

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

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It is evident that civil government can not, if it would, enforce morality on a moral basis. It takes cognizance of overt actions only. It cannot sway the convictions; it cannot reform the conscience; it cannot renew the heart. If it attempts to coerce the conscience, it usurps authority which belongs alone to God, the supreme moral Governor.

In its attempts to do so, it may persecute, it may make a class of its citizens act the part of hypocrites, but it cannot reach the heart on matters of morality, and much less on those of religion.—*Watertown (S. D.) Sentinel.*

AN effort of more than ordinary magnitude will be made in the present Legislature to enact a compulsory Sunday law. The American Sabbath Union—an offshoot of the National Reform Association—is at the bottom of the movement, and will leave no means untried to accomplish its end, and that end is the amalgamation of Church and State—an idea altogether foreign to the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to all the right to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. To compel people, who do not believe that the first day of the week is the real, genuine, unmistakable Sabbath, to observe that day, is to deprive them of their constitutional right. Is this in accord with the American boast of freedom? Hardly, we think. Though we were brought up to reverence the first-day Sabbath, we do not feel that we have the right to force our belief upon others

who hold just as honest convictions to the contrary. We of California need no Sunday law. There is no part of the world where religion and religious worship is more highly respected, or better protected than in California. This is as it should be; it is a creditable feature of our State. But when a religious institution, such as this American Sabbath Union, undertakes to dictate what all classes—the orderly as well as the disorderly—shall do or not do, on any day of the week, it is time to call a halt.—*Alameda (Cal.) Encinal.*

Self-Preservation and Enforced Loafing.

ON account of travelling from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and one third of the way back again, we lost the connection in the numbers of the *Christian Statesman* by which Mr. Crafts is communicating to the public his wisdom in relation to Sunday laws. Now, however, we have gathered up the copies of the *Statesman*, have made the connection, and are again ready to notice the points which are of interest to the public, regarding the Sunday-law campaign.

In number three, of his contributions, Mr. Crafts declares that

Our Republic is bound by the laws of self-preservation to protect the Sabbath as a weekly opportunity for moral culture.

There is not a particle of truth in this statement. And for two reasons: one is, that our Republic has nothing to do with moral culture. This Republic is not a moral institution; it is a civil Government. The Republic has no question to ask whether the people are moral or not. All it wants to know is whether they are civil, and its offices are rightly exerted to that purpose and no other. The church and the family are the instrumentalities, and the only ones in this world, that can have to do with moral culture. And when any plea is made that the State shall enact Sunday laws, or enforce those already enacted, or do anything else in the interests of moral culture, or when the State is asked to do any of these things, it only

works, or is asked to work, in the interests of the Church, and the union of Church and State is the result. So certainly does a union of Church and State inhere in every phase of Sunday laws, and in every plea in their behalf.

The other reason is, that this plea for self-preservation, *in the way in which it is used*, is a fraud. Mr. Crafts, however, is not the only one who is guilty of playing this fraudulent trick with words. It is impossible for the State to preserve itself from supposed dangers which threaten from the delinquencies of a majority of the people. The State is composed of the people. When the majority of the people are doing what they think, or even what they know, to be wrong, laws against such actions are a nullity. The State, practically, is simply the majority of the people. If the majority of the people are doing wrong, and laws are enacted prohibiting the wrong things which they are doing, they being the majority, can disregard the law without fear. And that is what is invariably done in such cases. Such a law, therefore, is not only a nullity, but the general disregard of that law insiduously cultivates a disregard of all laws; so that such attempts of the State at self-preservation only carry it farther toward the destruction which it endeavors to escape. It is the same old story of the man endeavoring to pull himself out of the quicksands by the straps of his boots.

Another evil in all such cases, is that the only use made of the laws so enacted, is by bigots, who use them as a convenient means of venting their spite upon their neighbors.

This is precisely the situation in the case of Sunday laws. In a previous article we have given abundant and strong testimony in Mr. Crafts's own words that the majority, even of church members, do not observe Sunday as they profess to believe it ought to be observed. Counting these with the people in this country who are not church members, and care even less than the church members do for Sunday observance; and it is found that the

vast majority of the people of the United States care very little or nothing at all for Sunday observance. And this is true in the face of the fact that in all the States except three or four there are strict Sunday laws. Now what is the use of making more Sunday laws when there is such a universal disregard of those already made? And especially what is the use of making more Sunday laws when even the church members who profess to believe Sunday observance to be right, so generally disregard both their own profession and the Sunday laws which are already made? How is it possible that there can be any self-preservation on the part of the State in the enactment of additional Sunday laws whether State or national? In the existing condition of things every additional Sunday law will not only be disregarded, but the general disregard of such laws, silently but surely, permeates all society with the spirit of disregard of all laws, even those which are sound and wholesome in themselves.

There is such a thing as not only the right, but the necessity of self-preservation on the part of the State; but it is self-preservation against insurrection, or armed invasion. And it is literally impossible for the State to exercise this prerogative against the moral delinquencies which inhere in the individuals who compose the State. More than this, it is impossible for the State to exercise this prerogative against even the civil delinquencies of those who compose the State if those delinquencies control a majority of the people. In such cases it is simply the endeavor of each man to compel himself by a law to do what he will not do.

