

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

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NOTHING but the grace of God will keep men from sin, no matter what the consequences may be, and that grace is not imparted by legislative enactment, nor by fear of the stake. It is the goodness of God that leads men to repentance, and nowhere has he commissioned either his ministers or the State to drive men to repentance by burning or stoning, or even by fines and imprisonment.

THE Catholic party in Nicaragua has recently banished some of its enemies, just as National Reformers propose to do in this country. The fellows who were banished might have remained in Nicaragua if they had not "raved," if they had been content to allow the priests to manage the Government and manipulate everything in the interests of "the Church"; but this they would not do, and so they have been banished, possibly "to some wild desolate land, there to set up a government of their own, and to stay there till they die."

THE introduction of religion into the public schools is the introduction of the Church into the public schools, and is, therefore, a union of Church and State. The distinction is further attempted upon the question of religion, that it is not dogmas of faith, but fundamental truths of religion, that are to be taught. But how shall religion be taught without dogmas? It may be taught without some dogma in which you do not believe; but it cannot be taught without some dogma in which

you do believe. We cannot conceive of a church without doctrine. And religion cannot be introduced into the public schools unless it is doctrinal in the sense of being definite, positive, and precise. To speak of the Church without doctrine is to talk of daylight without the sun, of an effect without a cause.—*Rev. Dr. Strong.*

The Individual Right of Religious Belief.

LAST week, in our notice of Judge Hammond's discussion of the subject of freedom of religious belief, we found that "sectarian freedom of religious belief" is that only which, according to his view, is guaranteed by the Constitution. In the whole discussion, there is not the slightest appearance of any such thing as the individual right of conscience, or of religious belief. Yet the individual right is the American idea, and is the one that is contemplated in the United States Constitution, and the Constitutions of the States, so far as they have followed the example of the national Constitution.

So entirely is the individual right of religious belief excluded from Judge Hammond's view, that he actually refused to entertain or give any credit to a certain plea, because he said the petitioner had not proved that the point was "held as a part of the creed of his sect." His words were as follows:—

Although he testifies that the fourth commandment is as binding in its direction for labor on six days of the week as for rest on the seventh, he does not prove that that point is held as a part of the creed of his sect, and religiously observed as such.

By this it is clear that the Judge's idea of sectarian freedom of religious belief led him to ignore, yea, even to deny, the individual right of religious belief. For in demanding that the prisoner should prove that his plea is held by a sect, and religiously observed as such by that sect; and in refusing to entertain the plea, because the accused had not proved that it was a part of some creed, and was so religiously observed, the Court did, in fact,

deny the right of the individual to believe for himself, and to practice accordingly, without reference to any creed, or the belief of any sect as such. And this is only to deny the right of individual belief, and of the individual conscience. Such, however, is neither the American nor the Christian principle, of the rights of religious belief.

The Christian and the American principle is the *individual right of conscience*—the right of the individual to think for himself religiously, without reference to any sect; and without any interference on the part of anybody, much less on the part of the Government. The idea of the national Constitution on this point is clearly expressed in the following words of Mr. Bancroft, which have often been quoted in these columns, but which cannot be quoted too often:—

No one thought of vindicating religion for the conscience of the *individual* until a voice in Judea, breaking day for the greatest epoch in the life of humanity, by establishing a pure, spiritual, and universal religion for all mankind, enjoined to render to Cæsar only that which is Cæsar's. The rule was upheld during the infancy of the gospel for all men. No sooner was his religion adopted by the chief of the Roman Empire, than it was shorn of its character of universality and enthralled by an unholy connection with the unholy State. And so it continued until the new Nation, . . . when it came to establish a Government, for the United States, refused to treat faith as a matter to be regulated by a corporate body, or having a headship in a monarch or a State. Vindicating the *right of individuality* even in religion, and *in religion above all*, the new Nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained of God in Judea.

And then, as though to emphasize the specific statements thus made, the writer declares that thus "*perfect individuality* is secured to conscience" by the United States Constitution. As a matter of fact, in the realm of conscience there is no other right than the right of the individual conscience. There is no such thing as a collective or corporate conscience. There is no such thing as a sectarian conscience. Conscience pertains solely to the individual. It is the individual's own

view of his personal relation of faith and obedience to God, and can exist only between the individual and God. Thus the right of religious belief inheres in *the individual* and is only the exercise of the belief of the individual, as his own thought shall lead him with respect to God, and his duty toward God, according to the dictates of his own conscience. And as this is the inherent, absolute and inalienable right of every individual, as many individuals as may choose, have the right of associating themselves together for mutual aid and encouragement.

If Mr. Bancroft's views of the national Constitution, as expressed in the above extract, need any confirmation, it can be furnished to any reasonable extent. It may, indeed, be well to give a few facts further in this line, showing that as Mr. Bancroft has expressed the sense of the Constitution in this respect, so upon this question the Constitution expresses the sense of those who formed it.

During the whole time in which the preliminary steps were being taken to the formation of the national Constitution, the question of the freedom of religious belief was being thoroughly discussed, and especially by the one man who had more to do with the making of the Constitution than any other single individual, except perhaps George Washington. That man was James Madison.

June 12, 1776, the Virginia Assembly adopted a Declaration of Rights, section 16 of which contained the following words:—

That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience.

