



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

VOLUME 6.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1891.

NUMBER 49.

## The American Sentinel.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE  
PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

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A LEGAL creed can only create an irreligious people. The union of civil law and ecclesiasticism has never been and never will be anything else than an "alliance of fraud and force to degrade the nations, a compact of the priest and the potentate to crush the rights of conscience; a combination of regal and prelatie tyranny to repress true religion."

WE object to Sunday laws not because they require the observance of that particular day but because of the principle involved. Sunday laws are wrong, they work hardship and injustice, they tend to destroy free heart service to God, thus making hypocrites. Disguise their motives as they may by pleas for a rest day for the laboring man, the fact remains that the great majority of those who desire such laws make the demand *because they regard Sunday as a sacred day.* Therefore the passage of a Sunday law is State interference in religious matters, and involves the judicial decision of religious questions. It follows that by enacting such laws the State usurps a prerogative of God.

THE Very Rev. Dr. Thomas O'Gorman, of the Catholic University, writing from France, to the *Catholic Review*, of the miraculous cures claimed to be performed at Lourdes, says: "God hath made the nations healable, says Holy Writ; and truly if the French clergy and people become one in politics as well as religion, France shall be healed and once more lead in the van of civilization."

This political alliance of the clergy with the people is, of course, the natural desire of every loyal Roman Catholic. But these utterances are very familiar to us from other lips than those from which they are naturally to be expected. In this one sentence is expressed the two distinctive features of the platform of the "National Reform" party, which did not originate in a Roman Catholic country nor from a source which would wish to acknowledge itself even tinctured with Roman Catholicism. Yet, the acceptance of the religious fiction of the personal responsibility of the Nation to God, as a corporate body, and the oneness of clergy and people, Church and State, in politics as in religion; are the distinguishing marks of the Roman Catholic and the National Reformer alike. This is a sufficiently broad foundation upon which to establish Church unity, and upon this it will be built, but when finished the structure will be papal.

### The Logic of Judge Hammond's Position.

IN an unofficial communication of later date than his *dictum*, in the King case, Judge Hammond has gone over the same ground again, and has made some additional statements which are of interest as well as of importance in connection with the statements which we have already noticed from the *dictum*.

After reiterating one of the main propositions of the *dictum*—that "the institution of Sunday, like the religion upon which it is founded, belongs to the people as a characteristic possession," that therefore religion is essentially a part of the laws, and its preservation as such "a necessity of statesmanship"—he makes the following important admission:—

*The logic of this position may lead to a union of Church and State, undoubtedly; but it is not essential nor always useful, indeed often otherwise, to go to the end of one's logic.*

In the review of the *dictum* of Judge Hammond we have demonstrated again and again by his propositions, that a union of

Church and State is logically inherent in the positions assumed throughout that document. It is well therefore for our readers to know that he sees and acknowledges the same thing himself. And from this it is perfectly proper, as well as logical, to inquire, Is it the province of a judge of a United States Court to inculcate from his official seat the doctrine of a union of Church and State in these United States? At his induction into that responsible office he took a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States, which, both in its principles and its specific precepts, is diametrically opposed to a union of Church and State and to every position the logic of which would lead to a union of Church and State.

His plea, that it is not essential to go to the end of one's logic, is as puerile as is his other position that government may prohibit a thing harmless in itself to prevent "breach of the peace." It is a pitiable thing indeed when a person insists upon maintaining a position, the logic of which he is unwilling to follow to its legitimate end. But this is not all there is in this case. It would be bad enough were this so only with him as an individual. But this is not so. He occupies the place of a judge of the United States, a representative of the judicial department of the Government of the United States. As such he has spoken; as such he has taken this position; and as such he has given to the position, as far as in him lay, the weight of the authority of the high office which he holds. And just as certainly as the position which he has taken, should be confirmed by the higher court as the position of the Government, just so certainly it would be entirely and forever beyond his power either to check or to control the logic of it in any way; and just so certainly would the religious element that is enlisted and favored in this thing, see that the logic of the position was carried fully to the end which even he sees and acknowledges is involved in it. The truth is that government is one of the most intensely logical things in this world. A

position taken to-day, may not reach the end of its logic in a generation, or in two generations, or even in a hundred years. But if it be a position involving an important principle such as this, it *will* reach the end of its logic as certainly as the Government continues.

Yet Judge Hammond, not content with such a display of logical acumen as the above, and as though to annihilate all basis for any logical deduction of any kind whatever, proceeds to lay down as "the truth" this astounding proposition:—

The truth is that no principle or dogma of government, or of any other human conduct, can be applied according to the inexorable tendency of its logic.

Briefly stated this says that, no principle of human conduct can be logically applied. But it is difficult to conceive how any person, who ever drew a single conclusion in his life and acted upon it, could soberly make such a statement. It is true that some men in some things are erratic, inconsistent, illogical. But all history demonstrates in a thousand ways that with humanity, whether viewed in the individual or in government, principles of human conduct are applied strictly according to the inexorable tendency of their logic. Indeed, it would be an easy task to develop the principle of human conduct, the inexorable tendency of the logic of which has produced this very *dictum* upon which we have been required to bestow so much attention.

As a matter of fact to admit the truth of the proposition here quoted, would be to renounce the very faculty of reason or intelligence itself; which, by the way, is but the inexorable tendency of the logic of Judge Hammond's position.

Another important statement in emphasis of positions taken in the *dictum* is the following:—

It is a somewhat humiliating spectacle to see the Sunday advocates trying to justify the continuance of Sunday legislation, . . . upon the argument that it is not in conflict with the civic dogma of religious freedom. *It surely is.*

Yet in the face of every constitutional provision, State and national, touching the question, he persists in justifying this palpable conflict with the civic dogma of religious freedom, by still arguing that,—The bare fact that the mass desires Sunday as the public day of rest, is enough to justify its civic sanction; and the potentiality of the fact that it is *in aid of the religion* of that mass might be frankly confessed and not denied.

This is again but to justify every piece of religious persecution that ever was inflicted in this world. And under such dogma as this, all that is required for this whole line of enforced religious observances and persecution to be taken up and carried forward again, is that "the mass" shall demand it, and so far as Judge Hammond's jurisdiction could be made to extend, the whole power of the Government, whether State or national, would be exerted in behalf of this mass who

should choose to pursue a course "in conflict with the civic dogma of religious freedom." In view of these statements we should like the Judge to explain just what is the civic dogma of religious freedom.

