favor of the consecration of Sunday was right and good, if they would only rest satisfied with such instruction and admonition; but the main purpose was this: to carry the bill, and induce the legislative body in the capitol to pass it; that is, the Church, through its representatives, demands a law from the secular Government which shall bind the conscience; and therein a blind man must see a union of Church and State. As I spoke to Rev. Crafts, the secretary of the Sabbath Union, after the close of the session, and gave him my reasons why I could not join such a movement, and also requested time to express my reasons publicly in the convention, that the other side might be heard there, this gentleman, who had himself invited me, gave me the following answer: "You are the first Evangelical Lutheran minister whom I have met who is against us." I expressed my regret. He pointed to Butler and Stall, who belonged to the Lutheran Church. Further, this gentleman remarked: "This is no debating club; we cannot let our opponents come in here, that is, Jews, Infidels, Seventh-day Adventists, and Baptists." Whereupon I answered that I belonged to none of these classes of people. "Well," he concluded, "you are entitled to your opinion, for this is a free country." "Just for this reason, Mr. Crafts," I answered, "I was convinced that to me, being a minister, the opportunity would be given to express myself; but I find that the liberty of this country is usurped by your Sabbath association."

One thing I was glad to see in this gentleman. He confessed to believing in

the Galesburg rule, in the following words: "You would not allow me to preach from your pulpit?" Whereupon I answered emphatically, "No, sir; certainly not." "Well, I do not allow you to defend your doctrine from my pulpit." But in this way these gentlemen strike themselves in the face. They speak loudly about it,—that it is no religious movement, and represents no ecclesiastical principles,—and yet they make that a rule which belongs in the realm of ecclesiastical doctrine and spiritual life only.

I hope that the members of this Congress will have more sound common sense than to pass such a law, which sails under false colors, and lay down a legal measure which is fully and entirely against the liberty of conscience secured in this country. Ministers who work for such laws testify most strongly to their poverty; in fact, such say thereby, The Gospel has lost its power; help us through the secular law.

J. MULLER,

Evangelical Lutheran Pastor,
in *Herold und Zeitschrift* of Feb. 15, 1890.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Comegys is Right.

THE question of religion and the State is having quite a lively discussion in this State. In a discussion between Mr. W. G. Gilstrap and Hon. George Comegys, the former rails against the latter because he is opposed to religious exercises in the Legislature and public schools. He further says that Comegys has "cast a slur on the refinement and intelligence of Washington."

And in order to eradicate the terrible influence this slur has caused, he continues by saying, "To-day, upon the ruins of a crude, wild western frontierism stands a new-born State." Inferring that, therefore, it is right and proper to establish religious exercises in the affairs of the State.

As a good reason for such an establishment, he asserts that this is a Christian Nation.

Hon. George Comegys answers him very aptly, in the following words:—

The assertion is made that this is a Christian Nation. If by that phrase is meant that ours is a Christian Government I take issue at once.

The Government of the United States is a civil Government, purely secular in its nature, looking after the civil rights of its citizens, and having no concern about their religious or spiritual affairs. This proposition is distinctly set out in a treaty made by this Government and Tripoli in 1789, during the administration of the "father of his country." We search in vain for any intimation that this is a Christian Government, in the organic law of the land, either national or State. Mr. Gilstrap says the President takes the oath of office with his hand on the Bible. There is no law requiring or forbidding the use of the Bible or any other book in taking the oath of office. Our law requires that form of oath most binding on the conscience of the person sworn. The Chinese are sworn sometimes in this country by the decapitation of a rooster and the sprinkling of blood, that being the time-honored Confucian method of binding the pigtail conscience of Ah Sin, but it has never been suggested that by reason of that the Court was committed to the verity of that heathen rite.

S. H. CARNAHAN.

Walla Walla, Washington.

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W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

Tried by the Record.

THE *Congressional Record* for March 7, contains the following:—

Mr. Blair: I present the petition of Mary E. Catlin, superintendent of the department of Sabbath observance, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and secretary for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in which she states that on the night of February 17, 1890, petitions were stolen representing petitioners for a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia, and for all under the jurisdiction of Congress, from the various States to the number of 7,000 individual signatures, and she asks that this be accepted in place of the petitions, and printed in the *Record*.

The President, *pro tempore*: The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

In the same number of the *Record*, under the proceedings of the House, occurs this paragraph:—

By Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky: Petitions of 7,000 citizens for the Sunday-rest bill, to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The following is a copy of the document referred to the House committee, and which represents the signatures in question:—

Memorial to the United States House of Representatives. As petition secretary for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the undersigned, by this memorial, wishes to say that on the night of February 17, petitions were stolen from her house, representing petitions for a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia, and for all under the jurisdiction of Congress from the various States to the number of 7,000 (and more), nearly all individual signatures in duplicate.

We ask that this memorial be accepted in place of the petition, and printed in the *Record*.

MARY E. CATLIN.

Petition Secretary, Superintendent of the Department of Sabbath Observance, of the W. C. T. U., of the District of Columbia.