July 4, following, the Declaration of Independence of all the Colonies was adopted. Shortly afterwards, the Presbytery of Hanover, in Virginia, aided by the Baptists and Quakers, presented a memorial to the Assembly of Virginia, asking that the Episcopalian Church be disestablished in that State, and that the example set by the Declaration of Independence should be extended to the practice of religion according to section 16 of the Bill of Rights. In this memorial, they said:—

The duty that we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge. To judge for ourselves and to engage in the exercises of religion agreeable to the dictates of our own conscience is an *inalienable right*, which upon the principles on which the gospel was first propagated, and the reformation from Popery carried on, can never be transferred to another.

The Episcopalian Church was disestablished, but in its place a move was made to establish a system by which a general tax should be levied in support of the *Christian religion*. Again the Presbytery of Hanover, the Baptists and the Quakers

came up with a strong memorial in behalf of the free exercise of religious belief, according to the dictates of conscience. Jefferson and Madison gladly and powerfully championed their cause, yet the movement in favor of the general tax was so strong that it was certain to pass if the question came to a vote. Therefore Madison and Jefferson offered a motion that the bill be postponed to the next Assembly, and that meantime it be printed and circulated among the people. The motion was carried. Then Madison drafted a memorial and remonstrance in opposition to the bill, and this memorial was circulated and discussed more largely among the people than was the bill which it opposed. One passage reads as follows:—

We remonstrate against the said bill: *First*, Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, that religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence. The religion, then, of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an *unalienable right*. It is unalienable because the opinions of men, depending only on the evidence contemplated in their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable also, because what is here a right towards men is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent, both in order of time, and in degree of obligation, to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the universe; and if a member of civil society who enters into any subordinate association must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority; much more must every man who becomes a member of any particular civil society do it with a saving of his allegiance to the universal Sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society, and that *religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance*.

Because, finally, the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his religion, according to the dictates of conscience, is held by the same tenure with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature; if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us; if we consult the declaration of those rights "which pertain to the good people of Virginia as the basis and foundation of government," it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather with studied emphasis. Either, then we must say that the will of the Legislature is the only measure of their authority, and that in the plenitude of that authority they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred. Either we must say that they may control the freedom of the press, may abolish the trial by jury, may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the State; nay, that they may despoil us of our very right of suffrage, and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary Assembly; or we must say that they have no authority to enact into a law the bill under consideration.

This remonstrance created such a tide of opposition to governmental favors to religion that the bill was not only overwhelmingly defeated, but there was adopted in its place, Dec. 26, 1785, "the

act for establishing religious freedom," declaring that as "Almighty God hath created the mind free," "all acts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do;" and that—

the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical . . . have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time. . . . *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly*, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with the powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the *natural rights of mankind*, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an *infringement of natural right*.

Immediately following this splendid campaign, direct steps were taken for the formation of a national Constitution, in which movement Madison was one of the leading spirits; and the experience which he had gained in his campaign in Virginia was by him turned to account in the making of the national Constitution, and appeared in that document, in the clause declaring that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." But even this was not sufficient to satisfy the great majority of the people, whose views had been broadened, and whose ideas had been sharpened, by the memorable contest and victory in Virginia. Therefore an amendment was demanded by many of the States, more fully declaring the right of religious belief, and as a consequence, the very first Congress that ever assembled under the Constitution, proposed, and there was adopted, by the approval of the requisite number of States, that which is now the first Amendment to the national Constitution, declaring that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Thus it is demonstrated that the words of Bancroft expressed precisely the ideas of the national Constitution upon this question, and that the freedom of relig-

ious belief contemplated and guaranteed by that Constitution is the freedom of the *individual*, and not in any sense such as Judge Hammond contemplates, and calls "sectarian freedom of religious belief."

And from this, it further follows that when the Constitution of Tennessee, following, as Judge Hammond himself says, the example of the national Constitution, declares that "no human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience," it means the rights of the *individual conscience*, and in no sense refers to or contemplates any such thing as the rights of a "sectarian" conscience; and that when that same Bill of Rights declares that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship, it means precisely what it says.

Therefore, nothing can be clearer than that when the Supreme Court of Tennessee gives preference by "common law" to the Christian religion, and its modes of worship, it distinctly violates the Constitution of Tennessee, and invades the rights of the people of Tennessee, as by that Constitution declared. Likewise, nothing can be clearer than that Judge Hammond in setting forth and defining what he calls "sectarian freedom of religious belief," as the meaning of either the United States Constitution or of the Constitution of Tennessee, misses *in toto* the American idea of freedom of religious belief.

According to the proofs here given, it is evident that Mr. King occupied the American and constitutional position, and asserted and claimed only his constitutional right, when he presented the plea which Judge Hammond refused to entertain. And it is equally clear that Judge Hammond exceeded the jurisdiction of a Court of the United States, when he refused to entertain the plea, and demanded that the prisoner should prove that the point pleaded was a part of some creed, and was religiously practiced by some sect.

Further than this, and as a matter of literal fact, it is but proper and just to say that the sect to which Mr. King belongs not only has no creed, but utterly repudiates any claim of any right to have a creed. The sect to which Mr. King belongs occupies the Christian and constitutional ground, and holds the Christian and American idea, that it is every man's right to believe for himself alone, in the exercise of his own individual conscience as directed by the word of God; and to worship accordingly.

Therefore, when the Court, either State or United States, demanded that Mr. King should prove that his plea was held as a part of the creed of his sect, it not only demanded what it was impossible for him to prove, but it demanded what he has the inalienable and constitutional right to refuse to prove.

A. T. J.

A Mathematical Problem.