Yet further, and in his very last words, so far, on the subject, he still justifies the doctrine of persecution in the following sentence:—

It is also noticeable that the early Christians commenced their assaults upon the old religions by a disregard of their holy days, and for this they were first persecuted by the law as they [*sic*] now persecute therewith the Jews and the Seventh-day Adventists.

We are not by any means ready to admit that it is the early Christians who *now* persecute the Jews and the Seventh-day Adventists. Neither the early Christians nor any other Christians, either now or at any other time, ever did persecute. If any man persecutes he is not a Christian. It is true that the early Christians were persecuted, by "due process of law" too, precisely as the Jews and the Seventh-day Adventists are now persecuted by "due process of law." The persecution then was heathenish, and so it is now. The "due process of law" by which the persecution was then legalized and justified, was but the manifestation of the "inexorable tendency of the logic" of the pagan "principle of human conduct," and such only it is now.

And with the persecuted Jews and Seventh-day Adventists, THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, with all its corps of workers from editor-in-chief to office boy, is glad to stand, and to be classed with the early Christians, to bear their reproach and to share their sufferings; as we know that in suffering with them we are suffering with Him with whom they suffered. And "it is a faithful saying, If we suffer with him we shall also reign with him." And he is the Author of a religious liberty which is absolute and eternal.

A. T. J.

#### Russia and Tennessee.

THE following quotations, one from a description of Russia's treatment of the Jew, which appeared recently in the *New York Times*, and another from a letter recently received from a resident of Tennessee, and printed in THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, are so nearly parallel that one has but to change the name of Russia to that of Tennessee, and the name of Jew to that of Seventh-day Adventist, to imagine himself reading the same account.

##### RUSSIA.

The Hebrews, of course, religiously abstain from labor on Saturday. It was considered by Ignatieff an extremely smart trick to forbid them to do business on Sunday as well.

In its essence, this meant that the Jews could only have five earning days against other people's seven. Although there are laws on the books prohibiting Christian labor or business on Sunday, they are a complete dead letter. Every traveler

in Russia knows that Sunday in the markets and business streets differs in no respect from any other day save that there are no Jews about. Having remained idle on Saturday for their own Sabbath, they are compelled to observe Sunday for the Christian Sabbath—the while the Christian himself works or barbers from morning till night, and the market places are filled as well with Tartars, gipsies, and Persians, whom no one molests.

##### TENNESSEE.

In a place called the Cove, three or four miles from Dayton, is a small colony of Sabbath keepers, who are very conscientious and devout Christians. These not long ago were wicked and profane men. For many years, they with their neighbors and friends, had indulged in all kinds of work and amusements on Sunday; but recently when some commenced the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath immediately things changed. Those who were once their friends now became their foes. So long as they did not keep the seventh day nothing was said about Sunday desecration, no matter how much, or the kind of work that was performed. And that has been the custom in that vicinity for years.

Last week the Deputy Sheriff and two other men were in the Cove watching to catch Saturday keepers at work; and some of their nearest neighbors have been lounging around on Sunday, like coyotes in a thicket, to catch their innocent prey. These very men who are now trying so hard to bring seventh-day observers before the courts for working on Sunday, have time and again borrowed tools of Seventh-day Adventists to chop wood all day Sunday.

The Sheriff referred to lives at Morgantown, one and a half miles from Dayton, and one and one-half miles from the Cove, his place of attack. Dayton is where the large iron and coal furnaces of the Dayton Coal and Iron Company are situated, employing three hundred men, running full blast day in and day out, Sundays not excepted, with all its noise and bustle, producing one hundred and twenty tons of iron every Sunday, and that too within speaking distance of two churches, yet nothing is said about that.

Why should the Sheriff leave so grand an opportunity to catch men at work, and go two miles over a mountain and skulk around to find engaged in honest toil some poor farmer who had observed the previous day? Ah! it is not the nature or the amount of work performed, that constitutes the offense so much as the fact that those who do it observe another day. . . .

The Sunday law of Tennessee is a dead letter until it comes to seventh-day observers then life will spring up in it equal to that of the Inquisition.

That these Russian methods of persecution should manifest themselves now and then in free America is not strange, for the human heart is much the same the world over, but that they should receive the sanction of State and Federal courts, as in the case of the late R. M. King of Tennessee, in this "land of the free," in 1891, is passing strange.

A. F. BALLENGER.

THE term "secularism," is often used as though it were a synonym of "infidelity"; but this is not the case. "Secularism" means, "The state or quality of being secular;" and "secular" means, "Pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy." "Secularism" is not, therefore, a synonym for infidelity, and very many Christians and some Christian papers are secularists, that is, they believe in keeping Church and State entirely separate.

### Should Sabbath Observance be Enforced by Law?

[Continuation of the negative argument, delivered at the annual contest of the Philomath and Adelpia Literary Societies of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, June 24, 1891. by A. L. Russell (Philo.), Bulger, Pa.]

THE distinctive characteristic of our Government is the entire separation of Church and State. The Constitution declares itself the supreme law of the land. From this law religion is entirely eliminated. It has been asserted that we are a Christian Nation. Washington declared in a treaty with Tripoli, in 1796, that the Government of the United States "is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion;" and that official declaration has never been withdrawn. Religion is but once mentioned in the body of the Constitution, and then only to declare that no religious test shall be a qualification for any office or trust under the Government. The First Amendment prohibits any law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. It denies in unmistakable terms the right of the State to interfere in religious matters. Sunday is but once mentioned: "If any bill shall not be returned by the President, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be law in like manner as if he had signed it." Here it is but recognized as a day upon which the President might not want to work. Clearly the document contains no law for enforced Sabbath observance. Congress and courts suspend business merely through individual deference to the day, and not through legal requirement. Congress frequently sits in Sabbath session.

Some years ago this question was thoroughly discussed by the Nation, and signally *defeated* in Congress. In the adverse report the committee said: "Our Government is a civil, not a religious institution. It is not the legitimate province of the Legislature to determine what religion is true and what false. If the principle is once established that religion or religious observances shall be interwoven in legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of churches, and the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity. Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity commend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant, relieve the widow and the orphan, to promulgate to the world the doctrine of the Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example. Government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It can not

oppose them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do more to advance the true interests of religion than any measure which they may call on Congress to enact."