All this is but the statement in other words of the familiar observation that laws, to be of any force, or any value whatever, must be sustained by public character. If public character does not sustain the law, then that law is nothing more than a legal farce, and the more laws that are made under such circumstances, the worse it is for the State. There is a true doctrine of the right of the self-preservation of the State, but this doctrine set forth by Mr. Crafts in his plea for Sunday laws, and by others upon other subjects, is just as false as false can be.

THE SENTINEL has constantly charged that this Sunday-law movement is a religious movement, and one of the reasons we have given, for so charging, is that the prime movers, the organizers, and the real workers in it everywhere are invariably strict religionists, led by preachers. This same charge, and the same reasons given for the charge, has been made against the movement by some of the workingmen. Mr. Crafts attempts to answer in the following manner:—

What, then, is the object of ministers in establishing hospitals for incurables and foundlings and magdalens?

In this as in the justification of Sunday laws always, he misses the point entirely. The object of ministers and religious people in establishing such institutions as these is entirely benevolent, and we wish them God-speed everywhere. But if these same ministers and religious people who have established these institutions should now start a movement to get either the State governments, or the national Government, to support them from the public treasury, or enforce their rules as public laws, then we should charge, and the charge would be just, that that was a religious movement to get the State enlisted in the interests of religionists and their institutions.

Let the religious people and the preachers establish the observance of Sunday or whatever other church days they please, and just as strictly as they please. Let them do so of themselves and keep it confined to themselves, without any call upon the State governments, or the national Government to support or enforce it, and THE SENTINEL will never have a word to say against them or their movements. If they had done so, there would never have been THE AMERICAN SENTINEL. But as it is, we do charge, and the charge is just, and fully sustained by proofs, that the Sunday-law movement carried on as it is, by religious people, led by preachers, is wholly a religious movement to secure the control of the civil power, to enforce upon all the observance of their own peculiar religious institutions.

Again, Mr. Crafts puts himself in a box, by the following words:—

God gave unfallen man both labor and rest. To loaf on other days is as much a violation of God's law as it is to labor on the Sabbath. The man who does not habitually obey the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor," be he lord or tramp, breaks the fourth commandment as surely as the man who does not rest, and let rest, on the rest day.

Now in his book, "The Sabbath for Man," he says of those people who observe the seventh day and work on Sunday, that,

The tendency of Legislatures and executive officers toward those who claim to keep a Saturday-Sabbath is to over-leniency rather than to over-strictness. . . . Infinitely less harm is done by the usual policy, *the only constitutional or sensible one*, to let the insignificantly small minority of less than one in a hundred, whose religious convictions require them to rest on Saturday . . . suffer the loss of one day's wages.—Page 262.

By this it is evident that were his will in Sunday-law matters performed, he would compel those people "to loaf" every Sunday, and *thereby prohibit their obeying the commandment*, "Six days shalt thou labor." Therefore by his own words it is demonstrated that he proposes by his system of Sunday laws to compel people to break what he himself knows and declares to be the fourth commandment of God; and that he would do it if he had the power. Yes, "self-preservation" and enforced loafing go well together.

There is another point in this too. Sup-

pose a man does voluntarily break the fourth commandment, what has the State to do with that, if it be true that the State has nothing to do with religious questions and observances? The fourth commandment is wholly religious. The institution guarded by that commandment is religious only. Then as certainly as any State attempts to take cognizance of the actions of any man with reference to that commandment, so certainly does that State assume to deal with religious questions.

This is also shown again by Mr. Crafts's own words in the article now under consideration. He proposes Sunday and its enforced observance as the day enjoined by the commandment. It is true, that it is not by any means the day there mentioned, but that is neither here nor there so far as this particular argument is concerned. He argues that it is so, and we here simply answer his argument as it is given. He then counts the fifty-two Sundays as fifty-two "sacred vessels," and in his Sunday-school-boy-Jack-the-Giant-Killer fashion draws a parallel between the act of Belshazzar polluting the sacred vessels of the house of God, and the action of our Government in desecrating these "fifty-two sacred vessels we call 'Sabbaths,'" and then he says,

Let these cups be rather the weekly sacrament by which we keep in memory the God of our fathers, and renew the Nation's loyalty to God, our King.

And that is how he would have the *civil* Sabbath observed, and its *civil* observance enforced by the Government. A. T. J.

Moral and Civil Rights.

ANY attempt to legislate on the subject of morals, is an attempt to confound moral rights with civil rights. But there is as much difference between moral rights and civil rights as there is between God and man, or between God's government and man's government. When we say that a man has the right to do this or that, we should be particular to state whether it is the moral right or the civil right to which we refer. A neglect to do this shows a want of knowledge on our part, or a willful determination to treat things alike which are entirely different.

The law of God is a statement of moral duties from which moral *rights* are derived. "For where no law is, there is no transgression." As all moral duty is summed up in two principles—supreme love to God, and love for man equal to that which we have for ourselves, it is evident that every one has the moral right to do anything not inconsistent with these principles. And as God is the author of moral law, and has given to man all the moral rights which he has, it is doubly certain that no human authority can ever regulate, define, or restrict those rights. And as the law of God takes cognizance of the thoughts and intents of the heart, it is also evident that no human authority

is competent to tell whether a man's thoughts and actions are consistent with the principle of love.