THE editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, in his issue of September 9, referring to the recent visit of Colonel Shepard and others to Chicago in the interest of closing the Columbian Exposition on Sunday, says:—

They claim that there are 50,000,000 people in this country opposed to Sunday opening, and that their petitions are signed by 500,000, which is only 1 per cent. of the whole number. Their argument would have more weight if their petitions were signed by more than 1 per cent. If they were signed, for instance, by half of 50,000,000 it would be unanswerable in a country where majorities rule.

The vote of the women managers is suggestive. Fifty-six of them voted to close on the first day of the week, and thirty-six to open. When it is considered that religious feeling is much stronger among women than men such a division as this does not indicate any unanimity of sentiment among the men in favor of Colonel Shepard's demand. It shows, on the other hand, that the number of those who because they do not want or care to go themselves on Sunday, would have others forced to stay away who do want to go, is much smaller than Colonel Shepard and Professor Patton imagine.

If the Colonel's statement that "50,000,000 people in this country are opposed to Sunday opening" be correct, it would hardly seem necessary to go all the way from New York to Chicago in order to look after closing the great Exposition on Sunday. If 50,000,000 oppose opening it on Sunday, they will, of course, stay away on that day. And if such a very large number stay away, even if they say nothing upon the subject, the small fraction that remains, provided they were all at the Fair at once on Sunday, would be so lonesome that they would never want to go again. According to our best sources of information we have only about 65,000,000 of people. This number would include the last babe that was born when the count was made. Now the Colonel would not have us believe that babies not old enough to know that there is to be a World's Fair, or children too young to take any interest in such a question, are included in the list of 50,000,000 who oppose opening. And if the children are counted out there will not be much above 50,000,000 left. Then in the place of saying that 50,000,000 are opposed to opening the Fair on Sunday, why not say that the whole adult population of the United States are opposed to it, unless it would be possible that some of the children should grow up enough to develop a little opposition between now and May 1, 1893. If it is possible for any danger to arise from this quarter, a department for mothers' meetings could be opened up in the American Sabbath Union and easily keep the refractory babies in their places. With such an array of figures, one would suppose that the American Sabbath Union, the Sabbath Observance Department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, etc., would fold their arms with the air of one who had finished his work and quietly go to rest. But without any

disrespect for the Colonel, it is hard to forbear the reflection that his statistics, like what sometimes happens to railroad stock, have been "watered."

A. O. TAIT.

A Change of Base.

REV. DR. DE WITT (Episcopal) takes Dr. Lorimer (Baptist) of Tremont Temple, Boston, severely to task for his utterances on the subject of the sacredness of Sunday, in his sermon preached in Chicago, September 7. Dr. Lorimer said in substance that he believed with Martin Luther that the first day of the week ought to be observed in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ as a day of rest and rejoicing—a day of cessation from toil, but it ought not to be accounted sacred time. Men should do as they like on that day, but they should not forget its significance.

Rev. De Witt, referring to it September 14 says:—

Of all the men from whom the friends of the Christian Sabbath have recently suffered, there is no more unfortunate instance than in the case of the eminent preacher from Boston who preached a remarkable sermon on the opening of the Fair. It is to be regretted. He was wrong, both in historical reference and scriptural exegesis.

Referring to Dr. Lorimer's rest theory, he said:—

Rest was one of the last ends for which the Sunday was instituted. From the earliest days of the Church, the leaders of Christianity have sought to impress their followers with the fact that Sunday is a day of general cessation of labor and for worship. All great men who have taken their stand for Christianity, have insisted that first and foremost, Sunday should be kept sacred.

With reference to the history of Sunday, Rev. De Witt said:—

The ancient pagans named the day Sunday in honor of their chief god, the sun, which was their highest deity, and our Lord honored the day by his own ascension from the grave.

The advocates of the Sunday closing of the World's Fair, have insisted that it is not the sacred Sabbath that they want observed in closing the Fair, but the "American civil Sabbath," the "humanitarian Sabbath," and for the reason that the laboring man needs rest. But when Dr. Lorimer asserts his belief in that kind of a Sunday, and securing a cessation from labor, and securing freedom from Sunday slavery; when he is content to let every man enjoy himself as he thinks best, how quickly these men fly to the other side of the question and take up the cudgel in defence of Sunday sacredness. It is all right to talk about the civil American Sabbath when advocating the closing of the Fair on Sunday, but when any one rises to speak in favor of opening the Fair on that day, it will not answer to say that Sunday is civil and not sacred, therefore open the gates and let the people in as on other civil days, as the fourth of July, Christmas, and New Year's. The day suddenly becomes very sacred and

these men can even see sacredness in the fact that this day was dedicated by the heathen to their highest deity and named after their chief god. Then the object of all this agitation on the subject of Sunday laws and Sunday closing is not to secure rest merely for the laboring man as they would have us believe, but to secure the compulsory religious observance of Sunday. "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

ALLEN MOON.

Sectarianism in the Schools.

IF there is anything which is unseemly to fight over it is the Bible, and if there is anything which it is unwise to fight about it is the Bible in public schools. Our readers know that our position has always been that the public schools shall be absolutely unsectarian; that religion should not be taught in the public schools; that God gave the business of teaching religion to the Church, and not to the State, but that the State has the privilege and the duty of giving intellectual and moral instruction. Our readers will also remember a long series of articles written by the late Dr. Samuel T. Spear, fully expounding and supporting this position of the *Independent*. An unseemly quarrel over this matter has lately occurred in Reading, Pennsylvania. A member of the School Board made the charge that one of the teachers, Miss Maggie O'Rourke, was using the Douay Version of the Bible in her school, and a committee was appointed to investigate the charge. She stated to the committee that such was the fact, and that she read the Scriptures from this version without note or comment. The Board thereupon acquitted her of the charge of having violated any of its rules. But the Board then voted to purchase twelve copies of the King James Version of the Bible and distribute them through the schools, and required that the teachers should read only from those copies.