Congress adopted this report, and twice since have measures for the enforced observance of the Sabbath been defeated. Thus Congress registers the voice of the people that religion shall stand apart from the State. The public observance of the Sabbath depends then on custom and not law. Congress declares the Sabbath a religious institution, and declines to enforce it. The States provide for the free exercise of religion. When, therefore, any religious institution is enforced by law, preference is given to a religious institution and mode of worship, against the letter and spirit of the Constitution. We have proven the Sabbath a purely religious institution; its enforced observance is, therefore, an undue preference in favor of the Christian sects observing that day. The Constitution grants the right of individual preference to no sect, but protection to all. A Sabbath law grants *toleration* to all, but *preference* to those worshiping on the first day of the week. It says to the Christian observer of the first day, "You wish to worship on Sunday and have the right, and shall be protected;" to the Christian observer of the seventh day, and to the Jew, it says, "You wish to worship on Saturday; you may, but you shall also keep the day deemed sacred by the other sects, for it is our duty to protect the Sabbath."

This can not be other than discrimination. The conscience of the seventh-day observer compels him to keep the seventh day; the *law* compels him to keep the first. His neighbor works *six* days; he may work but *five*. Bishop Newman says, "There is as much holiness in working six days as resting the seventh." Thus the State compels him to violate the fourth commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor," and takes from him a forfeit of *one-sixth* of his time (over sixteen per cent) for the privilege of worshiping God, and even then denies the sacred *right*. Our laws record the case of a Jew (2 Dallas 13) who refused to act as witness on Saturday, alleging that he dared not violate his Sabbath. He was fined. Thus the Sabbatarian is punished for violating a Sabbath which he repudiates, and for refusing to violate a day which he deems sacred. Such laws are an invasion of conscience, the death of liberty, and the essence of tyranny.

In regard to the decision of Judge Bell, I quote Judge Terry, Supreme Justice of California, and at least as good a jurist as Bell. He says: "By an examination of the question, it will be seen that the position taken rests in mere assertion, and that not a single argument is adduced to prove that a preference in favor of the Christian religion is not given by law.

The last clause asserts the proposition broadly, but surely it is a legitimate conclusion from what precedes it, and must be taken as the plainest case of *petitio principii*. That which precedes it establishes that the law does not destroy religious *toleration*, not that it grants equity." Such is the criticism of this learned justice on Judge Bell's decision: that it contains mere assertions, not arguments, and that these show only that the law does not destroy toleration; not that it grants equity.

But it is claimed that the Sabbath is enforced because "Christianity is part of the common law." It was part of the *English* common law, but we have adopted the common law *only so far* as it is adapted to our institutions. Common law unites Church and State; that they are separate is a fundamental principle in our system of government. Therefore, so far as common law invades the realm of religion we reject it. It was part of the common law when Roger Williams was driven out; when Quakers were banished and Quakeresses hanged; when the penalty of death hung over Catholic priests who brought the sacrament to the dying faithful. But it is not a part of the common law of any State since statehood was born in 1776. The Constitution is the supreme law and prohibits it. Therefore, in the words of the able Judge Thurman, "It follows that neither Christianity nor any other religion is part of the common law." It conflicts with the supreme law.

Were any religion part of the common law, it would have to have sanctions and penalties for its violation. Then in the words of the New York Supreme Court, "Every person is liable to be punished by the civil power who refuses to enforce its doctrines and follow its precepts." That this is beyond the province of civil law is conceded. The decision continues: "If the sense of the maxim is untrue, it ceases to be intelligible, since law without a sanction is an absurdity in logic, and a nullity in fact." Says Judge Appleton, of the Supreme Court of Maine: "Christianity may be the religion of *the people*, but it is in no sense the religion of *the State*. The Constitution does not recognize the superiority of any religious sect or denomination. It regards all as possessing equal rights.

That governments and majorities have declared the Sabbath a civil institution and under their control is no proof for the affirmative; and to debate it on that ground is to refuse to debate the merits of the question, which look out from and beyond the glaring errors of man, up to the infallible source of eternal truth.

No man, or State, or government has the right to claim that the Sabbath can be observed in a civil manner. Governments have marched battalions to the Lord's supper. Did that make it a civil institution? Or who dares say that the

sacrament was "observed"? Laws can be repealed only by the same authority enacting them, never by those who are subjects to them. Never by word of God, or act of Christ, or precept of apostle, has that *holy* institution been changed to a civil institution; hence it is holy still. And though the State declare it civil, the duties of the citizen to the State are swallowed up in the obligation of the individual to his God.

Briefly, then, we find that the Sabbath, being a religious institution, the sole control of which is the divine prerogative, so acknowledged by Holy Writ, by our Congress, by Supreme Courts, and by all history—it cannot be a fit subject for civil legislation *and it is not the prerogative of civil government to enforce it.*

A Degrading Alliance.

WHEN the Church appeals to the civil power for aid, it is a tacit admission that it is not sustained by divine power, and that God's cause is dependent on the State, and without governmental aid all will be lost. When the Church thus appeals to the civil power, her cry is, "Help, or we perish!" It limits the power of God as it places him in the position of an humble suppliant before the State,—in the person of those that claim to be his representatives,—pleading with the State to do that which he is unable of himself to accomplish.

The theory of Church and State makes the State a divine creature, and the individual its adoring subject. He must look to the State for religious instruction; it must be to him a chart and compass to direct him in the way of righteousness. When the Church places what she believes to be the cause of God on the "ship of State," it is consigned to the uncertain billows of political opinion to undergo a change as often as popular sentiment may chance to change. It makes the voice of the people the will of God, in harmony with the pagan maxim, *vox populi vox Dei*. And as the will of the people centers in the chief magistrate his decrees must be considered the decrees of God. Like the pagan theory in the days of the Cæsars, it constitutes the ruler of the government a god; or in other words, the theory of religion and the State is both antichristian and pagan.