As moral law is the expression of the principle of *love* to God *and* man; so civil law is the expression of the principle of *justice* to man. Justice demands a perfect equality of rights, and the largest amount of liberty consistent with the principles of civility. That government which approaches the nearest to the demands of justice in protecting citizens in the exercise of their rights, is the one most in harmony with the will of God. When any government violates the principle of justice, the responsibility rests upon those who enact and enforce the law. In a republic like ours, responsibility attaches to every citizen who has not by every proper means opposed the unjust measure.

All responsibility is ultimately individual responsibility. A person is individually responsible to God for violating the moral principle of love; and he is individually responsible to the State for violating the civil principle of justice. The moral principle includes the civil, but the civil does not include the moral. A person who was perfectly moral would never be uncivil; yet many persons are civil who can not be called moral. They refrain from injuring their fellowmen, but not from the motive of love. The principle of love comes from God, and can be supplied only by him. It comes through faith in Jesus Christ, hence can never be bestowed by any earthly government. As the moral principle is more comprehensive than the civil, it follows that an individual has the civil right to do a great many things which he has no moral right to do. As a member of society, a servant of the State, he has the right to do any thing which does not infringe upon the equal rights of his fellows; but as a servant of God, he has no right to *do* anything that will infringe the principle of perfect love, nor to *be* anything less than perfect before God. He must be filled with the righteousness of God which is by faith. Yet for any lapse from this perfect moral condition before God, he is responsible solely to God.

A man has the civil right to be immoral; but he has neither the moral nor the civil right to be uncivil. He can be civil by his own effort; but he can be moral only by the help of God. The sole object of Christ's sacrifice was to make men moral, to bring them back into harmony with the moral law. The State has no right to hold the citizen responsible for anything which he can not do without the help of God. "The carnal mind is enmity against God, and is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be;" and as the State has no power to remove the carnal mind or change the heart, it is therefore certain that the State can never enforce the moral law, or hold any one responsible for an act, simply because it is immoral.

From whatever standpoint this question is viewed, the conclusion is irresistible, first, last, and all the time, that with moral rights or duties, civil government can have nothing to do; that a person has the civil right to do anything that is not uncivil, no matter how immoral it may be; that God alone has the right to require morality, because he alone can change the carnal mind and make men moral; and that he is the only one who has the right to punish immorality, because he only can measure the guilt of the transgressor of his law. A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

Two Ways of Looking at a Question.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH, the English atheist, who obtained considerable notoriety and not a little sympathy because of being excluded for years from Parliament on account of his faith, is dead. A few days before his death, the House of Commons expunged from the records of that body, the resolution of expulsion. Commenting upon this fact, the *Baptist Examiner* of this city, says:—

By almost unanimous action of that body, the resolution has been expunged from the records, on the ground that the House of Commons had exceeded its jurisdiction. That body possesses autocratic power in such matters, there being no appeal from its decisions except, as in this case, to appeal from a House drunk with passion and prejudice, to a House that has had time to get sober. Nevertheless, it clearly exceeded its theoretic powers, in excluding from its membership a man legally chosen to represent them by the voters of Northampton. The contest was like that of Wilkes, who was elected again and again to a Parliament that refused to admit him to his seat. In the end the will of the people must prevail in such a contest.

Of Mr. Bradlaugh's character, the same paper says:—

In all his dealings with men he was actuated by a high sense of honor and integrity; if he was unjust to any one it was to himself and to that God which he studiously ignored.

That is one view of the matter. Another is presented by the *Christian Statesman*. Of the reasons for expunging from the record of the House the resolution of expulsion, the *Statesman* says:—

These reasons are sound and good in themselves but not applicable in such a case. It is no excess of jurisdiction for a national Legislature to exclude from its membership one who denies the being of God and holds no allegiance to that higher law which, more than any written Constitution, is fundamental to the State. If an earthly government will not admit to seats in its Legislature those who refuse allegiance to its own authority, how can it welcome those who deny and refuse the corporate allegiance which the State owes to the King of kings?

We quote these two opinions merely to show the contrast between the spirit of genuine Christianity, and the spirit of Christianity perverted by National Reform theories. The *Examiner* is one of the first Baptist papers of the land; it cannot be suspected of any sympathy whatever with atheism, but it is not yet drunken with the wine of the wrath of the churches' fornication committed by unholy alliance with

the civil power. The *Christian Statesman* is thus drunken; that is the difference between these two papers; one believes in doing as it would be done by, the other holds that atheists have no rights which Christians are bound to respect; the one would disfranchise every logically consistent infidel, the other would grant to every man who conducts himself as a good citizen, all the rights and privileges of citizenship without regard to his religious belief or non-belief.

We abhor atheism, but we are glad that the English sense of justice has again risen superior to religious bigotry and intolerance, and discomfited it. Atheism fattens upon injustice on the part of those who bear the Christian name, but loses much of its venom under the benign reign of the Golden Rule. C. P. B.

Shall the State Teach Morals?*

To the Editor: I find myself in such hearty agreement with THE SENTINEL on so many important questions, that I am almost sorry I am compelled to dissent on the question of morals in our public schools.