It is now ordered, we understand, that none but Protestant Bibles shall be used in the schools of Reading. That we have not misstated the facts, the following statement made to us by Samuel A. Baer, City Superintendent of Schools, will prove:—

The facts in regard to the Bible question in our schools is as follows:

One of the rules of the Board requires that at the opening each morning *the teacher shall read a portion of the Bible of at least ten verses*. At least one of the dozen Catholic teachers in the employ of the Board used her own, viz., the Catholic Bible. The matter was finally brought before the Board, and a committee of investigation appointed. The facts were found as stated, but the teacher claimed she violated no rule of the Board, inasmuch as it was not specified which Bible should be read. This position was sustained in a manner, but a resolution was passed in the form of an amendment to this report, that hereafter teachers shall read only such Bibles as are furnished by the Board. The Board, of course, supplies only the Protestant Bible.

There is no question that this is making public schools sectarian, and that it is unjust and contrary to the principles of our Government, which allows of no establishment of religion. The only consistent and the only truly Christian way is to give religion to the care of the Church, and let the State take care of secular matters.—*N. Y. Independent, October 1.*

Religious Intolerance To-day.

THE decision recently handed down by Judge Hammond, of the United States District Court, in the celebrated case of R. M. King, is rich in lessons of vital importance to thoughtful minds at the present time of unrest, when conservatism is seeking on every hand, even under the cloak of radical movements, to secure statutes and legal constructions of laws which may at an early day be used to fetter thought, crush liberty, and throttle the vanguard of progress. Briefly stated, the important facts in the case in question are as follows: Mr. King is an honest, hard-working farmer. He is charged with no breach of morals; in fact, it appears that he is a remarkably upright man. But he is a Seventh-day Adventist; that is, he does not hold the same religious views as the majority in his State. He stands in the same relation to his countrymen as that occupied by the early disciples of Christ to Roman society when Nero undertook to punish Christians by kindling nightly human fires for the delectation of conservative or majority thought. He is of the minority, even as the Huguenots were in the minority when the Church tortured, racked, and burned them for the glory of God and the good of humanity. He is of the minority, as was Roger Williams when, in 1635, the popular and conventional thought of Salem banished him.

Mr. King is not an infidel or even a doubter. On the contrary, he is ardently religious, being a zealous and conscientious member of a sect of Christians noted for their piety and faith. The Adventists, of whom he is an honored member, it must be remembered, hold somewhat peculiar views about the second advent of Christ. They believe they find in the Bible commands making it obligatory upon them to keep holy the seventh day of the week, or the Hebrew Sabbath, instead of Sunday, the holiday and rest-day observed by most Christian denominations.

Now, it was shown in the trial that, conforming to his belief, Mr. King strictly observed the Sabbath, or Saturday, but being a poor farmer he could not afford to rest two days each week, or over one hundred days in the year, and, therefore, after having kept the Sabbath he plowed in his field on Sunday. This aroused the pious indignation of the narrow-minded

and bigoted members of the community who profess to follow that great Leader who taught us to judge not, to resist not evil, and to do unto others as we would have others do unto us. These Christians (?) who, unfortunately for the cause of justice and religious liberty, are in the majority in Tennessee, had this conscientious, God-fearing man arrested as a common felon, and convicted of the heinous crime (?) of Sabbath-breaking by plowing on Sunday. He appealed to the Supreme Court, and the sentence was affirmed. Then the Adventists and the National Secular Association took up the case. Hon. Don M. Dickinson was engaged as counsel, and the case was taken to the Federal Court last November on a writ of *habeas corpus*, the contention being that the conviction was contrary to the Bill of Rights of Tennessee and the Constitution of the United States, and that the defendant was held prisoner by the sheriff without due process of law.

The application was argued several months ago, and Judge Hammond has had it under advisement until recently, when his decision was given in which the defendant was remanded back to the custody of the sheriff to pay the fine or serve the time according to the sentence. This decision holds that malice, religious or otherwise, may dictate a prosecution, but if the law has been violated this fact does not shield the law-breaker. Neither do the courts require that there shall be some moral obloquy to support a given law before enforcing it, and it is not necessary to maintain that to violate the Sunday observance customs shall be of itself immoral to make it criminal in the eyes of the law.