Those that have contended for union of religion and the State, advocating that it would prove a panacea for all ills both in the Church and in the State, have ever proved the greatest enemies to the cause that they were in their misguided zeal trying to defend. A church separate from the world is a church of Christ; allied with the world it is a spiritual harlot. By such an alliance Rome became the "mother of harlots," as described in Rev. 17:5, and her chief ruler a god, as described in 2 Thess. 2:4.

A writer says of the fourth century: "The Church was allied with the State, and religious dogmas were enforced by the sword of the magistrate. The mission of the Church was lost sight of in a degrading alliance with the State." Such an alliance is a degrading one, and it is to be hoped that those that are contending for religion and the State in our Government, may see their error before it is too late, and not degrade Christianity by such an unholy union.

E. T. RUSSELL.

An Inquisitorial Organization.

UNDER the heading, "Organizing to Defend the Sabbath," the *Christian Statesman*, of November 26, publishes in detail the method of organization of a "Rest Day League." In this is uncovered the inquisitorial purposes of the combination. There is a startling parallel to be drawn between the methods of this would be arch-inquisitor of the nineteenth century used here, and the account of the first steps in the organization of the Inquisition, when it was enjoined upon the bishops "to bind in every parish a priest and two or three, or more, laymen by oath, to search out heretics," and to aid these a "new order was founded called the *Militia Jesu Christi contra hæreticos*. [The soldiery of Jesus Christ against heretics.] The Church, however, contented itself with the examination of the heretics, and called on the secular arm to carry the sentence into execution." The life principle of the Inquisition,—that religious dissent is a crime punishable by civil law,—has but lain dormant for a few generations, scotched not killed, and now raises its serpent-head again. Mark the secret investigating committee of four or more, the appointment of which is here recommended, and consider whether the livery of Satan has been, is, or ever can be, the distinctive apparel of the servants of God:—

The editor being recently in St. Louis to conduct the "Forum of Reforms," and C. L. S. C. Round Table, in a four-day Chataqua, afterward organized a Rest Day League for that city, which had hitherto neither a Sabbath Association nor a Law and Order League. The Rest Day League is both of these in one. Its Constitution or plan of work is mostly in the following, from Article V. :\*

"Committees shall be appointed as follows: The Secretary or Secretaries shall appoint an investigating committee of four or more, known only to themselves, some of whom on each Sabbath shall by personal observation ascertain what violations of the law of the State and of humanity are in progress, and report fully, in writing, to the Secretary as a basis for reports from him to the Board, to guide its work, and to the public by the press and platform, and to civil officers as an urgent incentive to fidelity on their part. The President shall appoint committees: (1) On furnishing matter to the press. (2) On circulation of literature. (3) On voluntary closing of places of labor and business. (4) On securing and forwarding petitions against Sunday opening of the World's Fair.

\*The whole Constitution will be sent to any who apply with stamp.

(5) On public meetings. (6) On legislation

The Secretary is expected to report somewhat as follows, every Monday, what has been reported to him by his investigating committee.

[Sample letter to be applied weekly through the press or mail until cure is effected.]

AN OPEN LETTER.

To the Mayor, Chief of Police, Sheriff, County Attorney, and other Public Officers of the City and County:

The Rest Day League yesterday ascertained, through its Investigation Committee, that our humane Sabbath law, designed to protect employes against needless work, and merchants against unfair competition on the general rest day, is being violated as indicated in the following table:

Bakers open . . . , closed . . . ; barbers open . . . , closed . . . ; butchers open . . . , closed . . . ; clothiers open . . . , closed . . . ; grocers open . . . , closed . . . ; etc. Although the front doors of saloons were closed, the sounds that came from within, and the persons seen entering from without, make it evident that the law is being violated. These violations of law are so open that the officers appointed for enforcement of law can procure all necessary evidence, and we shall not furnish such evidence until we have given such officers opportunity to redeem themselves from the implication of willful neglect of duty. We have no doubt that some officers and some of the violators of the Sunday law do not know what the law is, and we therefore urge the authorities of the city or county to proclaim it through the press and by bulletins. We also urge that the city council pass such a screen ordinance as is now in force in many other cities, to reduce the difficulty of law enforcement in the case of saloons.

[Signed] . . . . . Secretary of Rest Day League.  
 . . . . . President.  
 . . . . . 1891.

The Committee on furnishing matter to the press will find the papers willing to publish far more on reform than they usually do, if it is furnished to them regularly, in brief and readable form. The Endeavor Societies and the Epworth Leagues together form the Committee on Circulation of Literature, and are expected to divide up the city and put Sabbath reform documents in English, or German, into every home. The Committee on voluntary closing is composed of Woman's Christian Temperance Union workers, who will present to those merchants who keep open on the Sabbath, an agreement like the following:

"The undersigned persons engaged in mercantile pursuits in the city (or town) of . . . hereby express their conviction that there would be great gain in health and happiness and in good morals, and no loss even in profits if Sunday traffic were entirely suspended (except sales of milk and medicines for not more than two hours of the day), and any of the undersigned who have previously opened their places of business for any part of the day, agree to conform to the above plan of a universal closing (with exceptions stated), if such a closing can be secured."

It is hoped, also, to persuade those whose opening is partly a work of mercy or necessity, such as druggists, hotels, and eating houses, to cut down their hours by a joint agreement to that effect, for example: "The undersigned druggists agree that they will not sell on the Sabbath anything except prescribed medicines and surgical appliances, and that they will not open except from 9 to 10 A. M., and 5 to 6 P. M., (or will not open except as called from their homes by emergencies of sickness, or will not open except in turn, one drug store each Sabbath.)"

"The undersigned hotels and eating houses, in consideration of waiters' rights of conscience and right to rest, will on the Sabbath, limit the meals to 8-9.30, 12.30-1.30, and 6-7."

The Young Mens' Christian Association furnishes the Committee on Public Meetings; the Evangelical Alliance, the Committee on Reducing Sunday Work in the Post Office.

The Committee on Legislation is to secure a screen ordinance to uncover the interior of saloons at hours they are required to close, as many cities have already done. This committee is also to cooperate with other leagues in the State, to secure

repeal of the unjust exception in the State Sabbath law, leaving provision dealers outside of its protection. The staunchest manhood of the city, as far as possible, is put into the Committee on Sunday Saloons, who will seek to unite both radicals and conservatives, in compelling even saloons to respect the law.