What I would like to say in this brief closing paper, I will put into the most condensed form consistent with clearness. I shall not reply to THE SENTINEL's detail of criticism, but gather up the issue into a common focus and write to that.

Shall the State teach morals? THE SENTINEL says, "No;" your correspondent says, "Yes." The reason THE SENTINEL gives in support of its "No," is—

Morals must have a sanction; therefore, to teach morals is not only to teach rules governing actions but to teach also the reasons for those rules.

Granted. But is not the function of teaching indissolubly joined to reasoning and to pointing out the practical value of what is taught? Must the State refuse to teach natural science because some pupil might ask after the authority for material laws? And were the pupil to ask—Who made chlorine and sodium? and who made the law that their union must produce common salt? must the teacher put her finger to her lips and be silent? To teach *anything*, connects God with it as the source of its life and ministry. Therefore, to exclude morals from our public schools on the ground that God is connected with them as the author of their gracious value, would exclude everything else, and even ourselves, from the school room.

Neither God nor morals, the common property of all men, should be excluded from our schools. But dogmatic theology and all forms, or hints, of sectarianism should be excluded. There is no necessary value in dogmatic opinions, but there is a necessary value to *morals* and to *character* builded on them.

*For a few words in reply see notes on last page of this paper.—EDITOR.

Besides, does not THE SENTINEL really join in what we mean by moral when it says, "The most we can do is to insist upon correct deportment," in our public schools? *Correct* deportment is nothing more nor less than conduct fashioned after the best ideal common to all. It is not the product, necessarily, of dogmatic theology, but of that which is above all sects or forms of religion—God and man.

And perhaps our opinion on this subject might be strengthened by a clear and reasonable definition of *State*. We should not look upon the State as "something outside of ourselves" to reign and rule over us, but as ourselves mutually united to secure mutual benefits. The powers that made the State, as commonly defined, can unmake it. And if the human family, especially in a republic, desire that the highest values known to themselves, be taught to their children in their common schools—the idea of God and the necessities for morals—have they no right to govern their own affairs? They confess one to another that opinions of God and theology are, while helpful, not of first importance. But God and morals are of first importance. Upon this ground they all unite.

If we dare not breathe the name of God in the school-room for fear of teaching religion or morals, if when asked by the hungry mind of pupils after authority for *all* truth and *all* good, our teachers are to say nothing, then, for one, I am willing to abandon all such systems of public non-instruction.

In conclusion, I must insist upon believing that a brain so usually clear and a heart so warm and true as think and beat in the sanctum of THE SENTINEL, will come to see the school-question as touching morals therein, in a different light.

H. O. HOFFMAN.

Religious Liberty in the University of Michigan.

IT may be interesting to the readers of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL to hear something of the interest taken in religious liberty in the largest university in America. There are here about twenty-five hundred students, and all the different departments are well-filled. There are between five and six hundred in the law department, and more than a thousand studying the arts and sciences. The popularity of the university is rapidly increasing from year to year, and even the most remote States are well represented.

Taking advantage of the discussion which has been raised in reference to a national law compelling the closing of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, a large number were canvassed to ascertain their views on the question. The result of the canvass showed that about two to one were in favor of allowing each exhibitor to conduct his own affairs, and

did not believe in the Government interfering with the question of religion, in 1893, any more than in any other year. The force of the First Amendment declaring that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," seems to be appreciated. The opposition is not to closing the World's Fair on Sundays, but to the interference of the Government in the matter. Every one knows that every exhibitor will have the privilege of closing if he so desires, and a law on the subject is simply an attempted interference with the private affairs of the exhibitors. Every one should be left free to follow his own choice in the matter. A law interfering with the same freedom of will by compelling exhibitors to keep open on Sunday, would receive the opposition of the same persons, for the same reasons.

A more recent movement is the formation of a society for the discussion and dissemination of the underlying principles of religious liberty. The following quotation from the Constitution of the Society will show its object and character:—

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The grand object of this Society shall be to aid in the maintenance of American principles—the total separation of religion from civil Government and the conservation of religious liberty in its broadest sense—by means of lectures, discussions, and the dissemination of literature.

ARTICLE III.—CHARACTER.

This Society shall be strictly unsectarian and non-partisan in both principles and methods.

ARTICLE IV.—MEMBERS.

Any person may become a member of this Society upon receiving a three-fourths vote, by paying the membership fee and signing the Constitution.

A more clearly defined idea of the Society may be obtained from the following announcement which has just been issued by it:—

Members of the university, believing that they might stimulate thought by a discussion of the principles of liberty, characteristic of the American political system, organized the "Religious Liberty Society" on the thirty-first of January last. It is the purpose of this Society to maintain American principles, without compromise, and to apply them to all the functions of Government—insuring to every one the equality to which he is entitled.

Various tendencies or movements favoring governmental preference or aid to one or another religion or cult, justify anew the discussions which led to the establishment of our constitutional guarantees of religious liberty. The recent decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court in reference to reading the Bible in the public schools, the case of R. M. King, being prosecuted for Sunday work, now in the Federal Courts, the Sunday bills in Congress, and other religio-political measures, present a fruitful field for political discussion.