Suggestive, indeed, are the lessons of this great judicial crime against liberty, justice, and God. In the first place it illustrates the fact which must long since have become apparent to thinking men, that the guarantee of the Constitution of the United States, which, more than aught else, has made this Republic the flower of all preceding nations, is yearly becoming less and less regarded by the small men and narrow minds who interpret law, and who, instead of showing how unconstitutional any law is which violates the great charter of right, yield to the present craze for governmental paternalism, paying no more heed to our Constitution than if it was the ukase of a Czar. In numerous instances during the past decade has this solemn fact been emphasized, until it is evident that with the reaction toward paternalism and centralization has come the old time spirit of intolerance and moral obloquy on the part of the governing powers which has been one of the chief curses of the ages, entailing indescribable misery on the noblest and best, and holding in subjection the vanguard of progress, which always has been and always will be the

minority, regarded by the majority as dangerous innovators or disseminators of false theories and doctrines. In my article on Socialism I noted the case of Mr. King, observing that—

He in no way deserves the shameful imprisonment he is suffering; yet the prejudice of the majority sustains the infamous law that makes criminals of the innocent, and takes not into consideration the rights of the minority. *And what is more, the religious press is so dominated by bigotry and ancient prejudice that it is blind alike to the Golden Rule and the inexorable demands of justice.* If in any State the Adventists, the Hebrews, or any other people who believed in observing Saturday instead of Sunday should happen to predominate, and they undertook to throw Christians into dungeons, and after branding them criminals should send them to the penitentiary for working on Saturday, indignation would blaze forth throughout Christendom against the great injustice, the wrong against the liberty of the rights of the citizen. The only difference is that poor Mr. King is in the minority; he is the type of those who always have been and always will be made to suffer when the government is strong enough to persecute all who do not accept what is considered truth and right by the majority.

In replying to my paper Mr. Bellamy thus flippantly dismissed this case:—

Of this it may be remarked that had it happened two centuries ago it would have been symptomatic; to-day it is a curiosity,"

It will be observed that in order to minimize the dangers of paternalism, Mr. Bellamy entirely ignored the point I had italicized, viz.: the Christian sentiment of society was not outraged, and what was more, *"the religious press was so dominated by bigotry and ancient prejudice that it was blind alike to the Golden Rule and the inexorable demands of justice."* To-day we are told that this great judicial crime is "a curiosity," although the religious bigotry of the majority has been upheld by the lower, the Federal, and Supreme Courts, while the religious press has, with rare exceptions, sanctioned the persecution or ignored the case.

In vain the long-cherished idea that this country was to pass down the cycle of time known as the land of freedom; that it was to be forever the asylum for religious liberty and the cradle of progress, unless the sober thought of our people be at once aroused to stem the rising tide of governmentalism and the steady encroachments of religious organizations and despotic foreign thought.

Comparatively few of the leading secular journals have deemed this outrage sufficiently important to call for editorial comment, notwithstanding it marks the establishing of a precedent which must inevitably work great misery to innocent people at the hands of religious fanatics, unless there is a sufficient agitation to cause the repeal of many iniquitous laws which are a menace to the rightful freedom of citizens as long as they remain on the statute books.—*The Arena.*

THE safe legislation is no legislation.
—*Evening Sun.*

Count Tolstoi on American Liberty.

UNDER the heading, "The Secret of American Liberty," the *New York Ledger* last year gave utterance to the following comments on the characteristics of the principles of the American political system:—

No one has hitherto credited Count Tolstoi, the great Russian novelist, with a specially exhaustive study of American history. Yet he made a remark the other day which shows that no other European since Henri de Tocqueville has more distinctly recognized the peculiar merit of our institutions. "In the United States," he told an American visitor, "you have the best of all governments, because you scarcely know that you have any government at all." It is true, if we reflect upon it, that outside of the seaboard cities, where merchants feel the arm of the Federal Executive exerted through the custom-houses the average citizen is never brought into direct contact with the Federal Government, except through the post-office machinery. Even with the State Government, he is drawn into immediate and conscious relations chiefly through the higher courts of law. To this day, as in the early epoch of New England history, it is the unit of social organization, the local government of the county, township, and municipality, with which the average citizen is most intimately and constantly concerned. Nowhere else in the world—for Englishmen, from whom we inherited the blessing, have in a large measure lost it—is the habit of local self-rule so universal and inveterate as it is in the United States.

In this habit lies the safeguard of a personal liberty inseparable from public order, the secret of our exemption from reactionary conspiracies on the one hand and from anarchic revolutions on the other. It is the absence of this habit which makes republican government in France unsatisfactory and unstable—unsatisfactory because the present French Republic is more intensely centralized than many monarchies, and unstable because the people hold the rulers of the moment accountable for shortcomings rooted in the national character. When the French communes, arrondissements, and departments acquire the functions of local self-help and self-control, which are exercised in this country by townships, counties, and States, free institutions will, for the first time, be impregnablely established, for then Frenchmen will have learned to govern themselves.

Count Tolstoi perceives, what is overlooked by too many European liberals, that to confer parliamentary government upon a people before it has shown itself capable of managing the affairs of a township, is to begin at the wrong end. But, it may be said, if you give a nation a parliament, that parliament will have the good sense to encourage local self-government. Such is not the lesson of history. France has had a parliament for a century, yet the traces of local self-rule are now few and faint, compared with what they were under the Bourbons. So, too, the British Parliament, until the recent reaction which led to the establishment of county councils, had long been encroaching on local liberties. The framers of our own Federal Constitution discerned the tendencies of a national Assembly toward centralization and absorption, and provided barriers against them; but for which our own habits of self-government might have been gradually extinguished.

Every day we have evidence of the truth of the statement made by Professor Gervinus, the great German critic and writer, in his "Introduction to the history of the Nineteenth Century," in the following words:—

Roger Williams founded, in 1636, a small, new society in Rhode Island, upon the principles of

entire liberty of conscience, and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular concerns. . . . The theories of freedom in Church and State taught in the schools of philosophy in Europe, were here brought into practice in the government of a small community. It was prophesied that the democratic attempts to obtain universal suffrage, a general elective franchise, annual parliaments, entire religious freedom, and the Miltonian right of schism, would be of short duration. But these institutions have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole Union. They have superseded the aristocratic commencements of Carolina and New York, the high-church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massachusetts, and the monarchy throughout America; they have given laws to one quarter of the globe; and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe.