A young lawyer of ability, Mr. J. L. Secor, has been secured as secretary, in the hope that he will be salaried, and so his whole energy secured for this work, for which every other city of the rank of St. Louis supports one or more agents.

This League has been thus fully described, that like organizations, formed and to be formed, may have the benefits of its practical plan of work.

Such an organization is not a new society, but a realization of the proposed "federation of churches" in a very practical form, with kindred organizations added.

The editor came on a curious instance of discouragement in connection with one of the Rest Day Leagues. The president had given up because only twelve persons came to a business meeting. Preacher that he was, he forgot that twelve men had changed not only a city, but the world. The best Law and Order League in the land has been carried on for years by four men. Ten would have saved Sodom. One subdued Nineveh. Let us not count but conquer.

Strangely contradictory and unaccountable as it may seem, the very next article is a paragraph headed "Religion Recognized but Not Enforced," in which the statement is made, in the face of the previous recommendation for the appointment of an inquisitorial committee to search out and report to "the Mayor, Chief of Police, Sheriff, County Attorney," etc., for indictment, those who fail to obey the civil law for the observance of the religious rest on Sunday,—that "no religious observance of the Sabbath is, or should be, enforced by law." If anything were lacking to complete the parallel of the initial methods of organization of the mediæval and the modern Inquisition, it is the jesuitical ability here shown of blowing hot and cold in the same breath, of affirming and denying the same thing, in different language, in the same or adjoining paragraphs.

W. H. M.

#### "Sunday in Great Britain."

In 1856, an attempt was made in the English Parliament, to have the British Museum, and National Art Gallery opened on Sunday. Of the discussion in Parliament occasioned by this motion the *Westminster Review*, of April in that year, speaks as follows:—

The speakers in opposition to the motion, and almost every speaker was in opposition, seemed possessed by two leading convictions,—one, that it was the duty of the Legislature to keep the people in check by forcing upon them opinions, whether true or not, which are calculated to promote the cause of order; and the other, that Christianity has no reality independently of positive law. The former is a relic of what was once the creed of the whole governing body in the generation that was terrified by the French Revolution. The reaction produced by that great shock cost Scotland all that her ministers of religion once possessed, and it was not very much, of a liberal, educated, and intelligent spirit: it cost England all that it necessarily costs a country to exist for nearly half a century in ignorance of political principles, and

in blindness to political facts. Religion sank to the level of an art of governing; and when it has once descended to this, it is hard to raise it. In the debate we refer to, speaker after speaker opposed what they termed the insertion of the wedge. Opening the National Gallery might be right and proper in itself; but it was getting the wedge in. The people would lose the notion, which the speaker did not pretend to say was a true one, that Sunday was a divine institution; and if they did, who could tell how far the wedge would go? All our institutions would break up; there would be no religion, no going to church, no influence of the clergy, no distinction between right and wrong.—Do the gentlemen who use this language really believe that Christianity is a true religion, and especially adapted to the wants of mankind? If it is, surely it will make its own way; and its existence can not depend on one set of persons, who think it right to go into a gallery on Sunday, being kept out by another set who think it abstractedly wrong that they should go in.

The sooner we give up the whole system of Anti-Jacobin Government the better. The working-classes of our large towns are not to be dandled and coaxed into being good babies. They know too much, think too much, disbelieve too much.

Who can read this without instantly recognizing its perfect likeness to the controversy now going on regarding the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday? The same cry about the entering wedge is here, the same idea that all our institutions depend upon this one, and that the very distinction of right and wrong can not exist independent of an enforced Sunday. What is this but publicly denying the power of godliness, and substituting for it the power of the State, or, as the *Westminster Review* puts it, asserting that "Christianity has no reality independently of positive law?" The *Review* proceeds to give an account of the petitions to Parliament against the Sunday opening, and to show how they misrepresented the real public sentiment.

It would seem from the account, that if the American Sabbath Union, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, were not in existence then, at least, their methods of work were. Indeed there was a Sunday Rest Association, for the paper says:—

At Kentish Town, a meeting was convened by the Sunday Rest Association. Lord Shaftesbury was in the chair, and proposed that the proceedings should commence with prayer. This raised an opposition. Large bodies of working men were present, and an amendment negating the Chairman's proposal was carried, and subsequently the meeting pledged itself to promote the opening of public institutions on Sunday.

Then, as here, although the working-men very largely opposed the movement, yet it was declared to be, not in the least, a clerical movement, but all in the interests of the "poor overworked laboring man." They said:—

It is scandalous that one man in a hundred who who wishes to trade *should force*, by fear of his competition, the ninety and nine who are otherwise disposed, to trade against their wishes. . . . And yet he can always do so, if he pleases, unless the law is stringent enough to put him down easily and effectually. . . . The traders themselves are anxious not to trade *but they can not help it*. Lord Stanley affirmed that there were in London 50,000 persons who were compelled, on Sunday, to

work against their will; and the majority of those who actually trade, are, it was said, quite in favor of a strict measure which would prevent their trading. The butchers of Clare market, for instance, all with only one or two exceptions, signed a petition in favor of the measure. The bill was therefore intended to secure an acknowledged public benefit, and was brought forward in the interest of the over-worked poor.

Nor did this plea, ostensibly in behalf of the laboring man, go without a reply. The paper adds:—

But numberless instances suggested themselves in which the proposed measure would bear very hardly on the comfort of the poor. Why was a man who only had a long sleep once a week, and only shaved once a week to get up so early on Sunday, that not only he but all the other customers of the barber should be shaved before 9 o'clock? Again, as Mr. Drummond informed the House, there are 150,000 families in London who live in a single room; it would be rather hard to compel these persons to get their Sunday's dinner on Saturday, and keep it through the night tainting the atmosphere, and becoming itself corrupted. Then there are many trades connected with the innocent recreation of the poor. Was the poor man in his afternoon's walk, his one holiday-walk in a dreary week, not to be allowed to buy an orange or a twist of tobacco? The public-houses were open in the middle of the day and in the evening, why should not the confectioners' shops be open too? Why should not the hungry pedestrian be able to buy a biscuit or a bun, without exposing himself to the temptation of spirituous liquors?