Believing the doctrine asserted by Madison, that "among the features peculiar to the political system of the United States, is the perfect equality of rights, a perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters," the Society is sure, as Madison was, that "religion and government will both exist in greater purity the less they are mixed together." "We are teaching the world," he continued, "the great truth that Governments do better without kings than with them. The merit will be doubled by the other lesson: that religion flourishes in greater purity without, than with, the aid of government."

In view of these considerations, it is believed that there is a legitimate sphere for such a society among the others which grow up around a great school, and it is also believed that these purposes will merit the approval of all liberal minds.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Society has just issued a book which contains public documents on religious legislation—especially the Sunday phase—and the writings and public addresses of some of our greatest statesmen in reference to the question. The editor's preface to the work sets it forth in the following light:—

Political history is a most interesting study; and of all the political history of the world no other has been so full of interest, so filled with matter for thought, as that of America for the last two centuries. The irrepressible spirit of liberty in the early Americans, and the philosophical ideas on government characteristic of the times, united to bring forth a Government more grand, more in accordance with human rights, more in harmony with the principles of Christ, than any the world had ever before seen.

There is, however, a reaction taking place. And the revival of the religio-political ideas of mediæval times, the practical operation of which, as declared by the United States Senate, "has been the desolating scourge of the fairest portions of the Old World," calls for the republication of American State papers which have marked the successive steps in our political history.

The influence of Roger Williams, of Washington, of Jefferson, of Madison, and of their fellow-statesmen has been felt throughout the world. The free institutions established by them have made the name "America" a synonym of liberty. Bartholdi's famous "Statute of Liberty," presented to America by France, is a fitting tribute to the Utopia of nations.

The world has marked with astonishment the unprecedented advancement of American institutions, founded, as they are, upon theories now in accordance with the principles of absolute civil and religious liberty—theories which previous to the establishment of American institutions had existed only in the schools of philosophy;—theories evidently deducible from the principles of abstract justice and incontrovertible logic, but which had never had practical application.

A new Nation, proud of Anglican liberty,—proud of such Englishmen as Locke, and Sidney, Hampden and Pym, Milton and Cromwell—proud of insuring to the *minority* their rights, was the first to free itself from the superstitious ideas which had made governments restrict or entirely destroy rights which they were instituted to protect. In striking contrast with the older governments has America stood before an astonished world as a refuge for the persecuted, a home for the oppressed, the land of the free. Shall these institutions, which have thus benefited humanity, be supplanted in this enlightened age by the Church and State dogmas of past centuries?

It is true that some of the States have never given up the idea that religion and the State must have some connection. But, in contrast with this, our national Government declares that "the United States of America, is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion." The American Government is founded upon human rights, upon the rights given to every man by his Creator, upon the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the free exercise of one's faculties. Pagan, and Mahomedan, Gnostic and Agnostic, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, are all entitled to the unrestricted exercise of their equal rights, and to an impartial protection from the Government in such exercise. These are the principles characteristic of American institutions, these were the principles of the founders of our Government; these are the principles of Anglican liberty, and the ideals of Anglican philosophy.

As an outgrowth of these principles, we have in America "Liberty enlightening the world." But this liberty will exist only in name, if we enact and enforce laws that are contrary to our constitutional rights and unworthy a free and enlightened people.

It is to set forth the true American idea—absolute freedom of religion from the State—absolute freedom for all in religious opinions and worship—that these papers are collected and republished.

But the Religious Liberty Society is not, by any means, the only instrumentality that is aiding in the dissemination of these views. The leading societies of the literary and law departments give considerable attention to the discussion of the fundamental principles of our Government; and the Blair bills, State rights, centralization of power, individual rights, the Bennett law, and kindred topics, frequently receive attention by independent thinkers.

The clergymen also are friendly to the well-established American idea of religious liberty, and as opportunities are presented, give expression to their views.

With all these influences, together with the powerful lessons from history that are taught every day in the year, a liberal spirit is implanted here that will make its influence felt wherever students from the University of Michigan may go.

W. A. BLAKELY.

University of Michigan.

National Reform Is Antichristian.

I AM well aware that the title of this article expresses a thought already very familiar to the readers of THE SENTINEL. It seems to me, however, that in a larger sense than many realize, the whole scheme of religious legislation is antichristian. It is directly opposed to the principles and object of the whole plan of redemption, which centers in Christ. It is an open public profession of disbelief in the plan of redemption, and in God's power to carry out that plan, as he has begun it, to the grand consummation.

It is an attempt of fallible man, to patch up what he regards as defective in the all-wise and eternal purpose of God. It is an utter failure to recognize the truth of that text which asserts that in moral and religious matters, "Vengeance is mine I will repay, saith the Lord." Could anything be more blasphemously antichristian?

Did the National Reformers never ask themselves the question how it came about that in a universe ruled by a God who is infinitely good, and who infinitely hates evil, sin came to exist at all? There is only one answer to this question that harmonizes with the idea of such a God, who is both omniscient and omnipotent.

It is this. *God made men free*,—free to do evil, that they might be free to do good,—capable of hating, that they might be capable of loving. Had he made them otherwise, they would have been machines, made to run a certain way, and do a certain work,—machines, and not men. They might have been *innocent*, but they never

could have risen to the dignity of a righteous or holy character. Innocence is the blank book, beautifully bound, it may be, but without a word or mark. The book assumes character day by day, as it is written in. God would have his world, his universe, peopled with intelligent beings, possessed of righteous characters. There is no conceivable way that this sublime result could be reached, but by making these beings *free to choose*, and capable of choosing. But to make men thus free is to *run the risk of sin*. And a God who infinitely hates sin made men thus free, and ran such risk, that the said sublime result might be attained.