Some of the more notable examples of the truth of this are in the great Constitutions of the world which have been recently formed; and what Professor Gervinus calls "their moral influence," not so easily seen, has been felt by every nation of the civilized world. The *Independent Patriot* remarks on this point that "the Constitution of the United States has been largely copied in Brazil, in Australia, and followed to some extent in Japan. How far the principles of liberty that document contains may yet go in the political world we may not now know; but if we will compare the condition of the political world when that instrument was framed, with its condition now, we may see something of the effects produced upon the race by its presentation."

"THE director of the United States mint," says the *United Presbyterian*, "was instructed by the late Congress to secure new designs for our silver coins. It was thought that these designs, particularly those on the dollar, could be easily improved. But, although a prize of five hundred dollars was to be paid for each design accepted, all of those offered were rejected by the committee. If at any future time these designs should be changed, we hope the words, 'In God we trust,' will be allowed to remain."

About the only objection to these words on our coins is that it is a bit of sentimentalism, or rather of religious cant, which, in the very nature of the case, can not be true of the Nation, and is certainly not true of more than a small number of the individuals who compose the Nation.

BEFORE the State can teach religion it must have a religion to teach. But the State being not a single individual but an aggregation of individuals, it can have a religion only in the sense of having a creed which it fosters.

MR. CRAFTS has never disavowed that famous sentiment concerning Sunday: "Take the religion out and you take the rest out," yet he has the temerity to assert that he is laboring only for a civil rest day

NATIONAL Religious Liberty Association



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Church and State in Iowa.

A WAR BETWEEN THE METHODIST CONFERENCE AND THE GOVERNOR.

THE Methodist Episcopal Conference recently held at Des Moines, Iowa, passed, among others, the following resolution:—

We protest against the policy of special executive clemency towards the violators of the prohibitory law, and respectfully suggest that it is the sworn duty of our chief executive to enforce said law rather than to wink at its violation and then insist upon its repeal because it is not enforced.

In a speech at Tipton, Iowa, September 26, the Governor noticed this, and very fittingly remarked:

If it is true, I am both in morals and in law guilty of the commission of a high crime, for which I should be impeached and consigned to a felon's cell, instead of occupying the position of chief magistrate of a great State. It cannot, therefore, be expected that any degree of deference for the profession in which these reverend gentlemen are engaged can close my lips when a charge so serious is made against me.

Further along in his speech the Governor said:—

I fully recognize the individual rights of these gentlemen to mix politics with religion if they so elect. I cannot, however, help reminding them that there is a very strong aversion in the ordinary American breast to the mixing of politics and religion. So strong, indeed, that in the fundamental laws of most, if not all the States of this Union, they will find express provisions completely divorcing the Church from the State.

I think I can safely say that so far as worldly people are concerned they do not believe that our politics and religion can be mixed without converting the entire mixture into politics alone in a very short time. I want to say farther that those who attempt to do this will sooner or later learn that their churches have become political instead of religious organizations and that they must thereafter be content to wield such influences over the consciences of men as other political organizations are able to do, and no greater or better.

From this it is evident that the only result of this religious conference passing such a resolution is a war between the Church and the State. Let it be observed also, that in this war the Church is the attacking party. By passing this resolution it is attempting to dictate how the State should be run in regard to civil affairs, and the only logical inference is that had it the power it would step into the executive shoes and run the State. But this is, in embryo, simply Church and State united; that is, both the ecclesiastical and the civil power vested in one body. The "respectful suggestion" to the Governor by this Iowa Methodist Conference is simply a mild threat that if he

does not run things about as they want them run he may hereafter feel the lash of the Church and hear the thunders of her excommunication, and worse than all—lose his office. But in all this they are

NOT FOLLOWING THEIR PATTEEN.

Christ did not come protesting against the policy of the Roman Government under which he lived, and send up "respectful suggestions" to Cæsar that he should do his "sworn duty." He did not come to run the Government, but to call sinners to repentance and show all the way of life. His work was not to regenerate mankind through the power of law, but to lift up the fallen through faith in him; and this work he committed to his followers.

However much good a church may have done, or however free it may have been from attempts to ally itself with worldly powers and unite Church and State, there can be no evading the fact that when it begins to dabble in politics and dictate to civil authorities how they should conduct themselves in civil affairs it steps outside the pale of its rightful domain, and lays itself open to the charge of attempting to marry itself to the State. Its legitimate work lies in another line.

W. A. COLCORD.

Defends His Vote Against the Sunday Ordinance.

It will be remembered that the City Council of Bradford, Pennsylvania, last July voted adversely upon a proposed Sunday ordinance for which certain of its citizens had petitioned, alleging that the proposed ordinance was unnecessary, as the State Sunday law of 1794 covered the same ground. They also stated in their report that that law was a dead letter, and that it was their belief that such a law belonged to the Dark Ages and should never have been enacted in the great commonwealth settled by William Penn and his Quaker friends. Not long afterward Mr. Crafts visited the place. In his lecture there he characterized the attitude of the City Council toward the law of 1794 as "anarchy," and remarked that over in Chicago "they hang anarchists." Referring to this statement, Mr. John P. Zane, a member of the City Council, in the *Bradford Era*, of September 1, says:—

Inferentially Mr. Crafts's method of purifying the morals of this city is to hang the members of the select branch of the Councils. It is true this is a thorough way to silence an opponent, but the "world moves for all that," and moves onward and upward to a better and higher civilization. I plead guilty to voting to kill the Sunday observance ordinance. I never have, and hope I never may, vote to punish or inconvenience any one who differs from my religious or political views. I have always, in my humble way, contributed to all the various churches in the places where I have lived. I believe in every one worshiping according to the dictates of his own conscience, and am willing to assist him in the opportunity of doing so. I consider the Sunday law of 1794 a relic of the Dark Ages, and in the present it is simply instrumental in religious persecution. No one is any better or happier for its existence, and good people of the Seventh-day Baptists, have suffered wrong by its enforcement.