This is the sequel to the episode of the stolen petitions. When reading her address to the committee on the District of Columbia, at the hearing upon the local Sunday bill for the District, Mrs. Catlin said:—

Honored Sirs, we ask that these rolls of petitions shall be to you, the voice of the people, urging you for a Sunday-rest law. I wish I could truly say the next sentence: we bring this morning such a plea, in the form of 27,131 endorsements for the Senate, and a larger number (30,000) for the House. But, last

night, when I wrote this paper, I had that number to bring here this morning. When I went after them, I found that they had been stolen during the night, so that I am sorry to say, I have not that number to bring before you this morning.

Later in the hearing, the question was asked Mrs. Catlin, in regard to the petitions: "Were they signatures or endorsements?"

Mrs. Catlin: They were largely signatures.

The Chairman: How many of these signatures are you willing to say, came from the District of Columbia?

Mrs. Catlin: They were not from the District alone.

The Chairman: They were not from the District alone, but from the whole country?

Mrs. Catlin: Yes, sir.

The discrepancy between the numbers, 27,131 to the Senate, and 30,000 to the House, mentioned in the address to the committee, and the "7,000 (and more)" mentioned in the memorial, is remarkable. The peculiar indefiniteness of statement, as regards the whole matter is also noticeable. It will be seen that in her address, which she says was written the night before, when the petitions were in her possessions, she has numbered them with accuracy, as respectively 27,131, and 30,000, and characterized them as "endorsements." But, when questioned with a view to finding out the number of individual signatures, she replies, "They were largely signatures." This would naturally be understood to mean from 15,000 to 20,000. When asked, "How many of them were from the District," as bearing directly upon the local bill under consideration, the answer given is evasive—"They were not from the District alone."

The memorial, however, speaks of no signatures at all from the District, in reference to the District bill, but enumerates them as "from the various States." The number has dwindled to "7,000 (and more);" and of these, the best that can be said, is not that they are individual signatures, but that "they are nearly all individual signatures." If the "nearly" bears the same relation to the 7,000 that the "largely" did to the 30,000, the list of individual signatures is quite small.

It will be seen also, that neither Mr. Blair, in his presentation to the Senate, nor Mr. Breckinridge in the House, nor Mrs. Catlin, either in her memorial or in her address to the committee (although questioned upon it) anywhere make mention of any of these signatures, as distinctively from the District of Columbia, praying for the passage of the local law. It is evident there were none; or, if any, so few that it was deemed best to ignore the voice of the District entirely, upon the passage of its own law.

It is to be noticed, also, that the presentations of the matter, both in the Senate and the House, as spread upon the record, are inaccurate. The memorial to the Senate is stated in the *Record*, as requesting the acceptance of 7,000 individual

signatures, while the memorial itself says that there are "nearly" that, but leaves the actual number entirely indefinite. In the House, "petitions of 7,000 citizens for the Sunday-rest bill," are recorded as presented, without qualification, or suggestion that they were not offered in reality, but represented by a memorial.

The impenetrable indefiniteness and bewildering inaccuracy which has characterized every statement as regards these petitions, is characteristic, and no less true in the case of all the ostensible millions which have been presented. The value of these petitions for "Sunday rest" would be totally invalidated if only their character were generally understood.

W. H. M.

Effect of the Definite Article.

In the last paragraph of the Blair Sunday-rest bill, occurs this phrase, "individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday, as the Sabbath." In this connection, the definite effect of the article "the" cannot be ignored. It is not as a Sunday, or as a civil Sunday, or as a rest day, or as a Sabbath, but as "the" Sabbath. What Sabbath? When definitely stated, like this, the authority to which final appeal must be taken, is the commandment of God, and that says "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God."

This expression in the bill therefore definitely proves that the day in regard to which this legislation is asked is not a civil Sunday, but "the Sabbath of the Lord." When all knowledge of the growth, derivation and construction of the English language has been lost, then the Sunday legislators may hope to convince intelligent men that the words "the Sabbath" are susceptible of the translation "a civil Sunday,"—not before.

W. H. M.

STATE SECRETARY J. M. REES, of Indiana, says: "I find that the people are more anxious to hear, on the subject of Religious Liberty, than they were one year ago. Many who were opposed to our work at that time, are now in favor of it. Last Sunday night, after speaking to a crowded house, I presented the petition for those who desired to sign. Among others who signed it, were three persons who had signed a petition in favor of the Blair bill. They were very anxious to sign my petition, and did so, saying that they were blinded when they signed the other. So, you see, when the subject is set before the people, they will realize the unreasonableness of religious legislation."

STATE SECRETARY N. W. KAUBLE writes from South Dakota: "Thus far I have spent my time in Dakota, in holding general meetings for the discussion of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and in lecturing. I have had, in the towns, good sized, intelligent audiences, and am highly gratified at the results."

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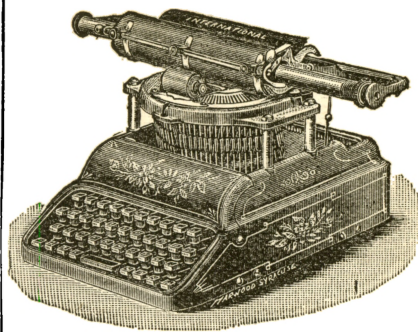
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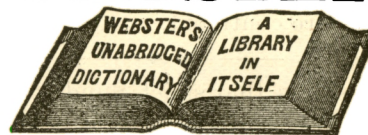
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WE will in our next number give our readers some account of the late National Reform Convention in Washington City.