That the angels who people Heaven, were made thus free we know, for we are informed that part of them sinned: and man was made free and he chose evil. When the inhabitants of this world sinned, it was God's purpose that they should be redeemed through Christ, and that this redemption should be a means of revealing God's love, the terrible nature of sin, and the beauty of holiness, to all intelligent beings in God's universe. Paul says "this grace of God was given us in Christ before the world was." 2 Tim. 1:9, 10. "And that He hath chosen us *in him* (Christ) *before the foundation of the world*, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love, *to the praise and glory of His grace*." Eph. 1:4-6. And in the third chapter of Ephesians, it is stated that it is by this sublime object lesson of sin and its attendant evil, and redemption with the revealed love and accompanying joy, held up before the universe, that the principalities and powers in the *heavenly places* (or better, the heavenly worlds), are to come to fully know the wisdom and love of God. Thus God is to arrive at the sublime result of a universe peopled with *free* intelligent beings, throughout the endless ages, doing right, and only right, *while they still retain their freedom*, because they have freely come to know and love the right, and know and hate the wrong.

All this is to be accomplished by making men *free*, and leaving them *free*, and it could be accomplished in no other way. Sin took away the freedom of the will, binding us with the chains of an evil heredity, and an evil environment, so that we cannot do the things that we would. With Paul the world cries out, "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not." "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Rom. 7:18, 24: Christ answers, "The Lord hath anointed me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives." Isa. 61:1. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will *draw* all men unto me." John 12:32. The Spirit of God, through Christ, draws all men, implanting high and holy ambitions and desires that can be realized only through him. Thus he draws them till their freedom is restored,

but not till it is taken away on the other side,—God *compels* no man to do right. "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me *free* from the law of sin and death." The philosophy of the whole plan of redemption rests on the freedom of the will. It involves the fighting out on a *fair field* and under the eyes of the universe, the great conflict between the opposing forces of right and wrong, good and evil, truth and error; and God has given us the pledge that though it may seem to us that the prince of falsehood and darkness bruises the heel of Christ and hinders his work for a time, yet the Prince of Peace and truth shall finally, grandly, eternally prevail. Gen. 3:15.

As a further pledge, we have the experience of history, which shows that whenever and wherever truth and error have met on a fair field, truth has always conquered. Now every religious law ever passed by man from the days of Adam, down, is a denial of this power of truth to conquer, and a refusal to trust it on a fair field with error.

Religious legislation, compulsory religious observance, is therefore a *public official declaration that in the estimation of the law-making authority, God is mistaken, and the whole scheme of redemption in Christ a failure*. I repeat, could anything be more antichristian?

Now the National Reformers confidently assert that they can improve on the whole plan of redemption in Christ, by taking away the freedom of the will which God gave in the beginning, and which Christ came to restore, and compelling men by law to do right. God made men free; they would take away that freedom. God sets before man good and evil, they would forcibly suppress the evil that there may be no temptation, and so leave only the good. God says, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," they purpose to judge sin in the courts and punish it by the law of the land. What is this but setting up their judgment above God's, and exalting their little scheme above his "eternal purpose," and so trying to take the government out of his hands and administer it themselves?

This is the Papacy over again, the mystery of iniquity, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped. It is what the devil tried to do at the first, and has been trying ever since. Thus is revealed the nature of the work of the National Reform Association, and the banner under which they are fighting. If the only way an omnipotent God could bring his creatures to the realm of righteous character, was by making them free, and setting before them good and evil, how much more than omnipotent do the National Reformers think themselves, when they claim to be able to reach the same end by a shorter and safer cut?

Even supposing their proposed laws em-

bodied the truth, the whole truth, and only the truth, their enforcement could still have but one tendency, and that would be toward keeping men in childish ignorance, and away from all possible development of a righteous character. When, as is always the case, these laws are an embodiment of that which is false, then their enforcement is simply enforced sin.

G. E. FIFIELD.

Man vs. Society.

THERE appears to be, at the present time, a bewildering current of thought running through our modern democracy, which strikes at the very foundation of liberty. The apparent impotence of the older means of action to restrain irreligion or simply religious indifference, seems to tend to unsettle all fixed principles of government or law. And the impression seems to prevail that the irregularities or deformities of the moral man must needs be corrected by some sort of legislation, and thus the threatened dangers which appear on the horizon of the social and religious world will be averted.

How important that, at such a crisis, the principles which constitute the basis of society be not ignored or done away with! How important that the dangers which threaten liberty should be met without compromising—for the sake of temporary and only apparent success—the principles, without which the greatest nations go to speedy ruin!