"A Sham Closure."

WITH the foregoing title the following appeared in the editorial columns of the *Chicago Tribune*, September 9:—

The *Chicago Herald* calls attention to the fact that the pretended closed Sunday at the Philadelphia Exposition was a sham. It says:—

"The Exhibition was indeed apparently closed, and it was actually closed to the common people. But it was open by official consent and connivance to officials and their families and friends. . . . So well known was this fact in Philadelphia that the thoughtful who, out of mistaken belief, had favored the closed Sunday, freely declared that if another Exhibition were held there it should be open to all the people."

There is no doubt that our contemporary is correct in its statement. It is generally admitted that thousands of the persons named enjoyed a nice,

quiet inspection of everything within the gates on Sunday, but the artisans were locked out.

The *Herald* and *Tribune* together would not make and indorse such a statement if there were no ground for it. And so it is clearly seen that when an institution is not enshrined in the heart, means will be found to evade it, either openly or under cover.

A NATIONAL REFORM organ publishes the following from "a gentleman who has had a wide experience in national legislative matters":—

Those who are opposed to the opening of the World's Fair at Chicago on Sundays have a splendid opportunity to get a law enacted by Congress this winter positively prohibiting the opening of the gates to visitors on Sunday, if they are energetic enough in embracing it. Under ordinary conditions it might have been very difficult to have persuaded Congress to legislate upon the subject, but all difficulty will be removed when the World's Fair management makes its application for a loan of \$5,000,000 from the Government. When the bill for that purpose comes before Congress it will be easy to offer an amendment thereto making the loan contingent upon the closing of the Fair on Sundays. If this be done and all of those opposed to opening the Exposition on Sundays will take the trouble to make their wishes known to their Senators and Representatives, the amendment will certainly become a law and there will be no doubt in anybody's mind about the closing of the Exposition on the Sabbath. If this opportunity be not taken advantage of the Board of Managers of the Fair will, in my opinion, sanction the opening of the Fair on Sundays. This opinion is based upon the actions of members of the Board. Attempt after attempt has been made to get the members of the Board to commit themselves on this question, and there has been such unanimity in their replies to the effect that there was plenty of time and that they would not decide the question until just before the time for the opening of the Exposition, that I have come to the conclusion that they fully intend that it shall be open on Sundays, but do not care to so announce until it shall be too late to prevent it by Congressional legislation, which is the only way it can be prevented.

There is little doubt that every possible effort will be made to secure from the Fifty-second Congress some substantial recognition of Sunday sacredness, a recognition that will serve as a precedent for all that is demanded by the American Sabbath Union and kindred organizations. The question is no longer, shall the Fair be closed? but shall the Government of the United States commit itself to the support of a religious institution?

THE Baptist Association of Austin, Texas, at their recent meeting adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we should organize in connection with all Christians of *any* or *no* name, to protect, by our influence and votes, the Lord's day, or Christian Sabbath, against the influences at work for its destruction.

An association must think that the "Christian Sabbath" is desperately in need of help, when it is willing to organize with Christians of *any* or *no* name. The "mixed multitude" that went out of Egypt with the children of Israel presents to the mind the picture of a motley crowd; but it is left within the limits of the imagination; just what kind of an organization could be effected out of all Christians of *any* or *NO* NAME is quite difficult to imagine. It certainly would make a good crowd in which to develop bigotry and intolerance equal to that of the twelfth century. For when principle can be so far sacrificed that men are ready to confederate with everybody regardless of what they believe, it is hard to tell to just what ends they will go. It is evidently true that the Austin Association is quite out of harmony with many of the rest of their Baptist brethren. As a people the Baptists have a record for a firmer stand for principle than would be indicated by the foregoing resolution.

THE rule of wholesome conduct is freedom.—*Evening Sun*.

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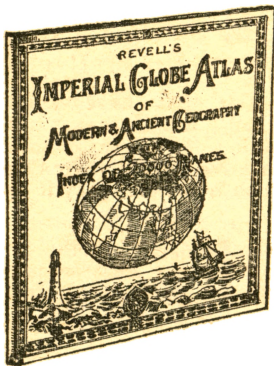
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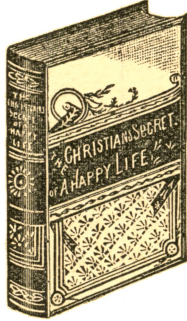
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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 15, 1891.

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THE second Ecumenical Methodist Council met in Washington, D. C., on the 7th inst., and will continue in session until the 20th. It will be interesting to see what action the Council takes upon the religio-political questions now before the nations of the world.

It seems that the great apostle of the "civil Sabbath," with the religion in it, who has traversed this country from the lakes to the gulf, and from ocean to ocean, telling people how Sunday is violated in some of our great cities, has eminent example for the spying methods which he has confessedly followed. According to the *Westminster Review*, of July, 1830, the Bishop of London pursued similar methods sixty-one years ago.