ROMANISM is said to be making considerable headway in Japan, being favored by the emperor because of "its important influence on the civilization of the nation over which he rules."

THE Rome correspondent of the *Catholic Review* states that South America is soon to have a Plenary Council of all its Catholic prelates. This simply means that Rome, warned by recent events in Brazil, is about to tighten her grip upon the entire continent.

It seems that strict Sunday observance under stress of civil law is not the sum of all virtues, nor even a virtue at all; for in Scotland, the country in which they have the strictest Sunday laws, the most rigidly enforced, illegitimacy is greater than in any other civilized country. This shows that something more than civil law is required to make people moral.

It is announced by Mr. Crafts in the *Christian Statesman* of March 20, that:—

The fight against the mighty evils in this country seems to many of us an unfinished Waterloo. Reinforcements from the religious press must come, or "night."

It is to be hoped that that which comes to this fight of the American Sabbath Union, may be "night," and everlasting night at that.

THE *Union Signal* speaks of President Harrison as "the ruler of forty-four States." He is no such thing. He is the servant of the people of forty-four States. The people are the rulers here, and no countenance should ever be given to those people who, imbued with foreign ideas, want to teach that those are rulers, who are only chosen to execute the will of the people. This is sound American doctrine.

THE National Reform position is that Christ is the ruler of nations and that the moral law is the law of nations. But as nations are ruled by men, it follows that men must exercise authority in the name of Christ and interpret and administer the divine law. And as that law is spiritual, it follows that of necessity men must rule

in spiritual things. And that is putting men in the place of God, which is the essential principle of the Papacy. Hence the principle of National Reform is identical with that of the Papacy.

AN attorney-at-law in Grand Rapids, Michigan, says:—

"Some friend of mine is sending me the SENTINEL, and I wish to thank him for it. You are laboring in the right direction, for it is all nonsense, this trying to *compel* people to observe Sunday as a *rest-day*. Have not we, as a Nation, outgrown such nonsense? Do not the laboring people know when they are tired and need rest, without the appointment of the Nation as a guardian to tell them when they should rest?"

IN the Methodist ministers' meeting in Chicago, on the 31st ult., there was a lively discussion on the question of "The Attitude of Rome toward Our System of Education." Rev. D. R. Shepard, professor of political economy in the Northwestern University, attacked the parochial-school system and said that it appeared to be the design of the Catholic Church to incorporate into the very systems of the children its dogmas and beliefs. He denounced the Romish system of education as "mediæval, inadequate, and weak." He thought, however, that there was little danger from the fact that the American Catholics are not in hearty sympathy with their own system.

Rev. Mr. Foster took a different view of the matter and asked: "Does the gentleman mean to say that there is no danger when we see \$12,000,000 poured into the coffers of the Roman hierarchy in the city of New York alone, to carry on the work and the policy of that church?" He thought the danger a grave one.

Dr. W. C. Bennett, professor of the Methodist Institute at Evanston, Indiana, defended the Catholic Church and declared that it did not differ so much from the Methodist Church. He said:—

The Catholic Church has been criticised for having a supreme head, but the Methodist Church and every other church which is not bound to disintegrate, must have a supreme authority, as well as the Catholic Church, and it is nonsense to deny it. The only difference between our church and the Catholic Church on that head is, that the Catholic clergy keep their pledges of obedience to their supreme head better than ours do. There are some things, brethren, from which we might derive useful lessons, in the Catholic Church.

And this is the attitude of very many Protestants. They are learning of Rome. There is danger in Romanism in this country, but it is more in the fact that Protestants are adopting Romish methods than in the aggressions of the Roman Catholic Church itself. Rome has ever appealed to the civil power for the help which she should have sought from the great Head of the Church, and the tide is setting very strongly in the same direction among American Protestants.

THE Pennsylvania *Miners' Journal* has the following excellent item:—

The man who believes in the thorough separation of Church and State, cannot approve of reading the Bible in the public schools. The public schools are essentially a part of the State institution. The Bible is even more a part of our religious structure. These facts render the two incompatible under the spirit of our Constitution, and make it possible for even our most sincere Christians to consider all religious exercises in school, out of place. Religion should be taught in the Church and at home, not in the schools. Our Constitution guarantees freedom of religious faith to all, and we hope the day will never come when that guarantee is nullified even in the slightest degree.

It is not alone the fact that the giving of religious instruction by the State is incompatible with our institutions that should cause Christians to consider it "out of place." Every Christian should oppose even the slightest State interference in things religious because such interference is an infringement of the rights of conscience. The moment we concede the right of the State to require the reading of the Scriptures in the public schools, we admit its right to introduce any other religious instruction which the majority may wish to impose upon the minority.

The Better Day is a new temperance paper published by Funk & Wagnalls, of this city. In introducing to the public this new journal its publishers say:—

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