The following, which I translate from the French, of Alexander Rudolphe Vinet, will, I think, be read with profit in this line of thought, and although only an illustration, will be found deeply suggestive:—

It is with the soul enlisted in the life of religion or thought, as with a ship launched upon the waters, and seeking, through the ocean, the shores of a new world. This ocean is society, religious or civil. . . . The ocean carries the ship, but the ocean *can* engulf it, and *does* sometimes. Society engulfs us more frequently still; but then she carries us, and we cannot land without being carried by her; for she is like the sea, which, not so fluid as the air and not so dense as the earth, yields to us just enough, and resists us just enough, to help on, without hindering, our journey toward its desired end. Our destination is not at the *bottom*, but at the *other side* of the sea. While sailing upon these deep waters, let us be careful not to disappear into their depths. Let us be contented to yield the keel of our ship to the element which carries us. It is possible to founder on the ocean of society as well as on the ocean of our globe, and it is useless to say upon which of the two oceans shipwrecks are the more frequent. The ship which every one of us is expected to steer and save is the *individuality*.

I admire alike the ship and the ocean, man and humanity. No humanity without a man, no man without a humanity. I love to gaze, in turn, upon these two forces, observing the mutual help they give to each other, and also their mutual opposition, which, in a sense, is also a help. . . . The ocean is made for the ship, not the ship for the ocean; the essential thing, the ultimate object, is that the ship shall land, that the individual man, the real object of God in his creative work, shall accomplish his destination, by remaining himself in direct connec-

tion with God. Society is helping him by carrying him; but he is distinct from society, and cannot be blended with her; and woe unto her as well as unto him, should she happen to engulf him.

The keel which the ship—man—yields to the sea—society—represents the social restrictions brought to bear upon each citizen,—the price paid by him in his contract with society; in other words, his obedience to the legitimate laws of the State, laws which insure personal protection, property, and decency. The swallowing of the entire ship—of man's individuality—illustrates the encroachments of the State on the moral rights of the individual—the fatal obedience of the latter to legislation in matters of conscience and religion.

How much talk there is nowadays about such legislation! and what will become of thousands of beautiful ships on the sea of our modern civilization?

JOHN VUILLEUMIER.

A Proper Compensation.

Two Harvard youths, making a pedestrian tour in the Scottish Highlands, were in the habit of stopping at small farmhouses and asking for milk, the charge for which was invariably a penny a glass. Calling one Sunday at a romantic-looking cottage, in beautiful Glen Nevis, they were sourly received by the cottager's wife; and though the milk was supplied, the proffered two-pence was refused, with solemn admonition as to the impropriety of such doings on such a day. The collegians were turning away with a courteous word of thanks, when the woman made her meaning clear. "Na, na!" she cried; "I'll no' tak' less than saxpence for br'akin' the Sawbath!"—*Harper's Magazine*.

The Result of Religious Legislation.

LIKE causes produce like effects. As the result of the "Christianization" of the State by legal enactments in Constantine's time, bishoprics were bought and sold just the same as secular offices were and are now. The richest and most influential men secured the office of bishop, and used that office to increase their wealth and influence. Since religion was regulated by the civil law, the emperor was the natural head of the church; and since he also was the dispenser of patronage, men professed Christianity in order to secure office. The emperor continued to be head of the church until he transferred that dignity to the powerful bishop of Rome, whose assistance he needed in civil matters. Religion was then a matter of policy. And that is just what would happen in this country if religion were upheld by legal enactment.

We care not how pure the motives of some of the advocates of the religious amendment may be, when the proposed amendment is adopted, the results briefly

indicated above will follow, just as surely as the night follows the day. And that is the state of things these men, in their blindness, imagine that Christ would sanction.—*Watertown (S. D.) Sentinel*.

It seems strange that in a State professing to treat its citizens equally in the matter of religion, the book from which is drawn the religion of a numerous body of its citizens should be used as a manual of worship in schools for the people, supported by taxing the entire body of citizens. This is a palpable invasion of the province which the State professes to leave to the individual conscience. If the religious book of one portion of the people is to be used by the State, the other portions may with justice claim that their books should also have State sanction. If the Christian has his Bible read as a religious book, not simply as literature, in the common schools, with equal justice may the Chinaman demand the reading of Confucius, the Turk the reading of the Koran, the infidel the reading of the "Mistakes of Moses," and the Agnostic the reading of Spencer and Huxley. But the majority rules, it is said; and as these others are in a hopeless minority, the Bible should be used as the choice of the majority. No, in this matter the majority does not rule; for it lives under a form of Government which separates Church and State, and declares that a man shall not have an obnoxious religion forced upon him or his children, though he be in a minority of one. Moreover, our public school system should be put on a broad and enduring basis that shall avoid the dangers of controversy and of changing opinion in religious matters.—*Henry N. Moore, in Christian Union*.

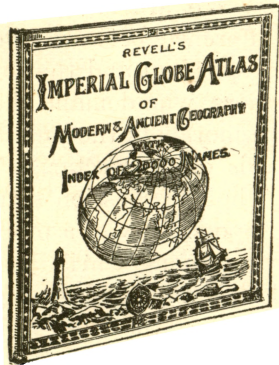
RELIGIOUS zeal enlists the strongest prejudices of the human mind; and when misdirected excites the worst passions of our nature, under the delusive pretext of doing God service. Nothing so infuriates the heart to deeds of rapine and blood, nothing is so incessant in its toils, so persevering in its determination, so appalling in its course, or so dangerous in its consequences. The equality of rights secured by the Constitution, may bid defiance to mere political tyrants: but the robe of sanctity too often glitters to deceive. *The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than that of a whole community.* That representative who would violate this principle would lose his delegated character, and forfeit the confidence of his constitution.—*Col. Richard M. Johnson*.