THE *Christian Nation* thinks, or says, at least, that we misrepresent National Reformers and their methods. That our contemporary thinks thus is not strange, since, as Shakespeare puts it—

Men's faults do seldom to themselves appear.
Their own transgressions partially they smother.
Oh! how are they rapt in with infamies,
That from their own misdeeds askance their eyes.
Or, as the Scriptures of truth more tersely express it, "There is a way which seemeth right unto a man; but the end thereof are the ways of death." Did National Reformers themselves see the hideous deformities of their own system, and realize the innate wickedness of their scheme, they would, we are persuaded, no longer be National Reformers. Christ said to his disciples: "The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." This is exactly the case of these so-called reformers; their principles kill the spirit of the gospel, and yet in promulgating them they think that they are honoring Christ.

OF an article in the October *Arena* (which we print on another page of this paper), the *Independent* says:—

Referring to the conviction of a Seventh-day Adventist in Tennessee for working on Sunday, the *Arena* said, and now repeats, that "the prejudice of the majority sustains the infamous law;" and that "the religious press is so dominated by bigotry and ancient prejudice that it is blind alike to the Golden Rule and the inexorable demands of justice." The *Arena* has no right to make that

statement. The *Independent* is sufficiently prominent among religious papers to be considered before one makes such a general charge. The *Independent* has followed that case all through the courts, and has again and again, and most emphatically, condemned the Tennessee law. That is the general view of leading religious papers in the North at least, and the *Arena* has spoken out of an ignorant prejudice, and with no effort to find out the facts.

Nevertheless, the *Arena* was right. The *Independent* has done all that it claims in regard to this case, but unfortunately it is not the religious press even of the North; it is simply one of a very few religious journals that have had the courage and the nobility to denounce the outrage perpetrated upon Mr. King. The religious journals of the country have for the most part ignored the case entirely; a few, and among them the *Independent*, have cried out against the injustice; but on the other hand some have even defended the law and its enforcement; for instance, of that part of Judge Hammond's decision which says: "Malice, religious or otherwise, may dictate a prosecution, but . . . this fact never shields the law-breaker," the *Michigan Christian Advocate* said:—

We respectfully advise our Adventist friends in Michigan, especially those who are unusually noisy on Sunday, to paste the above statement in some conspicuous place where they can see it often.

The *Christian Advocate*, of this city, did very little better in its notice of the case. The *Independent* and *Examiner* stand alone, we believe, in this city, and nearly so in the country, among religious papers in denouncing a law which makes possible persecution for conscience' sake. The *Arena* has stated the matter none too strongly.

SUNDAY accidents are frequently cited as evidence of God's care for the day and of his wrath against those who "desecrate" it. But how about this one?

MARIETTA, Georgia, Sept. 28.—Yesterday evening Mrs. F. P. Reynolds, her sister, Mrs. Merritt, Miss Mattie Reynolds, and Miss Alma Kohlheim, a cousin, started from church in the family carriage drawn by two spirited horses and driven by a negro coachman. At a point just at the corporation limits the horses became frightened. This was at the top of a hill near the railroad. They soon became unmanageable. The driver was dragged over the dashboard. Mrs. Reynolds jumped out, but the others remained in the carriage, Miss Mattie, who was on the front seat, endeavoring to control the running horses. Half way down the hill the carriage struck a stump and was demolished, the occupants being thrown out. Miss Reynolds was thrown against the stump and her neck was broken. Mrs. Merritt received injuries upon the head from which she died in a few hours. Miss Kohlheim received probably fatal internal injuries.

Had this sad accident happened to a party of thoughtless young people on pleasure bent, it would have been made the text for numerous sermons on Sunday observance. The fact, however, is that accidents are no more frequent upon Sunday than upon any other day when an equal number of people are spending their

time in some other than their accustomed way. All holidays are fruitful of casualties, and Sunday is no exception. The divine harmony of the universe gives no sign that Sunday is sacred; and it is significant that Providence and revelation are likewise silent upon the subject.

IN a short speech at the formal opening of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, at Palo Alto, California, on the 1st inst., James McM. Shafter, one of the trustees of the new University, said, as reported by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, that—

There was one thing which he hoped to see taught in this institution. He was sorry to see embodied in our national Constitution the sophism that Government derives its power from the consent of the governed, and hoped that the error of this assertion would be impressed upon the students.

This places Mr. Shafter right in line with the American Sabbath Union and the National Reform Association, the latter of which, especially, has for its object the subversion of the Constitution. The former is, however, not much behind in this evil work; for in a Sunday convention held in Sedalia, Missouri, in 1889, for the purpose of organizing a State auxiliary to the American Sabbath Union, Rev. W. D. Gray, subsequently elected Secretary of the organization, said:—

I do not believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and so the object of this movement is an effort to change that feature in our fundamental law.

It will be a source of encouragement to men holding such sentiments to know that they at last have a University in America that is likely to espouse their cause and teach their un-American and despotic theories of government.

SOME one has written a letter to Allen Moon, Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Lecture Bureau, 28 College Place, Chicago, from Seward Valley, Schoharie County, New York, desiring to arrange for a lecture at that place, but the individual failed to sign his name to the communication. If he will kindly furnish his name, Mr. Moon will be glad to correspond with him on the subject and arrange for a lecturer to visit the place if possible.

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