Again, with reference to the butchers signing a petition to be compelled to stop selling meat on Sunday, even as the bakers of Boston last year petitioned the Legislature of the State to stop them from selling bread on Sunday, the *Review* says:—

That the existing Sunday legislation has a bad side, which ought most seriously to be taken into account when its praises are sung, is evident when we hear such facts as the petition of the Clare market butchers mentioned above. They were so accustomed to walk in legislative leading-strings, that they had lost all notion that there was a right thing for them to do, and that they could do it. From all we can learn of the wants and habits of the London poor, we think it a work of necessity that these butchers should open their shops during a part of Sunday. But if they do not think so, why do they not shut their shops? They say they are afraid to shut them—that their neighbors would get the start of them, their custom would fall off, and they would be ruined. But thousands of Jews shut their shops on Saturday, and take their chance of ruin; why can not Christians imitate them on Sunday? If the traders put this as a matter of conscience, let them be ruined: why should the State stand between an honest man and the sacrifice his conscience demands of him? But if they treat it as a matter of expediency, and calculate probabilities, we think the true answer is this. If the poor require that these shops should be open on Sunday, it is on the whole expedient that the shops should be open, rather than that the butchers should have an entire holiday. If the poor do not require these shops to be open, or so far as they do not require it, the probability is that no one would be ruined by closing his business premises on Sunday.

Even Mr. Crafts's two pet, but conflicting, arguments, First, that if the Sunday is not protected by law, the manufacturer's greed for gain, will gradually compel all artisans to labor on Sunday, and Second, that more work can be done in six days than in seven, and so that the labor-

ers, if they work seven days, will finally have to do it for six days' wages,—even these arguments, it seems, did not originate in Mr. Crafts's fertile brain, but he found them all ready to his hand. The *Review* says:—

The defenders of Sunday legislation tell us not only that all would be forced to keep open shop, but that the workman will give seven days' work for six days' wages. Has it ever occurred to them to ask whether continental laborers do this, and if so how it can happen that their employers do not reap any advantage from it. Both propositions can not be true—that the masters will make their servants work seven days because it is profitable, and that it is unprofitable to make servants work more than six.

As to the distinction between innocent and harmful amusements, and the prohibition of the latter on Sunday, the *Review* says:—

If we attempt to lay down any rules as to what amusements are, and what are not, innocent, we are at once beset with infinite difficulties. What is an amusement? A clergyman lately told us that he had been severely censured by a Sabbatarian for carrying a walking-stick on Sunday. . . . We despair after this, of finding any amusement that all will agree in as innocent. We must leave the matter to the decision of conscience and taste. . . . If we amuse ourselves, it is said, what is to hinder a continental Sunday being transplanted into England? A continental Sunday!—that is the bugbear.

Yes, that is the bugbear still, and in this country, as well as in England, while Tennyson says "Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change," we can see that those grooves "do but run in cycles," and so far as Sunday law argument is concerned, "There is nothing new under the sun."

G. E. FIFIELD.

THE prime defect in the whole National Reform system is the view that the State is a person, and in fact, a moral person; that it is an individual, distinct from the citizens who compose it, as one individual is distinct from another. But the State is no such thing. The State is no more a personality than the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America is a personality. The State as an individual cannot do anything. The action of the State is only the action of the majority of the individuals who compose it, or their representatives. It becomes their action, theirs is the responsibility; and the morality or the immorality, the real right or wrong of what is done attaches to the individual men who are concerned in it. The State is not an end; it is only a means by which to accomplish an end. It is an organization formed by men by which to protect themselves and the rights which they possess, and that is all that it is.

THE man who sits in judgment on another in the matter of his religion, and then attempts to punish him for what he is pleased to term "heresy," simply usurps a prerogative of God.

## NATIONAL Religious Liberty Association



### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ.  
We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.  
We believe in supporting the civil government, and submitting to its authority.  
We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions.  
We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every man to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.  
We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation by the civil government; that we and our fellow-citizens may enjoy the inestimable blessings of both religious and civil liberty.

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A. F. BALLENGER . . . . . SECRETARY.

THE theatres of Spokane, Washington, have been closed on Sunday evening by the order of the Mayor. It seems the enforcement of such an ordinance was left at the discretion of the Mayor, and so, he, having vested in him the power of a Christian government, by his converting command to the evangelical police force of Spokane, christianized the theatre goers of that city in one night.

THE *Observer* says our ministers, and laymen, and women, "must, if necessary, forget all other politics in this one kind of politics, the politics that compels our rulers to respect the opinions of the Christian public." Where in the language of the Master has the *Observer* found an example for such arrogant words as these? Does the *Observer*, in this, assume the political attitude which Christ taught the disciples they should bear toward their Roman rulers?

BOSTONIANS are to be deprived of their baked beans and Boston brown bread hereafter, on Sunday, by legislative enactment, if the joint petition of the bakers of Boston and their stablemen has any weight with the Legislature. These representative Bostonians have concluded that they can not refrain from selling and delivering brown bread and baked beans on Sunday without they have an act of the Legislature to paste in their hat and tack on their front door. If these plain and customary articles of Sunday diet are refused to Bostonians on Sunday it will certainly cause them to "Remember the seventh day to go and buy baked beans and brown bread for Sunday."

A POPULAR clergyman of Bridgeport, Connecticut, recently gave notice to his congregation that he would deliver, on Sunday evenings, a series of discourses on the Holy Land, from whence he had but just returned, and, to make more vivid the impressions of scriptural incident, illustrations of scenes from Palestine by stereopticon views were promised. To his surprise the deacons of the church objected strenuously, on several grounds, one of which it is said, smacked strongly of the ancient Blue Laws, attributed to Connecticut, wherein a man was prohibited from kissing his wife, or lovers from hanging over the garden gate on Sunday. The discourses, with stereopticon accompaniment were delivered on other evenings of the week, when it was not possible that the morals of the community could be injured by them.

THE first issue of the *Christian Statesman*, under the new management, is a pictorial edition, containing cuts of the beast of Revelation which "had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon," used by the Seventh-day Adventists in the interpretation of prophecy; the American eagle, brooding the stars and stripes, from the fly leaf of the publications of the National Religious Liberty Association; and an illustration of that famous saw which was so long exhibited as a fac simile of the one "laid down every Saturday night" by Jesus Christ the carpenter of Nazareth. The editorial article thus illustrated and entitled "The Most Active Advocates of Sunday Opening" should be read by every subscriber to THE SENTINEL, and every member of the Religious Liberty Association. No unprejudiced mind would need to look any farther for an argument in refutation of Sabbath Union and National Reform positions, than that unconsciously presented in the editorial.