A FACT is as difficult to change as for a bigot to be conscious that he is one.—*Sturdy Oak*.

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SINCE our last issue we have learned that Judge Hammond, of Tennessee, has deferred his decision in the King case until March.

A CORRESPONDENT of *Our Day*, writing of Pennsylvania, says:—

"In no other State have I found so many post-offices that do not open on the Sabbath." Then in no other State has he found so many postmasters violating the law which provides that post-offices shall be opened a portion of every day.

THE Bennett law repeal measure was signed by Governor Peck, of Wisconsin, on the 5th inst. in the presence of a number of leading men of the State. A brand new gold pen, and green ink, were used. The pen has been placed in the vaults of the executive mansion, there to be kept for all time as a souvenir of the event.

A BILL has been introduced into the Connecticut Legislature, providing that every person who shall keep open any warehouse, or manufacturing, or mechanical establishment, or any commercial establishment, other than a drug store, or engage in any public sport on Sunday, between sunrise and sunset, shall be fined not more than four dollars, nor less than one dollar. The bill was referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

BATAVIA, this State, is moving in the direction of more strict enforcement of the Sunday law. On the 11th ult. a Rest-day League was formed at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and a committee appointed to confer with the pastors of the different churches. As usual the leaders in the movement are not those who most need rest on Sunday, and have the least of it, but those who are interested in compelling people to rest whether they want to or not. There is a good deal of humbug about the whole Sunday-rest business.

A SUNDAY bill has been introduced into the California Legislature, at the request of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of that State. Its technical description is

An act to amend an act entitled "an act to establish a penal code," approved February 14, 1872, by

adding to chapter VII, title IX, part I, thereof, three new sections numbered respectively, 299, 300, and 301, forbidding the exhibition, opening, or maintaining of a bull, bear, cock, or prize fight, horse race, circus, gambling-house, or saloon, or any barbarous or noisy amusement; or the keeping, conducting, or exhibiting of any theater, or other place of musical, theatrical, or operatic performance, where intoxicating drink is sold, given away or used on Sunday; forbidding, also, the keeping open, on that day, any store, workshop, bar, saloon, banking-house, or other place of business for business purposes.

The bill was introduced by request, and it is understood that the gentleman who introduced it will not vote for it. It is now in the hands of the Committee on Education and Public Morals.

THAT which we object to is not the incidental teaching of morals in the public schools so far as moral principles can be inculcated by proper rules of deportment, by the prohibition of offensive and corrupting language, and by the use in reading-books of such stories as that of George Washington and his hatchet, but to the establishment by the State of a code of so-called morals to be taught in the schools as the sum of morality.

As we have before said, morals must have a sanction, that is, moral precepts must be based upon some acknowledged authority. John Stuart Mill, a typical utilitarian, says: "I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions." We, in common with many others, regard the law of God as the ultimate appeal on all such questions. We simply deny the right of the State, which is practically the majority, to decide the question.

It is true that the State is only the citizens "mutually united to secure mutual benefits," but it does not follow that the State may rightfully do whatever the majority desires to have done. There are some things that no majority, however great, has any right to do. John Stuart Mill has well said: "If all mankind, minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

We fully agree with Mr. Mill, in this, and it seems to us, that to every American at least, the proposition ought to be self-evident. It follows that while we believe good morals and good religion to be of the highest value, we deny the right of the majority to force their ideas of morals and religion upon the minority.

THERE are but two standards of morals, namely, the divine, and the human or utilitarian. Every man who advocates the teaching of morals in the schools has in view the standard of morals which he conceives to be the true one. We at first understood our correspondent, whose letter we publish in another column, to favor

the teaching of the utilitarian standard of morals. Now, however, if we understand him correctly, he would have taught in the public schools, not the morality that is the product of dogmatic theology, "but of that which is above all sects or forms of religion—God and man." This would involve the teaching of somebody's ideas of God, and consequently the teaching of somebody's religion. We are really unable to see much difference between the position of our correspondent and that of the National Reformers, who demand the teaching of Christian morals in the public schools upon the basis of "unsectarian" Christianity. The whole discussion simply illustrates the impossibility of a practical agreement, even among Christians, on the subject of what, if anything, should be taught in our schools on the subject of morals. We shall reprint next week an article from Vol. IV, of this paper, which treats this particular phase of the question more fully than space permits us to do in this number.

A RELIGIOUS paper published in a Western State, being grieved that a certain juvenile religious publication in the East teaches error to its youthful readers, indignantly says:—

There are laws against forgery, and securing money under false pretenses, and cruelty to animals and to children. Can not some means be devised to prevent the latter from being imposed upon by such teaching? for we insist that it is cruelty to them to instill into their young and unsuspecting minds such utterly false ideas.

Sure enough! why not? And in order to make sure that only proper and correct religious instruction shall be given, why not make laws regulating the whole matter, saying who shall give the instruction and what they shall teach? In short, why not have a State religion at once, and be done with it, and refuse to tolerate either error or those who hold it?

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