THE *Christian Nation*, of December 2, has this editorial paragraph in reference to the *Christian Statesman*:—

Our readers will bear testimony that no word has ever appeared in these columns with reference to the *Christian Statesman* that was not kindly. To the Covenanter Church that paper and the National Reform Association have sustained the same relation, and toward both the Association and its organ the *Christian Nation* has been unwaveringly loyal. This paper will therefore not be misunderstood in saying that under the new management, it is a sorrowful sight to see the testimony of the *Statesman* for the claims of King Jesus lowered, and National Reform taking a subordinate position among the reforms of the day, instead of being still maintained as the one that is fundamental to all the others. Covenanters are no longer under any obligation to support it; it is not doing the work it was originally established to do. In all the past seven years and more, no hint or suggestion was ever made, privately or publicly, by any one connected with the *Christian Nation*, to the writer's knowledge, looking to the substitution in any home, or elsewhere, of this journal for the *Statesman*; but to-day we have no hesitation in saying to Covenanters that we believe you should prefer the *Christian Nation* before the *Statesman*, in your prayers, in your homes, and in your labor.

THE policy of multiplication by division is still in active operation in National Reform matters, and that it will result in an increased earnestness, almost competitive, for the rapid propagation of their principles is shown by such expressions as these, from letters published by the *Christian Nation*:—

God is opening the way, and those parties who have managed to take the *Christian Statesman* out of our control have greatly simplified matters for us. They will in some measure do the work that we have been doing; we will go on to do the work yet undone. Here's for the new crusade!

Yours fraternally,

That National Reform is just now passing through a crisis no one can doubt. With the sale of the *Christian Statesman*, its removal to Pittsburg, its editorial management, control and direction, now out of the hands of Covenanters, it appears that the National Reform Association, and National Reforms are in a critical situation; yet we know that "all things work together for good." As the Covenanter Church has been, and possibly through the near future will continue to be, the principle factor in National Reform work, she should at this juncture review the work of the past quarter century, discover defects, if there be any, and prepare herself for a "new campaign" for Christ, and the acknowledgment of his authority by this Nation.

Yours,

This separation of the National Reform cable into its individual ropes, to be twisted tighter and strengthened, will not lessen but increase its efficiency. It is really "helping Brother Crafts all the time to set stakes, and get ropes ready." The closer woven and better organized is each separate strand the stronger will be the rope of which they are the constituent parts.

"SOME people can not comprehend how any one who differs from them can be entitled to respect."

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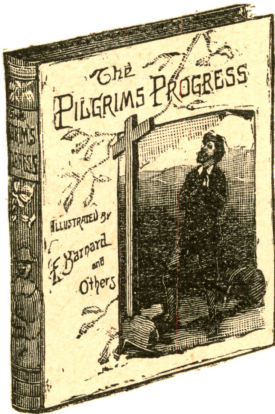
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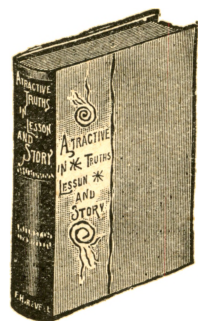
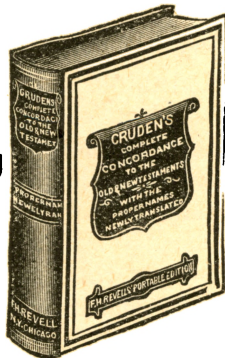
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THE very words of the title, "Advocates of Sunday Opening," used by the *Statesman*, and other advocates of Sunday closing by compulsion of law, is indicative of their inability, or unwillingness, to understand the principles involved in this question, and which animate the Religious Liberty Association as well as all other intelligent opponents of religious legislation. The advocates of legal Sunday closing proceed aggressively from the intolerant conviction that all, irrespective of religious opinion, or practice, or personal wish, should be compelled to close their exhibits on Sunday. They are so fully possessed by this spirit, and by an intensity of mistaken belief, that they are thus doing God service, that they seem unable to comprehend, in an opponent, any position except one that is in complete antithesis to their own, and would make the statement of the case "Enforced Sunday opening vs. enforced Sunday closing." Such a statement of the position of the Religious Liberty Association as this is just as far from the truth as to attribute to it the advocacy of Sunday closing by law. The principle which animates this Association is succinctly expressed in the Declaration at the head of these columns, "We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions." This principle applies equally to affirmative and negative legislation. If any should ask that the general government, or a municipality, should commit itself to the enforcement of a law for Sunday opening, instead of a law for Sunday closing, the Religious Liberty Association would oppose it with equal earnestness, for either would be equally intolerant with the other. As opponents of such measures as these the Association stands on the sure foundation of Christian charity and sound Christian statesmanship found in God's word. Is it moral blindness, or intellectual inability, from which arises the incapacity to comprehend a position so clearly stated?

It is said that more than fifty thousand blank petitions have been sent out to ministers of different denominations, for them and their congregations to sign, praying Congress to interfere in the municipal regulations of the city of Chicago and require that the gates of the World's Fair be closed on Sunday. The unconstitutionality of that which is asked probably does not appear quite so plainly in the language of the petition, but for Congress to assume a local authority in the municipal affairs of Chicago, or any other city outside the District of Columbia, is just as unconstitutional stated in one set of words as another. Congress may regulate the Government exhibit, its own especial charge, but beyond that it has no more specific and local authority than it has over the rest of Chicago or over the city of New York.

THE Milwaukee Exposition, the past summer, has been opened on Sundays; no civil disorder has resulted, although the attendance reached as high as twenty thousand, larger than that of any other day.

This is worthy of notice as evidence that the demand for Sunday closing of the World's Fair, at Chicago, has no foundation in experience, from which to claim the necessity of closing to avoid civil difficulties and confusion.

The desire to enforce religion by law is the sole motive.

SINCE it has been decided to remove the *Christian Statesman* to Pittsburg, active efforts seem to have been made to purge that city of its Sunday-breaking elements, and make it a fit place from which to preach the gospel of law and salvation, through the police court. On Sunday, Nov. 15, the manager of the Pittsburg Grand Opera House, together with the German comedian Joseph K. Emmett and twenty others, and nineteen hackmen, were arrested for violation of the Sunday law.

THE American Sabbath Union has prepared a book of over two hundred pages, entitled "Voices of the People in Petitions and Remonstrances Against Sunday Opening of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893."

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1891.

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THE Colorado Graphic says: "Stop the street cars on Sunday and see how quickly the threadbare members of the Law and Order League who cannot afford the luxury of a horse and carriage will interpose in their own behalf." Certainly they would; the persons who are so ready to dictate to others as to how they shall spend Sunday do not expect to be restricted in the least in their own actions. If a law were passed that in any way restricted their movements on any day, it would be promptly denounced as an unwarranted interference with their sacred rights. Indeed they are so bigoted and so wrapped up in self that they think all the world should do on Sunday just as they say; and they cannot be happy until they have it in their power to compel this very thing.

ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND thus calls his fellow-religionists to take an active part in prosecutions and persecutions under the Sunday laws: "I have noticed with much regret that in movements of citizens to enforce the Sunday laws of the country, Catholics are not in large numbers among the foremost combatants. This may rise from some singular political ideas held by them, but no political ideas must prevail against such obligations as those binding us to the observance of the Sunday."

Certainly not, for Sunday and its observance is that to which the Roman Catholic points as the proof of the dominance of the form of ecclesiasticism which he represents, whether it be acknowledged or not.

In his department of "Christian Politics," in the *Christian Nation*, Rev. W. J. Coleman, Professor of Political Science, Geneva College, Pennsylvania, says of the Sabbath question, "This is perhaps the oldest political question of the time." Was it from the Bible, or from political science, or from Covenanter theology, that this professor of political science drew the conclusion that the Sabbath question is an ancient political question? Did Jehovah from the beginning commit his Sabbath to the keeping of the ward politician? Professor Coleman's illustration of "Moses at the head of the Hebrew commonwealth" is a peculiarly unhappy

one. Moses was not a political boss, neither was he raised to a position of authority by the suffrages of the Jewish people, but he was directly called of God. He who argues that government as now administered should enforce the law of God as that government of which Moses was the divinely appointed representative executed it, argues that fallible, fickle, corruptible, human majorities possess the divine prerogative, and demands a return to the ancient pagan Roman blasphemy, that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

THE Sun thus pointedly comments on the action of the barbers' convention at Grand Rapids, Michigan. "Why should the Barbers' International Union ask the State legislatures to enact laws prohibiting all the barbers of the United States from plying their razors on Sunday? There is no law in any State requiring barbers to engage in Sunday shaving. Every barber in the country is at liberty to refuse to shave anybody, or trim anybody's beard, or cut anybody's locks on Sunday. Any barber has the right to close and bar his shop every Sunday of the year. The International Barbers' Union had better let the legislatures of the States attend to public affairs while its members regulate their own business. The proposed legislation would not reach the root of the matter. What the legislatures must do, if they would give genuine relief to the barbers, is to pass prohibitory laws or constitutional amendments forbidding beards to grow on Sunday."

THE *Christian Union* notes the appointment of Rev. Dr. William A. Bartlett, of Washington, D. C., to a place on the board of management of the House of the Good Shepherd, a Roman Catholic institution, and thinks that "Protestants will need to be alert, or they will be left behind by their Roman Catholic brethren in a generous emulation for preeminence in Christian catholicity." On Sunday Dec. 6, Rev. W. F. Crafts, apostle at large to preach the enforced observance of the American Sunday, filled Roman Catholic pulpits in Newark, New Jersey. History verifies the truthfulness of the statement that "Rome never changes." Who then has changed that this union of effort might take place, and is the coalition for the furtherance of a Protestant, or a Roman Catholic, dogma?

It is narrated in a London paper that the Bishop of Salisbury had offered to an old laborer on his estate the position of lodge-keeper, at the bishop's palace, a life situation; but that the conscientious old man refused the place, for the reason that he was a nonconformist, and supposed, if he accepted personal service under the bishop, he would be required to attend

church instead of chapel, and this he would not do. However, when the bishop heard his story the man was nevertheless retained, and "granted full freedom to worship where he pleased." This incident the *Northwestern* comments on as "alike creditable to both persons." Certainly this transaction was evidence of honest religious conviction on the part of the laborer, but what does it prove in reference to the bishop? It shows that he and his kind have enforced a subservience in religion so complete and of such long continuance as to have made it an unconsciously accepted condition of servitude. With humble sturdiness the man accepts the alternative; but is it as creditable to the bishop that he in his lofty graciousness should assume to "grant" that freedom which is of God from the beginning, and never belonged to any one else either to yield or withhold?

NUMBERS 40 to 47, of the Sentinel Library, contain valuable additions to the literature of the discussion of the different phases of the question of religious legislation. Number 40, "A Union Between Protestants and Roman Catholics," shows that such a coalition is progressing; and what its results will be; 8 pages, price, 1 cent. Number 41, "The Sunday Law Movement; Object, Methods, and Personal Rights Involved;" 8 pages, price, 1 cent. Number 42, "The Sunday Laws of the States and Territories." A complete rescript of all the laws of the different States and Territories pertaining to religious questions; 126 pages, price, 20 cents. Number 43, "Should Church Property be Taxed?" By Rev. A. P. M'Diarmid, from a paper read at a meeting of the New York Baptist Ministers' Conference; 16 pages, price, 2 cents. Number 44, "'We Declare,' and 'We Demand,'" some unwarranted assumptions of religious legislationists; 16 pages, price, 2 cents. Number 45, "An Unbiased Arraignment." The Sabbath question from an outside standpoint, by Rev. H. B. Maurer; 8 pages, price, 2 cents. Number 46, "The Importance of Maintaining our Principles;" 16 pages, price, 2 cents. Number 47, "Should Sabbath Observance be Enforced by Civil Law?" This is a very able discussion of the subject. Selections from the argument have been published in the last three issues of THE SENTINEL, and it is now presented in tract form complete; 24 pages, price, 3 cents.

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